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The desire for national identity and identifiability: Edward J. De Coppet and the birth of chamber music in the United States

Abstract. On October 21, 1886, the Swiss banker and music patron Edward J. De Coppet (1855–1916) organised a musical gathering in his apartment in New York's upper West Side. The concert marked the beginning of a lively and enduring interest in chamber music by musical New York. Before his death, De Coppet organized 1,054 musical meetings and was also crucial in the establishment of the Flonzaley Quartet. Established in 1902 the Quartet was to rise to become the epitome of modern US-American string quartet culture. In addition De Coppet actively supported the transition of chamber music from a primarily domestic activity into a public venture. His efforts were honored with a remarkable celebration in 1914, celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of De Coppet's musical activities and the tenth anniversary of the first public performance of the Flonzaley Quartet. The paper will explore De Coppet's efforts as part of a broader culturally- and politically-charged agenda, strongly linked to the desire for national identity and identifiability that shaped activities in many areas of life in the U.S.A. between 1890 and 1920.

On the evening of 9 March 1914 more than two hundred renowned musicians and members of the wealthy and socially prominent New York establishment convened for supper at Sherry's, then one of New York City's most elegant and upscale restaurants at Fifth Avenue and Forty-Fourth Street.[1]

They gathered there to celebrate twenty-five years of Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet's musical activity and the tenth anniversary of the Flonzaley Quartet, the foundation of which owed much to De Coppet (cf. Figs. 1, 2).

Generally research into topics regarding festive events avoids theoretical reflection, particularly because of the lack of a commonly binding definition of what a celebration actually is. That is why research on feasts and celebrations primarily focuses

Fig. 1: Celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of De Coppet family's music activities and the tenth anniversary of the Quatuor du Flonzaley (New York, Sherry's, 9 March 1914); Fonds musical Alfred Pochon, Département de la musique, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Fig. 2: The Quatuor du Flonzaley (Ugo, Ara, Alfred Pochon, Iwan D'Archambeau, Adolfo Betti) and Edward J. De Coppet (Villa Le Flonzaley, Lake Léman, Switzerland, summer 1904); Fonds musical Alfred Pochon, Département de la musique, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Lausanne, Switzerland.

on an empirical or positivistic approach of 'individual or typologically ascertainable events'.[2]

Consequently, Harald Homann has argued for a sociological perspective that takes into account rather the function of festive events than investigating into what these events actually are. Against this background the above mentioned festive supper celebrating Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet's musical activity and the successful achievement of the tenth season of the Flonzaley Quartet was not only a joyful occasion to mark a happy event but it also served to perform specific functions and to express certain narratives within a given socio-cultural frame.[3] In this respect the present considerations supplement the focus another, already published paper in which I was mainly concerned about the development of the Flonzaley Quartet's specific performance style and its impact on future generations.[4]

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Festive occasions not only function as 'social events but they also refer in a self-reflexive manner to the mode of the social existence of the human'.[5] Such a perspective expands beyond mere phenomenological considerations and aims at an understanding of the phenomenon as a meaningful activity within the context of action theory. The notion of 'meaning' takes into account a key concept of sociological theory as pointed out in various studies over the last century, ranging from Max Weber's *Some categories of interpretive sociology* (originally published in 1913) to Niklas Luhmann's *Meaning as sociology's basic concept* of 1971.[6] Homann summarised this stance pointing out that

> '(m)eaning accompanies all actions but one does not need to be always or in general be aware of this. The consciousness operates in the medium of meaning and the social organisations and systems use this medium. Meaning is the medium engaged by language within communication. Meaning duplicates and replicates reality in societies, particularly obvious in modern societies. We and many others assume the ability to understand and explain other people, actions, events and communications, because all this can be interpreted as meaningful. Out of this background result interpretations, systems of interpretations, interpretations of interpretations etc. Thus interpretations and meanings belong to the constitution of society.'[7]

Meaning and interpretation are essential prerequisites to the existence of societies, belonging to processes of societal identification and representation. Such processes feature not only a highly constructive, but also symbolic character, and serve to identify social reality as a symbolic construct, including what is acknowledged as 'normalcy' and 'identity'.[8] The symbolic and constructive character makes social reality, however, a rather weak system. It is a system prone to breakdowns and collapses and thus requiring means of self-protection, including law, custom, morals, religion and language that regulate taboos, rituals, codes of conducts and so forth in order to secure the symbolic construct and to maintain the appearance of 'normalcy'[9] or what Weber identified as 'everyday life'. In addition Weber pointed out that both 'the "normal" man and the "normal" action are […] ideal-typical concepts constructed for certain purposes'.[10]

The preservation of everyday life, although a societal requirement, is not sufficient, in and of itself, to allow for the emergence of expected social routines, a so

called ‘daily grind’. It needs, as pointed out by numerous sociology scholars over the decades, an ‘extraordinary’ or ‘non-ordinary’ reference such as the construct of festivals, ceremonies, feasts etc. Weber employs in this respect the term ‘außeralltäglich’ which describes the opposition to ‘everyday life’ much better than the terms ‘extraordinary’ of ‘non-ordinary’ but which has no adequate equivalent in English.[11] It is only due to these concessions to a wider sociological idiom that the daily grind is capable of breaching and transcending everyday occurrence. Interestingly enough, Weber calls this extraordinary reference ‘charisma’ and defines it sociologically as an attributed quality—as will be discussed soon.[12]

According to Winfried Gebhardt festive events can be distinguished with respect to their relation to everyday life. In this respect feasts tend to abrogate everyday life, while celebrations and ceremonies provoke reflection on the same.[13] These forms cannot be clearly distinguished between and thus can only be taken as analytical categories. As social events performing specific functions and forming material representations of particular agendas, both feasts and celebrations ‘take place […] in a temporal, spatial and social dimension’ and can be analysed according to these dimensions.[14]

Given the format of this present paper it will not be possible to provide a full-length analysis of the aforementioned events on 9 March 1914. The following considerations, however, illuminate the broad potential of such an analysis in providing new insights into the meaning and societal importance of festive and celebratory events.

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The photograph in fig. 1 depicts—as already mentioned—a moment of the festive gala-dinner celebrating both the accomplishment of the tenth season of the Flonzaley Quartet as a public enterprise in New York City and the special commitment of Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet 'to the cause of chamber music'[15] in general and with respect to the foundation of this ensemble in particular. Thus the picture can not only be situated within the timeline of both De Coppet's special achievements and the quartet's successful career but may also be said to belong to the history of the sometimes rather cumbersome efforts to establish a solid public chamber music culture in the United States closely associated with the accumulation of economic, social and cultural capital as will be explained later.

Of Swiss origin, De Coppet (1855–1916) was born in New York City on 28 May 1855 to a wealthy family and baptised as Jules Edward. His father, Casimir Louis De Coppet (1813–84), born in the German city of Bingen am Rhein (yet a native Swiss) was of the genealogical line of King Henry VII of England (1457–1509).[16] He moved to the United States in 1828 where he became a successful Wall Street banker and where he married Juliet Minerva Weston (1813–98) from Connecticut on 16 March 1839. Five children resulted from this marriage of which Edward was the youngest.[17] During the American Civil War (1861–5) the family moved to Switzerland, taking up residency in Clairmont near Lausanne. It is noteworthy that during this period Louis De Coppet played a leading role in the establishment of the Lausanne conservatory of music that was officially established in 1861 and of which Alfred Pochon—not only violinist of the Flonzaley Quartet but also an important facilitator during the process of the establishment of this quartet—became director in 1941.

On completing his education in Switzerland and Dresden Edward J. De Coppet himself became a very successful banker in New York City and, in 1891, established the Stock Exchange brokerage DeCoppet & Doremus in collaboration with Robert P. Doremus (1858–1913). De Coppet chaired the firm until his death in 1916 and under his leadership the company was to become one of the most successful brokering firms, particularly with respect to the 'odd lot' business.[18]

Before returning to the United States in 1886 De Coppet went to Southern France. There he met his future wife Claire Julia Pauline Bouis of Moscow whom he married on 18 January 1883 in Nice.[19] From a sociological perspective Pauline Bouis belonged to the group of upper class Russians who, since the eighteenth century, held a deep affinity for French culture and therefore spent long periods of their life in France or sent their children to France for their education.[20] Generally, Russian eighteenth- and nineteenth-century aristocracy exposed an overt Francophilia.[21] In Lev Nikolaevič Tolstoj's novel *Vojna i mir'* ('War and Peace') and *Anna Karenina,* for instance, the characters communicate in French and give themselves French names. In addition to Paris, Nice had been an important centre of Russian life since the 1850s, after Empress Aleksandra Fëdorovna (born Princess Charlotte of Prussia)—wife of Tsar Nikolaj I Pavlovič and Empress consort of Russia—spent the winter of 1856 in Nice, and was frequently visited by Russian nobility. The Russians' affinity for Southern France may also be illustrated for instance, by the visit of Tsar Aleksandr II Nikolaevič immediately after the railway line from Saint Petersburg to Nice was opened in 1864, and the splendid Cathédrale orthodoxe russe Saint-Nicolas that was inaugurated in 1912 and which is still the largest Russian Orthodox cathedral in Western Europe.[22]

Pauline Bouis was a very gifted pianist and introduced her husband-to-be to the private musical circles of the upscale Valrose neighborhood in Nice where the legendary Baron Paul von Derwies (1826–81) had lived and maintained a private orchestra since 1868. Derwies was 'a Dutchman who had moved to Russia, became immensely rich, and was ennobled by the tsar'.[23] He maintained 'two palatial residences: Villa Valrose in Nice during the winter and Chateau Trevano, near Lake Lugano in Switzerland, during the summer. It took three trains to move the baron's household between residences—one train just for his musicians, including a full romantic orchestra and an opera company'.[24] There is no evidence yet whether Pauline Bouis was acquainted with Baron Derwies but interestingly enough César Thomson (1857–1931) – Belgian violinist and violin professor, who would in time play an important role in the establishment of the Flonzaley Quartet[25] – used to be member of Derwies's private orchestra.[26]

Pauline Bouis performed a decisive role with respect to her husband's efforts to establish a lasting chamber music tradition in New York City. These efforts were supported by Pauline's brother Charles Bouis who was a very talented violinist and a former pupil of the above mentioned César Thomson. The Bouis siblings repeatedly assisted in the private performances of the group of amateur musicians that regularly met at De Coppet's apartments in New York City, first at West 60th Street (1886–87) and later at 314 West 85th Street (1887–1916). The repertoire consisted not only of what today is considered as the canon of chamber music literature, rather of equal importance was the chamber music of Luigi Cherubini, Louis Spohr, Václav Jindřich Veit, George Onslow, Robert Volkmann, Anton Rubinštejn, Friedrich Gernsheim, and Antonio Bazzini, to name a few of many, as clearly documented by De Coppet's careful

recordings of the program of each evening.[27] In addition, contemporary chamber music literature was included as a matter of course such as music by Pëtr Il'ič Čajkovskij, Aleksandr Borodin, Aleksandr Glazunov, Edvard Grieg, Johan Svendsen, Camille Saint-Saëns, Carl Goldmark, Richard Strauss, Antonín Dvořák and Johannes Brahms.

This policy was continued by the Flonzaley Quartet not only with respect to their private but also public appearances from 1904 onward. The public performances mirrored the private gatherings of the Flonzaley Quartet as held right up to the death of De Coppet in 1916 in that they were regularly joined by internationally acclaimed professional musicians, as was also the case when the quartet gathered for performances at Villa Le Flonzaley, Coppet's summer residence in Switzerland. Such luminaries included Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Felix Weingartner, Wilhelm and Marcella Sembrich-Stengel, Josef Hofmann, Ernest Schelling and Harold Bauer.

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De Coppet, although himself an accomplished pianist, took the part of a 'director, prescribing the works to be prepared, marking the parts for the guidance of the players, and following every rehearsal with the score in hand', when not being engaged in turning the pages for the pianist, in most cases for his wife.[28] He performed what Weber would later define a 'charismatic leadership'.[29] According to this concept 'charisma' is – as already pointed out – an attributed quality.[30] It requires that the leader's mission and vision is inspiring others and that it simultaneously is readily perceived as as an extraordinary characteristic. In Weber's words: 'The validity of charisma is determined […] by the free recognition of the ruled.'[31]

This attitude manifests itself in particular in the addresses that were delivered at the gala-dinner on 9 March 1914. The opening speech by Henry Holt (1840–1926) the author and publisher, who acted as toastmaster, hailed De Coppet as 'a great philanthropist who has done great things for a great Art: and we have come to honor a friend who has probably contributed more than any other one man in New York to our happiness and our spiritual development'.[32] These words were followed by 'Great applause'[33] from the more than two hundred guests present.

Edwin T. Rice, 'an enthusiastic amateur cellist who over the years invited scores of musicians to his home to take part in sessions of chamber music'[34] and who also participated in De Coppet's amateur music gatherings at the New York City salon,[35] unmistakably implies in his address a rhetoric associated with Weber's concept of 'charismatic leadership'. He points out that '[o]ne of the most remarkable of the temples erected for musical worship here in New York, is that long maintained by Edward and Pauline de Coppet, and we are now assembled as privileged worshippers at that shrine to do honor to our high priest and priestess'.[36] Finally Edmund B. Wilson (1856–1939) the groundbreaking American zoologist and geneticist who was also active in De Coppet's private chamber music gatherings, praised De Coppet in his address on the evening of the celebration as having 'done a fine and distinguished thing for the great circle of music lovers among his friends, and for the still greater circles of music lovers in New York City, in America, and in the countries beyond the sea'.[37]

With the latter remark Wilson clearly referred to De Coppet's success in establishing the Flonzaley Quartet first as a private, and from 1904 onwards, as a public enterprise.

In retrospect, De Coppet's acquaintance with the Swiss violinist, Alfred Pochon (1878–1959) was particularly crucial for the establishment of the ensemble. They met in Switzerland in 1894 and some years later, in 1901, De Coppet offered Pochon the position of first violinist in his private string quartet, which the latter accepted. As far as the artistic profile of the quartet is concerned Pochon's competence and his well-documented pragmatic instinct were decisive in the transformation of De Coppet's amateur quartet into an ensemble consisting of professional instrumentalists. He successfully managed to win the support of Adolfo Betti (1875–1950), Ugo Ara (1876–1936) and Iwan D'Archambeau (1879–1955). All of them were trained in the Franco-Belgian tradition. Betti and Ara were as Pochon pupils of the already mentioned Belgian violinist César Thomson at Liège Conservatory, while D'Archambeau was educated first at Verviers Conservatory and later studied with Édouard Jacobs (1851–1925) at the Royal Conservatory of Brussels.[38] Betti, Pochon and D'Archambeau performed with the quartet until its dissolution in 1929, while Ara was replaced by Louis Bailly (1882–1974) in 1917 since Ara decided to join the Italian army in World War I.[39]

Already by 1905 the Flonzaley Quartet had established such an outstanding reputation that its performance style became a recognised benchmark,[40] while the *San Francisco Call* labelled the quartet as 'The World's Finest String Quartet' in an announcement of the new concert series in 1910.[41] The correspondent of Philadelphia's *Evening Public Ledger* claimed in 1914 that the quartet had 'achieved a nation-wide repute'.[42] James Gibbson Huneker of *The New York Times* emphatically stated within a concert review of 1918 that 'they play more like angels than men' and that the quartet 'is an oasis in the sandy wastes of our present musical season'[43] – maybe referring to

both the dissolution of the Kneisel Quartet in 1917 (as will be discussed soon) and the general crucial societal situation at the end of World War I. Some years later Philip Hale, the eminent music critic of the *Boston Herald*, pointed out that the 'quartet is indisputably without a rival,'[44] and the *Pacific Coast Musical Review* acclaimed it 'as the greatest chamber music organization in existence […] occupying a unique position as the most musical of all ensembles'. [45]And in 1926 the quartet was still considered to be the 'most famous string quartet in the world,'[46] while the *Cornell Daily Sun* praised the ensemble in a concert announcement as 'one of the most outstanding chamber music organizations in the world'. [47]

The quartet's unique success story was not only the result of the outstanding musical mastery of its instrumentalists but also a consequence of De Coppet's wealth. In 1905 a correspondent of *The New York Times* had pointed out that the unlimited financial support of De Coppet allowed the quartet's members to be 'wholly relieved from business or financial problems and devote their whole time to perfecting their quartet playing'.[48] This was a crucial difference compared, for instance, to the Kneisel Quartet – the other important American quartet enterprise – whose members were all involved in, and often completely consumed by, challenging teaching obligations. On the contrary, the members of the Flonzaley Quartet were explicitly prohibited from giving solo performances or from entering any teaching obligation.[49] This restriction and the strictly regulated rehearsal sessions resulted in a crucial dispute with Bailly, the quartet's viola-player from 1917 to 1924, and the discontinuation of his contract because of 'artistic incompatibility' in 1924.[50] The dispute eventually turned into a legal case that was clarified by the New York State Supreme Court in favor of the Flonzaley Quartet in May 1925.[51] The surviving work agreements also clearly show regulated

rehearsal obligations which generally consisted of two hours, six times per week, and later also regulations governing the recording policy.

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De Coppet's musical agenda fits into the model of nineteenth-century music culture whose purpose was to provide a framework for cultural and intellectual activities in which music participated in and reinforced the shaping of identity. This process can be interpreted as highly charged with the ideology of America's Gilded Age (ca. 1865–ca. 1901) that was, among other features, characterised by a lavish display of wealth by America's upper class.[52]

De Coppet's musical mission evidently tended to the fabrication of high-culture and the accumulation of 'cultural capital'. According to Pierre Bourdieu's concept representative, prospective and putative members of groups with high social status collect cultural capital by linking themselves with distinctive signs of culture, such as being able to realize and read music and to speak appropriately about it, to attend musical performances etc.[53] In this respect Coppet's activities (including his policies and support of the Flonzaley Quartet) strongly contributed to what is generally considered as the concept of the emergence of high culture and cultural distinction in the United States between the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century.[54] This accumulation of 'cultural capital' largely based on the existence of large 'economic capital'.

Clearly, the aforementioned rhetoric of the addresses delivered at the supper at Sherry's on 9 March 1914 perfectly contributed to this agenda as did the entire

performance of the supper, the selected guests and the chosen locations. The sites too have to be understood as distinctive signs transmitting a specific and highly symbolically charged narrative associated with cultural and economic capitals.

As the legendary Delmonico,[55] Sherry's was 'scene of many social functions—dinners, receptions, society débuts and balls'.[56] In this respect it cannot be considered as a restaurant only but rather as an institution with high societal prestige. It was known to 'draw the crème de la crème of society and stood for a kind of restrained eigteenth-century French elegance coupled with such successes as champagne drunk out of slippers, a dinner on horseback at $250 a person and a fake swan that exploded to let fly 10,000 pink roses'.[57]

In 1905 Louis Sherry, the restaurant's owner, had remodelled the largest ballroom to create a copy of the Court of Louis XVI at Versailles, and members of New York's high society such as Robert Goelet, John Pierpont Morgan, John Jacob and Madeleine Astor, Nelson W. Aldrich, Stuyvesant Fish, James Burden, Ward McAllister – to name a few of many – frequented Sherry's on a regular basis.[58]

Equally important for the manifestation of the aforementioned agenda was the concert given by the Flonzaley Quartet at New York City's Aeolian Hall as part of the celebration on 9 March 1914. Located on the third floor of the building of the Piano Manufacturing Aeolian Company at 29–33 West 42nd Street and opposite Bryant Park, Aeolian Hall was the major concert venue in the city from 1912 until the late 1920s.[59] With its large capacity of 1,100 seats, it was not only the second home of the New York Symphony Society that also performed at Carnegie Hall but was to become the leading venue by hosting concerts of such renowned ensembles and musicians as the Flonzaley

Quartet, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Sergei Prokofiev, Ferruccio Busoni and Ignacy Jan Paderewski.[60]

The performance of the Flonzaley Quartet that completed its tenth public subscription season in New York City included, at first glance, only so called 'high-brow' repertoire. Antonín Dvořák's String Quartet in C major, Op.61 followed by John Sebastian Bach's Cello Suite in C major, BWV 1009 (performed by the quartet's cellist Iwan d'Archambeau) and Ludwig van Beethoven's E-minor Quartet, Op.59 no. 2.[61] From a more current perspective the performance of Bach's Cello Suite may appear curious within a concert given by a string quartet. Yet, it fit with the Flonzaley's general policy to include a variety of pieces of music to accommodate a broader taste. This was also the main reason why the quartet regularly included fashionable pieces, mostly arrangements of popular songs such as the English song *Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes*[62] and the two American spirituals *Go down, Moses* and *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot*, particularly as encores.[63] Most of these inclusions were arrangements by Alfred Pochon, who also published them in four volumes in the 1920s.[64]

This kind of program policy satisfied two intermingled agendas. On the one hand, it definitely contributed to a wider acceptance and increased popularity of the quartet's performances to a broader public. It also demonstrates the quartet's aim to fulfil a particular educational function. They not only gave students' concerts on a regular basis until they disbanded,[65] but were also especially keen to make the American audience familiar with lesser known works. From a contemporary point of view, it may seem strange that Dvořák's C-major Quartet was entirely consistent with this mission. However, Dvořák's Quartet (composed in 1881) was largely unknown to the majority of the audience who attended the performance. As the anonymous concert

critic of *The New York Times* noted in his review,[66] the work was indeed neglected by and large in current concert life.[67]

Another interesting example in this respect is the New York premiere of Arnold Schoenberg's String Quartet in D minor, Op.7 on 26 January 1914 that the correspondent of *The New York Times* considered as 'a Revolutionary German's Work'[68] and that marked the first exposure of an American audience to a large-scale work of Schoenberg. The Flonzaley Quartet shunned no efforts to carefully prepare the audience, organising two open rehearsals,[69] one of which began with an in-depth pre-concert lecture by Kurt Schindler,[70] including broad analytical considerations. Schindler's introduction was published immediately afterwards and was therefore available to everyone interested in the piece and the upcoming premiere.[71]

The specific format of the concert programming of the anniversary concert on 9 March 1914 clearly met the aspiration to create a musical life that would be widely shared within a broad community – a desire that strongly influenced and shaped the upper class' promotion and sustenance of chamber music activities for decades around the turn of the last century and which in turn supported the popularisation of all types of 'classical' music.

It is, however, noteworthy that such societal and cultural tendencies and processes of status and image fabrication can easily be distended or interpreted in a one-sided manner as Ralph P. Locke has convincingly argued on the basis of broad source material.[72] To summarise Locke's thoughts, studies of cultural criticism often overstress individual value and ideological impact and can show a tendency toward monolithic and tendentious views and arguments dismissive of the cultural achievements of high society. They symptomatically undervalue the interest of upper-class efforts 'in

supporting an aesthetically rich culture of whose broad civic value they were utterly convinced'[73] and the emphasis 'on making the experience of art music as aesthetically gratifying as possible'.[74] Locke's claim is supported by a statement made by Franz Kneisel in which he explicitly stated that '[t]here are many people regularly listening, in private houses, to good music'.[75] Generally, it should not be underrated that many people in those days shared an affectionate and participatory relationship with music independent of specific social ranks and distinctions. The inclusion of popular songs – as mentioned – may be seen as striking evidence in this respect.

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Against the background of these identity formation processes that included the transformation of chamber music performance from a primarily private into a public activity, one cannot necessarily jump to the conclusion that the development of a solid and publicly wide spread chamber music culture within the United States can be equated with exclusively high or 'elitist' cultural standards although such a conclusion may make sense from a perspective shaped by European social and cultural traditions. The social status of the members involved in these processes was undoubtedly important to a large extent. It was, however, not the only significant driving force.

Firstly, the efforts of De Coppet and the Flonzaley Quartet were guided by a policy that aimed at popularising chamber music rather than that of a concept that regarded chamber music, particularly the repertoire for string quartet, as an expression of 'elitist culture'. Most recent research has clearly revealed that since the late eighteenth century there have been attempts at establishing a chamber music culture in

the United States,[76] including the Harvard Musical Association established in 1837 and still active, and the Mendelssohn Quintet Club founded in Boston in 1849 and active until 1898. Equally important were the quintet chamber concerts established by William Mason (1829–1908), Carl Bergmann (1821–76) and Theodore Thomas (1835–1905) in New York City in 1855 and active from 1857 to 1868. Also the quartet concerts by Theodor Eisfeld (1816–82) in New York City that started in 1851 and ended at the latest in 1866 when Eisfeld gave up his musical career because of a nervous disorder caused by his experience as one of the few surviving passengers of the devastating fire on the steamer *Austria*.[77] These efforts were extended by Gustav Dannreuther (1853–1923) who founded a quartet in Buffalo, upstate New York, in 1884 that was active until 1917, and the Briggs House Concerts in Chicago that started their activities in 1860. In this respect one has also to mention the achievements of the quartets led by Maud Powell (1867–1920), active from 1894 to 1898, Theodore Spiering (1871–1925), active from 1893 to 1905 as well as the Zoellner Quartet, established around 1903 and active until 1925 in Europe, particularly Belgium, New York City and later on the West Coast of the United States. This albeit incomplete list has to include the all-female quartet ensemble organised by Olive Mead (1874–1946) that gave performances from 1902 to 1917. Three of its members were also among the guests gathered at Sherry's to celebrate De Coppet and the Flonzaleys.[78] The Mead Quartet was often referred to as the 'little sisters of the Kneisels'.[79] Such an attribution may no longer be politically acceptable but it is an interesting signifier regarding the male dominance of public chamber music culture within the United States at that time.

The first quartet known to have given regular and musically substantial subscription concerts that lasted for more than only a short period was the Kneisel

Quartet. It was established by Franz Kneisel (1865–1926) in Boston in 1885 and performed for more than 30 years until 1917 – the last performance was realised on 3 April that year—when it disbanded mainly due to both Kneisel's constantly increasing teaching load and his age.[80]

It was this ensemble with whom the Flonzaley Quartet shared a friendly relationship of productive rivalry, particularly when the Kneisels moved their focus of activity from Boston to New York City in 1905 because of Franz Kneisel's appointment as head of the violin department of the Institute of Musical Art, today known as the Juilliard School of Music.[81] This productively friendly rivalry was described by Henry Holt, the aforementioned toastmaster at the celebration of 9 March 1914, with the following words: 'They learn from each other, they stimulate each other, and I do not believe that either of them would be the great quartet it is, if they were not in constant association with each other'.[82]

The appreciation the two quartets felt for each other is also documented, for instance, by the fact that the Kneisel Quartet often performed at the private musical gatherings of De Coppet and that its viola player, Louis Svecenski (1862–1926), gave a rather long praising speech at the supper of 9 March 1914.[83]

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Generally, all these examples, including those numerous private chamber music activities not mentioned here prove that American chamber music culture was not as lifeless as it is sometimes claimed but that there was rather a 'tremendously increased interest in chamber music in this country in the past few years' as the *Pacific Coast*

Musical Review diagnosed in 1920.[84] And to regard string quartet playing as 'in the United States largely an amateur activity' is also only part of the story. [85] This story does not need to be rewritten completely rather enhanced with respect to its social and cultural context in order to extend understanding.

The impact of the above mentioned chamber music ensembles remained either short-lived or regionally limited. Admittedly many of them toured throughout the country and also abroad as the Flonzaley Quartet later did but their performances always carried the character of an extraordinary and unique event, as is particularly obvious on the basis of the reviews these concerts received. Closely related to the minor impact of string quartet playing in the United States in the nineteenth century was an ethnical/racial and gendered subtext.

As far as the ethnical/racial subtext is concerned, it is noteworthy that chamber music in general was considered as being strongly associated with the tradition of German music as was also the case with music for male voice choirs— traditions generally unappreciated or even consciously avoided within American culture at that time. Since the eighteenth century a large number of people with English descent fostered strong antipathy towards the increasing number of German immigrants.

Benjamin Franklin (1706–90) for instance, the influential American polymath of British origin and one of the leading Founding Fathers of the United States, complained in his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc*. of 1751 about the negative influence of Germans on the early United States, calling for instance the Germans of Pennsylvania '*Aliens*, who will […] never adopt our Language and Customs, any more than they can acquire our Complexion', and therefore officially demanded to restrict their immigration.[86] Such and similar expressions of resentment

were obviously not of significant influence compared to the terrible economic constraints many Germans experienced in their homelands and which forced them to seek better opportunities elsewhere. In the 1850s more than 800,000 Germans entered the United States through New York City, whose German population increased by 1855 to become the third largest worldwide and most of them settled in what was know then as Kleindeutschland and today as Alphabet City.[87] According to an 1913 account by Otto Lohr, in the 1870s 'Kleindeutschland was in its fullest bloom', consisting 'of four hundred blocks formed by some six avenues and nearly forty streets' and functioning as a city within the city, with workshops, stores, markets, beer halls, a brewery, numerous venues for amusements and the arts and with its own newspapers in German.[88] In addition, the presence of German culture, particularly music, in the United States was, as Jessica Gienow-Hecht has explored, intensified by a specific policy of the German Imperial government after Germany's unification in 1871 to built up and secure strong political relationships and to promote the greatness of the German Empire under Wilhelm II.[89]

The increasing German population and the strong influx of German culture in the United States during the nineteenth century also caused a growth of a defensive demeanor and anti-German nativism. In a review of a male choir festival held on 19 July 1867 the correspondent of *The New York Times*, for instance, gave clear expression of his criticism about the performed compositions that were 'generally calculated to suit German taste for the sublime and sentiment only […] anything like lighter or more pleasing music, better suited to the general taste, was set aside'.[90] (The Flonzaley's custom to include 'less demanding' pieces of music in their concerts—as explored

above—may be interpreted as a reaction to this notion regarding the satisfaction of a more general taste.)

However, as Gienow-Hecht has pointed out, the impact of German culture within the United States at this time does not necessarily correlate in all cases with an increase in German population for which Boston, for instance, provides an interesting example. On the one hand, immigration by Germans remained significantly low in nineteenth-century Boston, while, on the other hand, its musical life was increasingly influenced by German musicians and their agendas during the same period. In other words, it was the established socio-cultural conditions in place since the eighteenth century[91] and not the influence by immigration processes that seems to have been the decisive factor in the flourishing of German music in nineteenth-century Boston.[92] This insight clearly challenges the general assumptions of, for instance, H. Wiley Hitchcock who directly correlated German immigration with their impact on nineteenth-century culture and society in the United States.[93]

Strongly associated with the limited impact of string quartet playing in the United States during the nineteenth century was a gendered subtext—as stated above. Within American culture as mainly shaped by Victorian standards, the notion of music in general and of chamber music in particular as a feminine occupation was widespread and thus in sharp contrast to an agenda focusing on manliness and civilization.[94] Accordingly Charles Ives wrote with respect to his second string quartet composed in 1907 and between 1911 and 1913 that

> ‘string quartet music got more and more trite, weak, and effeminate. After one of those Kneisel Quartet concerts in the old Mendelssohn Hall, I started a string

quartet score, half mad, half in fun, and half to try out, practice, and have some fun making those men fiddlers get up and do something like men.'[95]

Consequently Ives noted on the manuscript the paradigmatic statement: 'S[tring] Q[uartet] for 4 men–who converse, discuss, argue (in re: 'Politick'), fight, shake hands, shut up–then walk up the mountain side to view the firmament!'[96]

The agenda at work behind such and similar assumptions is the idea that—simply put—it is acceptable for European men to perform chamber music while American men work and do business.

The narrative which considered chamber music activity as effeminate for men may explain De Coppet's decision to 'retreat' from all musical activity and to fully focus on the organising and administrating of his musical events. Far more important, however, was that this narrative intermingled in nineteenth-century American public consciousness with the idea of chamber music as a European, primarily German issue. This notion was enforced by the fact that its publicly visible vehicles – the performers, their training background and the performed repertoire – were mostly yet not exclusively German and, even where it was not the case, perceived as German. Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829–69) the American pianist of Spanish and French origin, put this notion into concise formulation in 1862: 'Almost all the musicians who abound in the United States are nephews of Spohr and Mendelssohn.'[97]

* * *

These agendas did not completely dissolve with the appearance of the Flonzaley Quartet on the scene at the turn of the twentieth century but were transformed and modified because of three major factors in particular:

1) It was surely decisive that the members of the quartet as non-Germans with a clearly non-German education background did not fit into the established and partially negatively charged matrix as described. In addition, the Flonzaley Quartet fabricated and established a format of 'a cultural enterprise' similar to 'a museum or an artistic institution' whose main purpose is the 'promotion of high quality education' by the 1920s—as explored above.[98] This sentence by the Supreme Court of the State of New York has to be regarded as an expression of the wide-reaching cultural and societal impact the Flonzaley Quartet performed in the 1920s.

2) The achievements of De Coppet and the Flonzaley Quartet made a significant contribution to turning New York City into 'the capital of the musical world' as Carlos Salzedo declared in 1926.[99] This leadership status was achieved by early adoption and transformation of parts of culture which were considered mainly an affair of German hegemony such as chamber and instrumental music as much as it was affected by the demand of creating an independently achieved national art. Already in 1837 Ralph Waldo Emerson had asserted that 'We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe',[100] and in 1852 the American composer and journalist William Henry Fry demanded a 'Declaration of Independence in Art' and the foundation of an 'American School of Painting, Sculpture, and Music'[101]—a demand that was more than a century later taken up by music scholarship with Donald McCorkle's plea for a long-overdue intensified examination of achievements in American music. McCorkle's enthusiastic speech as presented at the plenary session of the American Musicological Society on 17

December 1964 was received contentiously, probably not primarily because of its advocacy of research into American music but rather because of its implicit anti-German reflex.[102] There is no doubt that he shared the conviction that 'our identity as scholars depends on growth away from an older alien tradition into something recognizably our own', as expressed by Joseph Kerman who gave the also rather controversially received presentation entitled *A Profile for American Musicology* at the same plenary session.[103]

3) De Coppet's efforts with respect to the transformation of his private chamber music activities into a public matter coincided with a period in which New York City's powerful economic elite also aimed at assuming a visible leadership position in the arts after having been so successful in business and political affairs. Indeed, during the second half of the nineteenth century New York City turned into the unchallenged economic capital,[104] that, for instance, the young Emil Streuli, the son of a Swiss silk manufacturer, described first-hand in his diaries. Having spent almost three years of voluntary service from 1858 to 1861 with the silk company *Ashman's* of Theodor Friedrich Aschmann, Streuli witnessed the radical changes from 'a city of brick stone houses to marble palaces' to summarize an entry in his diary.[105] Against this background the foundation of the Flonzaley Quartet and its success is not only a visible but also an audible proof of De Coppet's successful investment—a marble palace of the art of music to refer to Streuli's metaphor—and eventually one of the first examples of the successful transformation of chamber music activity into a business affair in the modern sense of the concept. The subsequent successful entrance into the recording industry is nothing else than a consequent step within this thriving business story. In this respect De Coppet also turns out to be a typical 'child of his time' strongly affected

by the spirit of the 'Gilded Age'—the age dominated by optimism in industrial and economic progress and its transformation into economic, cultural and social capitals. Among others, Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) may be considered the most paradigmatic icon of this age whom the American satire magazine *Puck* rated in 1880 as a 'type of man common enough in this country – a smart, persevering, sanguine, ignorant show-off American. He can do a great deal and he thinks he can do everything'.[106]

4) Achieving leadership with respect to the realm of the arts was also linked with the 'desire for national identifiability' which 'strongly tinged activities of Americans in many walks of life between 1890 and 1920' as Alan Howard Levy has pointed out.[107] This pursuit for American identifiability within the United States is as far as music is concerned largely influenced by the strong influence of European, particularly German music in the nineteenth century as much as by the high self-esteem as achieved during the – already mentioned – establishment of an economical and political leadership position. As is known this quest took different directions. It focused on attempts to create a unique American musical idiom as required, for instance, by the already mentioned Fry as well as later by Charles Ives, Aaron Copland and Henry Cowell.[108] It also aimed to give the heritage of 'European music tradition' a distinctive American shape referring not only to new approaches to the 'canon' as for instance, the specific quartet playing style developed by the Flonzaley Quartet – a style that was considered new, innovative and 'all their own'[109] and which made the quartet 'the best of' its 'kind in the U.S., without challenge'.[110] It also included the adoption and further development of musical modernism[111] to which the Flonzaley Quartet significantly contributed with their numerous premiers and first performances, among them the

already mentioned String Quartet, D minor, Op. 7 by Schoenberg (1914), and Igor Stravinsky's Three Pieces for String Quartet (1915) and Concertino for String Quartet (1920), Ernest Bloch's first String Quartet (1915), Charles Martin Loeffler's Music for Four Stringed Instruments (1919), and Georges Enescu's first String Quartet, E flat major, Op. 22 no. 1 (1921) – to name a few of many.

All these may explain why the Flonzaley Quartet was and still is first and foremost identified as an original American enterprise or as 'the earliest top-notch American string quartet' as declared by Jon Samuels,[112] although its name originated from a Swiss place, it spent almost six months of each year outside the country rehearsing and touring in Europe, it consisted only of members educated in the tradition of the Franco-Belgian school, and it was founded and financed by an American patron of Swiss origin. It is, however, noteworthy that the idea of national identity as the key to international success was shared by many at that time.[113]

* * *

To conclude, the festivities that took place on 9 March 1914 celebrating both the twenty-fifth anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet's musical activity and their efforts for the cause of chamber music as well as the conclusion of the tenth season of the Flonzaley Quartet was a socially festive event with a symbolically highly charged narrative embodying as well as summarising different storylines that eventually resulted in the quartet's unique status as stated in a sentence from the New York State Supreme Court proceedings declaring the Flonzaley Quartet an enterprise for the 'promotion of high quality education'. As much as the festive event is the expression of the success

story of Mr. and Mrs. De Coppet's efforts for chamber music, it is part of the enduring but ultimately successful history of the popularization of chamber music in the United States in which an uncountable number of individuals and institutions have participated since the eighteenth century. In addition the event is part of a narrative belonging to the evolution process in which New York City not only became the economic but also the 'musical capital'. This process has been strongly associated with efforts to achieve within the arts a similar leadership position to that in economic enterprises and politics which was, as far as chamber music is concerned, successfully implemented by the transformation of a primarily privately shaped milieu into a explicitly public shaped chamber music culture and the foundation of the Flonzaley Quartet. The Flonzaley Quartet turned out to be a true success not only with respect to artistic matters but also in economic aspects, thus combining cultural and economic capitals in the modern sense. The leadership in economic, political and artistic affairs eventually provided the ground for the formation of an American identity as much as it procured those means necessary for 'national identifiability'. The festive celebration and the corresponding rituals not only conformed to specific social requirements of celebrations as being a venture for reflecting upon everyday reality but also applied to the feeling of 'having finally arrived' with respect to the realm of chamber music—a feeling that implies cultural hegemony as much as maturity and strength and that grants the meaning of high status in the eyes of the rest of the world. The Flonzaley Quartet was to become the effective voice for this newly achieved self-confidence in American chamber music culture.

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[3] Homann, 'Soziologische Ansätze einer Theorie des Festes', 96, the reference to the analysis of the function of festive events is found on p. 100.

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[5] Homann, 'Soziologische Ansätze einer Theorie des Festes', 100.

[6] Max Weber, 'Über einige Kategorien der verstehenden Soziologie', *Logos* 3 (1913), 253–94 (English as 'Some categories of interpretive sociology', transl. Edith Graber. *The Sociological Quarterly* 22/2 (1981), 151–80) and Niklas Luhmann, 'Sinn als Grundbegriff der Soziologie', in *Theorie der Gesellschaft oder Sozialtechnologie*, ed. Jürgen Habermas and Niklas Luhmann. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1971. 25–100 (English as 'Meaning as sociology's basic concept', in Niklas Luhmann, *Essays on self-reference*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990, 21–79).

[7] Homann, 'Soziologische Ansätze einer Theorie des Festes', 101–2.

[8] The concept of gender performativity as developed by Judith Butler is one of the most influential ideas within recent discourses on identity construction. Cf. Judith

Butler, *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*, 2nd edn. (New York: Routledge, 1999) and *Bodies that matter: One the discursive limits of sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

[9] Cf. Mary Douglas, *Natural symbols: Explorations in cosmology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970).

[10] Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, 7th edn. (Tübingen: Moor, 1974), 102.

[11] Max Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 5th edn. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1972), 140, passim.

[12] Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 140–8, 654–61, and Homann, 'Soziologische Ansätze einer Theorie des Festes', 107.

[13] Winfried Gebhardt, *Fest, Feier und Alltag. Über die gesellschaftliche Wirklichkeit des Menschen und ihre Deutung*. (Frankfurt/Main etc.: Peter Lang, 1987).

[14] Cf. Homann, 'Soziologische Ansätze einer Theorie des Festes', 109.

[15] Anonymous, *Introduction to Addresses made at a supper to Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet*, n.p.

[16] <http://www.angelfire.com/realm/gotha/Part_h4.htm> (accessed 22 June 2012)

[17] Edward's siblings were: Louis Casimir (born in 1841), Henry (born in 1843), Frederik (born in 1845), and Anna Laura (born in 1850).

[18] 'Edward J. De Coppet dies' [obituary]. *The New York Times*, 2 May 1916; *Buying and selling odd-lots*, 2nd edn, ed. DeCoppet & Doremus. New York: DeCoppet & Doremus, 1935); Benjamin M. Anderson (Benjamin McAlester), *The value of money* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), 249; Charles O. Hardy

(Charles Oskar), *Odd-lot trading on the New York stock exchange* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1939), 163–5.

[19] The couple had three children: Juliet (born 1884), Pauline and Andre Maurice (both born in 1892).

[20] James S. Olson et al., ed., *An ethnohistorical dictionary of Russian and Soviet empires*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1994, 236.

[21] For further details cf. James H. Billington, *The icon and the axe: An interpretative history of Russian culture* (New York: Knopf, 1966).

[22] Further information about the Russian nobility and the French Riviera is provided in Marion LeRoy Ellis, *La Colonie russe dan les Alpes-Maritimes: des origines à 1939* (Nice: Serre, 1988).

[23] Steven Ledbetter, 'Higginson and Chadwick: Non-Brahmins in Boston', *American Music* 19/1 (2001), 52.

[24] Ledbetter, 'Higginson and Chadwick: Non-Brahmins in Boston', 52–3.

[25] César Thomson was a student of Henryk Wieniawski and Henri Vieuxtemps and became professor of violin, first in Liège (1881–96) and at the Conservatory in Brussels (1897–1923) and later at Ithaca College in New York (1924–7) and the Juilliard School. In 1898 he founded a string quartet. He is considered an influential and leading force in the further dissemination of the Franco-Belgian violin school founded by Charles Auguste de Bériot in the nineteenth century.

[26] Cf. Carl Engel, 'Charles Martin Loeffler', *The Musical Quarterly* 11/3 (1925), 316.

[27] Edwin T. Rice, 'The De Coppet music room in New York and Switzerland'. *The Musical Quarterly* 23/4 (1937), 415.

[28] Rice, 'The De Coppet music room in New York and Switzerland', 414.

[29] Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 140–8.

[30] Cf. Homann, 'Soziologische Ansätze einer Theorie des Festes', 109.

[31] Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 140.

[32] Anonymous, *Addresses made at a supper to Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet*, 7.

[33] Anonymous, *Addresses made at a supper to Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet*, 7 (spelling and italics original).

[34] Cf. Rustin McIntosh, *Helen Rice: The great lady of chamber music* (Burlington, VT: George Little Press, 1983), 2.

[35] Cf. Rice, 'The De Coppet music room in New York and Switzerland'.

[36] Anonymous, *Addresses made at a supper to Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet*, 10–1.

[37] Anonymous, *Addresses made at a supper to Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet*, 10–1.

[38] Further information on the establishment of the Quatuor du Flonzaley and its successful career is provided in Daniel G. Mason, 'Edward J. de Coppet'. *The Musical Quarterly* 2/4 (1916), 516–22; Daniel G. Mason, *Music as a humanity and other essays* (The appreciation of music series, vol. IV). New York: H. W. Gray Comp., 1926, 65–70; Alissa Nembrini, 'Flonzaley Quartet – Four of a kind'. *Classical recording collector* 44 (2006), 18–24; Rice, 'The De Coppet music room in New York and Switzerland'; Baldassarre, '"They play more like angels than like men"'.

[39] Bailly performed with the quartet until 1924 when he was replaced by Félicien D'Archambeau, the cellist's brother, for one season and later by Nicolas Moldavan who joined the quartet from 1925 to 1929. In 1919 Ara returned for a short period

to the Flonzaley Quartet but due to a severe and long-lasting fatigue caused by his military service he was not able to sustain the quartet's high requirements and eventually resigned.

[40] Cf. for instance the concert review 'The Olive Mead Quartet'. *New-York Daily Tribune*, 20 April 1905, 5.

[41] 'Seats now ready for the Flonzaley Quartet'. *The San Francisco Call*, 13 April 1910, 9.

[42] 'Flonzaley plays tonight'. *Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 8 December 1914, 11.

[43] James Gibbson Huneker, 'The Flonzaley Quartet: Charm with b eautiful playing at their first concert of season'. *The New York Times*, 27 November 1918.

[44] Quoted in 'Flonzaley Quartet, Wednesday Evening'. *The Pullman Herald*, 23 April 1920, 2.

[45] 'The Flonzaley Quartet'. *Pacific Coast Musical Review*, 14 February 1920, 8.

[46] 'Flonzaley Quartet to appear Friday evening as second Lyceum number'. *The Miami Student*, 8 December 1926, 1.

[47] 'Music season here to open with quartet'. *Cornell Daily Sun*, 2 November 1926, 1.

[48] 'Musical comment'. *New-York Daily Tribune*, 19 November 1905, 7. Cf. also 'The Flonzaley Quartet'. *New-York Daily Tribune*, 7 February 1905, 7; and Daniel G. Mason's essay 'An ideal patron', in Mason, *Music as a humanity and other essays*, 65–70.

[49] The different work agreements concluded between Edward and André de Coppet are preserved in the Fonds musical Alfred Pochon, Département de la musique, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, Lausanne (Switzerland).

[50] ‘The Flonzaleys reply: Declare that Bailly was dropped because of incompatibility’. *The New York Times*, 16 April 1924.

[51] Further information is provided in Baldassarre ‘”They play more like angels than like men”’, 81–2.

[52] Alan Howard Levy, ‘The search for identity in American music, 1890–1920’. *American Music* 2/2 (1984), 70–81; Reginald Twigg, ‘Aestheticizing the home: Textual strategies of taste, self-identity, and bourgeois hegemony in America's “gilded age”’. *Text and Performance Quarterly* 12/1 (1992), 1–20; Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the gilded age. From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, 3rd edn. (New York: New York University Press, 1993); John D. Buenker and Joseph Buenker, eds., *Encyclopaedia of the gilded age and progressive era*. Armonk NY: Sharpe Reference, 2005.

[53] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*, transl. Richard Nice. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 13–8, 74–6, 503–18 (original French edition as *La distinction. Critique social du jugement*, Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1979).

[54] Cf. Paul DiMaggio, ‘Cultural entrepreneurship in nineteenth century Boston: The creation of an organizational base for high culture in America’. *Media Culture Society* 4/1 (1982), 33–50, and ‘Cultural entrepreneurship in nineteenth century Boston, Part II: The classification and framing of American art’. *Media Culture Society* 4/4 (1982), 303–22; Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/lowbrow: The emergence of cultural hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 1986.

[55] For further information cf. *New York. The Metropolis of the Western World*. Elibron Classics, 2006 (facsimile reprint of the edition New York: Foster & Reynolds, 1907), 80–1.

[56] *New York. The Metropolis of the Western world*, 80.

[57] Virginia Lee Warren, 'A new day of elegance for Sherry's'. *The New York Times*, 24 July 1966.

[58] Cf. <http://suite101.com/article/new-yorks-sherrys-restaurant-a53273> (accessed 21 June 2012)

[59] In the summer of 1924 the building was sold to the Schulte Cigar Stores Company which resold it only three month later to New York City's largest real estate company, Samuel Keller Jacobs. The building later became the home of The Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and is housing currently the College of Optometry of the State University of New York. Regarding the Aeolian building's sales of 1924 cf. 'Aeolian Hall Sold'. *Time Magazine*, 11 August 1924; and 'Aeolian Hall resold at $1'000'000 profit over the figure paid for it 3 months ago'. *The New York Times*, 18 October 1924.

[60] Aeolian Hall became particularly famous in the cultural memory of American music history because of the celebrated concert entitled An experiment in modern music organised by Paul Whiteman on 12 February 1924 that included the world premier of George Gershwin's Rhapsody in Blue with Gershwin himself at the piano. For further information on this concert cf. Olin Downes, 'A concert of jazz'. *The New York Times*, 13 February 1924; David Schiff, *Gershwin, Rhapsody in blu*e (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Carol J. Oja,

Making music modern: New York in the 1920s (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 318–30.

[61] The review entitled 'Flonzaley Quartet Plays' of this concert was published in *The New York Times*, 10 March 1914.

[62] Recorded by the Flonzaley Quartet at Camden Studio, NJ, on 3 January 1920 and released for Victor (RS) 64874 in 1920 (three matrix masters recorded on 24 December 1919 and 3 January 1920 were destroyed) (cf. <http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/talent/detail/66327/Pochon_Alfred_arranger>, accessed 28 April 2013). The lyrics to the song are from Ben Jonson's poem *To Celia* of 1616. The original tune for two trebles and a bass is by John Wall Callcott from about 1790. The song was arranged many times throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its enormous popularity is also reflected in the many extant recordings, among them Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, Kathleen Ferrier, and David Keith Jones.

[63] Both spirituals were released by Victor (6549) in 1926, cf. <http://victor.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800005630/CVE-31389-Go_down_Moses> (accessed 28 April 2013)

[64] Alfred Pochon, *Flonzaley favorite encore albums*, 4 vols. (New York: Carl Fischer, c. 1920–28).

[65] Cf. for instance the announcement of the ensemble's performance at Washington State University at Pullman (WA) in 'Flonzaley Quartet, Wednesday, April 28' in *The Pullman Herald*, 16 April 1920, 1, and at Sage Chapel of Cornell University in '[Flonzaely Quartet]' in *Cornell Alumni News* 27/15 (1925), 185.

[66] 'Flonzaley Quartet plays'. *The New York Times*, 10 March 1914.

[67] Cf. Hartmut Schick, *Studien zu Dvořáks Streichquartetten* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 261.

[68] 'Schoenberg's Quartet: Flonzaley players give first hearing of a revolutionary German's work'. *The New York Times*, 27 January 1914. Cf. also the review of the concert in the 'Flonzaley play Schoenberg'. *New York Post*, 27 January 1914; Lawrence Gilman, 'Music and drama: Significant happenings of the month'. *The North American Review* 199/700 (1914), 452–58; Sabine Feisst, *Schoenberg's new world: The American years* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 20–21; Walter B. Bailey, '"Will Schoenberg be a New York fad?" The 1914 American premier of Schoenberg's String Quartet in D Minor', *American Music* 26/1 (2008), 37–73.

[69] This was by far no exclusive or one-off exercise as similar examples exist in which the Flonzaley Quartet organised publicly open rehearsal sessions to prepare the audience for performance of unknown musical pieces. Cf. for instance 'The Flonzaley Quartet'. *New York Daily Tribune*, 17 March 1909, 7, in which the preparation of Hugo Wolf's String Quartet in D minor is described (in the article wrongly attributed as D major).

[70] Kurt Schindler (1882–1935) studied musicology in Berlin and immigrated to the United States in 1905. He assisted in the inaugural meeting of the Vereinigung schaffender Tonkünstler in Vienna that was initiated by Schoenberg and Alexander Zemlinsky but was only active for the concert season of 1904–05. After his immigration to the United States he became conductor of New York's Schola Cantorum and a music editor with G. Schirmer Inc. Cf. Dika Newlin, *Bruckner – Mahler – Schoenberg* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1947), 225.

[71] Kurt Schindler, *Arnold Schönberg's Quartet in D Minor, Op. 7: An introductory note by Kurt Schindler as delivered by him at the private performance by the Flonzaley Quartet, at the Court Theatre, New York, December 28th, 1913: Followed by an index of Musical Themes*. New York: G. Schirmer, 1914.

[72] Ralph P. Locke, 'Reflections on art in America, on stereotypes of the woman patron, and on ha(lle)nges in the present and future', in *Cultivating music in America: Women patrons and activists since 1860*, ed. Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997. 295–324.

[73] Locke, 'Reflections on Art in America', 299.

[74] Locke, 'Reflections on Art in America', 298.

[75] Quoted in Daniel G. Mason, 'The Flonzaley Quartet', in *Music in my time and other reminiscences* (Freeport, NY: Libraries Press, 1970), 149. Reprint of the 1938 edition.

[76] Cf. for instance, Michael Broyles, 'An address by professor Michael Broyles on the occasion of a sesquicentennial re-enactment of the first professional chamber music concert in Boston originally presented by the Harvard Musical Association in 1845', given at the Harvard Musical Association on 23 October 1995, available on the Association's website <http://www.hmaboston.org> (accessed 21 June 2012); Karen A. Shaffer and Neva Garner Greenwood, *Maud Powell, pioneer American violinist* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1988); Linda Whitesitt, 'The role of women impresarios in American concert life, 1871–1933'. *American Music* 7/2 (1989), 159–80; Kenneth Graber, *William Mason (1829–1908): An annotated bibliography and catalog of works* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1989); Michael Broyles, *Music of the highest class: elitism and populism in Antebellum*

Boston (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); John Herschel Baron, *Intimate music: A history of the idea of chamber music*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1998; Vera Brodsky Lawrence, *Strong on Music: The New York music scene in the days of George Templeton Strong* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Steven Baur, 'Music, morals, and social management: Mendelssohn in post-civil war America'. *American Music* 19/1 (2001), 64–130; Christopher Bruhn, 'Taking the private public: Amateur music-making and the musical audience in 1860s New York'. *American Music* 21/3 (2003), 260–90; Tully Potter, 'Celebrated ensembles', in The *Cambridge companion to the string quartet*, ed. Robin Stowell. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 57–9, 88–91; Kenneth Marcus, *Musical metropolis: Los Angeles and the creation of a music culture, 1880–1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

77 Cf. William L. Hubbard (ed.), *The American history and encyclopaedia of music: Musical biographies*, part 1. Toledo NY: Squire, 1910, 206.

78 One of the members was absent because she just had given birth to a baby. Cf. Anonymous, *Addresses made at a supper to Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet*, 8.

79 'Old-timers greet the new Kneisels'. *The New York Times*, 2 February 1927, 23.

80 Mason, 'The Flonzaley Quartet', 148.

81 As far as the history and achievements of the Kneisel Quartet are concerned cf. Paul Rosenfeld, *Musical chronicle (1917–1923)* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Comp.), 1923, 20–6; Richard Aldrich, *Musical discourse: From the New York Times (1928)* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1967), 266–81.

82 Anonymous, *Addresses made at a supper to Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet*, 25.

[83] Cf. Rice, 'The De Coppet music room in New York and Switzerland', 419; Anonymous, *Addresses made at a supper to Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. De Coppet*, 25–9.

[84] 'Coming attractions—The Flonzaley Quartet'. *Pacific Coast Musical Review*, 3 April 1920, 5.

[85] Joseph McLellan, 'Classical recordings: The evolution of the String Quartet, from the Flonzaley to the Emerson'. *The Washington Post*, 8 August 1993.

[86] Benjamin Franklin, *Observations concerning the increase of mankind, peopling of countries, etc.* (1751), reprinted in Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography and other writings*, ed. Ormond Seavey. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. 252, §23 (emphasis and spelling original).

[87] Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, Gotham, *A history of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 745.

[88] Otto Lohr, 'Das New York Deutschtum der Vergangenheit' (1913), quoted in Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, religion, and class in New York City, 1845–80* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 36.

[89] Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, 'Trumpeting down the Walls of Jericho: The politics of art, music and emotion in German-American relations, 1870–1920'. *Journal of Social History* 36/3 (2003), 585–613. Cf. also David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German politics, 1870–1989* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

[90] Quoted in Bruhn, 'Taking the private public', 273.

[91] Cf. Broyles, *Music of the highest class*.

[92] Gienow-Hecht, 'Trumpeting down the Walls of Jericho', 593–94.

[93] H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A historical introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 43–53.

[94] Gail Bedermann, *Manliness and civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).

[95] Charles Ives, Memos, ed. *John Kirkpatrick*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1972. 74.

[96] Thomas Phleps, 'Männer, Muskeln, Diskussionen: Zum 2. Streichquartett', in *Charles Ives, 1874–1954: amerikanischer Pionier der neuen Musik*, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister, Werner Kremp. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2004. 90.

[97] Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend. New York: A. Knopf, 1964. 102.

[98] Cf. Baldassarre '"They play more like angels than like men"', 81–2.

[99] Carlos Salzedo, 'Outward shows', *Eolus* 5/2 (1926), quoted in Oja, *Making music modern: New York in the 1920s*, 3.

[100] Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'The American scholar: An oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, August 31, 1837', in *Ralph Waldo Emerson, Selected essays*, ed. Larzer Ziff. Harmondsworth. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1982, 104–5.

[101] Quoted in Barbara A. Zuck, *A history of musical Americanism* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1980), 18 (spelling original).

[102] Donald M. McCorkle, 'Finding a place for American studies in American musicology', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19/1 (1966), 73–84.

[103] Joseph Kerman, 'A profile for American musicology', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18/1, 67.

[104] Sven Beckert, *The monied metropolis: New York City and the consolidation of the American bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[105] Cf. Hans Peter Treichler, *Ein Seidenhändler in New York. Das Tagebuch des Emil Streuli, 1858–1860* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2010), 200.

[106] Puck, July 1880, quoted in Cashman, *America in the gilded age*, 13. For further information on Edison cf. Paul Israel, *Edison: A live invention*. New York: Wiley, 1998; Neil Baldwin, *Edison: Invention the century*, 2nd edn. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

[107] Levy, 'The search for identity in American music, 1890–1920', 70.

[108] Cf. Hitchcock, *Music in the United States*; Hermann Danuser et al., ed., *Amerikanische Musik seit Charles Ives* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987); Kyle Gann, *American Music in the 20th century* (New York: Schirmer, 1997); David Nicholls, ed., The Cambridge history of American music. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[109] 'The Flonzaley Quartet'. *The New York Times*, 2 March 1910.

[110] 'Flonzaely farewell'. *Time Magazine*, 11 March 1929.

[111] Cf. Oja, *Making music modern: New York in the 1920s*; Diane Glazer, 'Among friends: Italian futurism comes to America', *New Sound – International Journal for Music* 17/34 (2009), 62–75.

[112] Jon Samuels, 'A complete discography of the Flonzaley Quartet', *ARSC Journal* 19/1 (1987), 25.

[113] Cf. Oja, *Making music modern: New York in the 1920s*, 237–9.