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# FROM PIANO GIRL TO PROFESSIONAL: THE CHANGING FORM OF MUSIC INSTRUCTION AT THE NASHVILLE FEMALE ACADEMY, WARD'S SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES, AND THE WARD- BELMONT SCHOOL, 1816-1920

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MUSIC INSTRUCTION AT THE NASHVILLE FEMALE ACADEMY, WARD'S  
SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES, AND THE WARD-BELMONT SCHOOL,  
1816-1920

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DISSERTATION

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
School of Music  
at the University of Kentucky

By

Erica Rumbley

Lexington, KY

Director: Dr. Ron Pen, Professor of Musicology

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## ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

### FROM PIANO GIRL TO PROFESSIONAL: THE CHANGING FORM OF MUSIC INSTRUCTION AT THE NASHVILLE FEMALE ACADEMY, WARD'S SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES, AND THE WARD-BELMONT SCHOOL, 1816- 1920

During the nineteenth century middle and upper-class women in Nashville and the surrounding region occupied a clearly defined place within society, and their social and academic education was designed to prepare them for that place. Even as female education gradually became more progressive in the later nineteenth-century, its scope was still limited by gender roles and expectations. Parents wanted their daughters to learn proper social graces, and “ornamental” studies such as music, needlework, and painting were a large part of their education. As the nineteenth gave way to the early twentieth-century, the focus of women’s education began to shift, with more scholarly subjects added to the list of studies and more career choices open to women. Women became empowered in new ways through the women’s suffrage movement and sought to use their new freedom to pursue higher education and academic careers.

Female education mirrored the changing status of women in general, and music, in particular, provides a unique perspective on the changing role of women in American society during this time. This study focuses on three schools in Nashville, Tennessee, a city which provides an excellent example of the formation and development of women’s education in female academies and seminaries, as well as being a cultural center of the South. The music programs at the Nashville Female Academy, Ward’s Seminary for Young Ladies, and the Ward-Belmont School for Girls are studied in order to demonstrate how the level of instruction changed over time, mirroring similar changes in society as a whole. Recital programs, instruction books, and biographies of faculty members all help to develop a picture of the music education students received. As changes in repertoire, faculty, and coursework from the mid-nineteenth-century into the twentieth century are discovered, connections emerge between female music education in Nashville and the status of women across America.

**KEYWORDS:** Female Education, Music Education, Nashville, Cultural History, Gender studies

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Soli Deo Gloria

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## Chapter One: Introduction

August 18, 1920. On a hot, muggy day in Nashville, Tennessee, the course of American history was about to be irrevocably changed. The eyes of the nation were on the Tennessee House of Representatives, where a majority vote could make Tennessee the thirty-sixth and final state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, granting women the right to vote. Local, state, and national suffrage and anti-suffrage leaders had been fiercely campaigning for months, and each side accused the other of bribery and foul play. In a packed and breathless auditorium, the vote was cast. As the roll call was made, it slowly became evident that the majority would be in favor of granting women the vote. A margin of 49 to 47 was all it took to give women in the United States the right to vote, which brought new independence and political power and helped to alter the role of women in American society.<sup>1</sup>

Just what had transpired to bring the nation to this pivotal moment? How had Nashville, Tennessee, the self-claimed “Athens of the South” and a bastion of Southern culture, become the site of this historic vote? As with any single moment in history, women’s suffrage had not risen overnight. It had taken decades, nearly a century, of hard work, intense campaigns, and careful planning for women to gain the vote, and throughout the process they had earned many other rights and responsibilities. One of the most important was the advancement of women’s education, which had slowly been accepted as foundation for the functioning of society.

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<sup>1</sup> For further information, see Anastasia Sims, “Armageddon in Tennessee: The Final Battle Over the Nineteenth Amendment,” in Marjorie Spruill, ed. 1995, *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, edited by Marjorie Spruill (Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press, 1995), 333-52.

In the first years of the American colonies, female education had been considered of little importance and was often neglected. By the later colonial era, education for upper-class white women was generally accepted, and in the early nineteenth century female education had become an important component of America's domestic culture. In a society in which white women often functioned in a separate sphere from their male counterparts, their education frequently focused on the "ornamental branches" of instruction, such as music, art, and needlework, rather than or alongside more intellectually rigorous subjects such as advanced mathematics and science.<sup>2</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed into the twentieth, music became the most popular of the ornamental studies and gradually became accepted as a respectable career path for cultivated ladies of the middle and upper classes.<sup>3</sup> Most well-bred ladies during this era received musical instruction, and as the years passed, the level of this instruction grew more advanced.

Although some of this musical instruction took place in the home, with the mother or a private tutor providing lessons, it was also a major part of the curriculum at the academies and seminaries for upper class young women that flourished in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Instruments such as the piano, harp, and guitar, which allowed women to maintain a ladylike posture and expression while playing and were considered suitable

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<sup>2</sup> The term "ornamental branches" was used to refer to study of what were considered feminine pursuits—needlepoint, music, and art, among others. This term is still used extensively in contemporary scholarship to describe the same subjects.

<sup>3</sup> See Judith Tick, *American Women Composers before 1870* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press), 1983, in which she notes that music continued to be a popular subject at female seminaries even as needlework and other Ornamental studies faded from the curriculum (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 35. Thomas Woody also documents these changes in his *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York, and Lancaster, PA.: The Science press, 1929).

<sup>4</sup> Candace Bailey has provided a comprehensive discussion of music instruction in the homes of the antebellum in her book *Music and the Southern Belle: From Accomplished Lady to Confederate Composer* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010).

for female performance, were taught at these schools, and in later years courses in harmony and music history were also offered.<sup>5</sup> The fact that music instruction remained popular even though it often cost as much or more than regular tuition demonstrates the value many young ladies and their parents placed upon musical ability. As female education became more professionalized and advanced, music instruction continued to be an important part of the curriculum for both social and academic reasons.

Nashville, Tennessee provides several excellent examples of the formation and development of upper class women's education in female academies and seminaries, with its focus on "ornamental" studies such as music, French, and needlework, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Christine Kreyling notes this in *Classical Nashville: The Athens of the South*: "Nashville was also notably forward-looking in providing for the education of females."<sup>6</sup> Beginning with the Nashville Female Academy, which was established in 1816 as the city itself was growing into a regional center, Nashville formed a tradition of schools for young women that focused on the Fine Arts, especially music, and drew students and visitors from around the country.

The earliest of these female schools, the Nashville Female Academy, was a leading institution of its day and served as a center of cultural and musical entertainments. It flourished in the mid-nineteenth century and grew to over 500 students in 1860, but was never able to recover after the Civil War. At its demise, however, the newly-formed Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies filled the void left in Nashville's female education.

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<sup>5</sup> See Tick, *American Women Composers Before 1870*, 35, as well as many other sources. The tradition of reserving wind, and even most string, instruments for male performers dated back to the beginning of female education in the United States. Instruments that caused a lady to contort her face or body were considered unladylike and thus forbidden for female musicians. The piano, harp, and guitar emerged as favorite instruments for ladies, since all of them required relatively little physical manipulation and could be played while still presenting a ladylike demeanor.

<sup>6</sup> Christine Kreyling, *Classical Nashville: The Athens of the South* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996), 11.

Just as the Nashville Female Academy had boasted a very strong music department, the Seminary also focused on music instruction and the Fine Arts. In its later years, Ward's Seminary began to include harmony and music history courses in its curriculum in order to prepare its students for future careers in music.

By 1913, when Ward's Seminary merged with the Belmont School, Nashville's greatest music conservatory for young ladies was formed. The Ward-Belmont School for Young Women was established in 1913, when its catalog boasted that "our musical faculty is now probably the largest and most expensively maintained one in any school for girls and young women in America."<sup>7</sup> Along with advanced applied study in a wide variety of instruments, the Conservatory included graded classes in theory, aural training, sight singing, and music history, and offered both diplomas and certificates for those who hoped to "enter the music profession as teachers or performers, or those desiring a broad training making possible the acquirement of true musicianship."<sup>8</sup> With such statements, Ward-Belmont demonstrated a dedication to professionalized music education for young women of a type which had not been available to Southern ladies during the antebellum and reconstruction eras. The theoretical and historical training available at the school outstripped that which was offered at Ward's Seminary and prepared graduates for a variety of future careers in music.

All three of these schools made the most of their location in Nashville, a cultural and musical center of the Upper South, and routinely offered concerts by famous

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<sup>7</sup> *The Ward-Belmont School Conservatory of Music Catalog, 1927-1928* (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1927), 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

musicians and lectures by well-known speakers and educators.<sup>9</sup> The Ward-Belmont catalog, for instance, capitalizes on its location, with phrases such as “Nashville has an enviable record as a historical, educational, and cultural center” appearing frequently.<sup>10</sup> These statements are matched by contemporary accounts of the city, which by the late nineteenth century began to promote itself as the “Athens of the South” in reference to its flourishing cultural and educational community.

By examining the evolution of female education at these three schools, beginning with the founding of the Nashville Female Academy in 1816 and continuing with Ward’s Seminary and the Ward-Belmont until 1920, several important aspects of Southern society become noticeable. While the growing acceptance of women’s higher education is visible in the expanding array of course offerings at the various schools, old antebellum values remain equally evident through the continued focus on music and the arts. In Nashville, a truly “Southern” city, the idea of the “Southern Belle” capable of gracing her home with music and elegance was propagated long after the Civil War and the end of the Gilded Age, and music and other arts continued to be an important part of that image. This dissertation will use the music curriculum and musical activities at the Nashville Female Academy, Ward’s Seminary, and The Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies as a lens through which to view the changing status of middle-class and upper-class white women in the American South between 1816 and 1920. During a period when many women moved from functioning solely as daughters, wives, and mothers in the domestic sphere toward careers in academia and various professions, female music education was

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<sup>9</sup> For instance, see the *Ward-Belmont School Conservatory of Music Catalog, 1927-28*, 7-8. See also Gilbertine Moore, *Gilly Goes to Ward-Belmont* (Nashville, TN: Benson Printing, 1973), 37-39 and Richard Shadinger, *Music at Belmont College and Ward-Belmont College. ‘There was once a time...’* (Nashville, TN: Unpublished, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> *Catalogue and Announcement of the Ward-Belmont School for Young Women, 1916-1917*, 13.

also changing and becoming more professionalized. By the early twentieth-century, young ladies who graduated with a diploma in music were prepared to enter modern society as working women, teachers, and performers.

### Statement of the Problem

As the self-proclaimed “Athens of the South,” Nashville has long served as an economic and cultural capital for the region. Institutions, innovations, and movements in Nashville greatly influenced the cities and countryside nearby, and this influence often extended throughout the South. Therefore, Nashville’s early commitment to women’s education was important, not just in Tennessee, but across a much wider area. Although other female institutions, notably the Moravian Female Academy of Salem, North Carolina, existed in the South before the Nashville Female Academy was founded, it was one of the earliest and largest schools for women in the region.<sup>11</sup> In addition, according to Mrs. I. M. E. Blandin, it was “so popular” and “the advantages it offered [were] so highly esteemed, that girls traveled hundreds of miles...” to attend.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, Walter Durham notes that it was one of “three regionally outstanding educational institutions,” along with the University of Nashville and Shelby Medical College.<sup>13</sup> After the demise of the Female Academy, its successors also became local and regional leaders. The Ward-Belmont for Young Ladies, in particular, was well known across the United States and

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas Woody notes that the Salem Academy, founded in 1802, was the first such school to be opened in the nineteenth century. He further notes that “the incorporated female seminary in the United State rose to its height between 1830 and 1860.” (Woody, *A History of Women’s Education in the United States*, 341, 396). Thus, the Nashville Female Academy, founded in 1816, was early in the movement for women’s education.

<sup>12</sup> Mrs. I. M. E. Blandin, *History of Higher Education of Women in the South Prior to 1860* (Washington, DC: Zenger Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), 276.

<sup>13</sup> Walter T. Durham, *Nashville; The Occupied City, 1863-63* (Nashville: Williams Printing Co., 1985), 4-5.

drew students from all over the South as well as far-flung states such as Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, Texas, and Wisconsin.<sup>14</sup>

These schools contributed to Nashville's early and continuing tradition of excellence and leadership in female education, a tradition which put great emphasis on music education. However, surprisingly little study has been devoted to these important institutions, and what research does exist is mainly collected in general histories of Nashville or music in Nashville.<sup>15</sup> Thus, a detailed study of the musical life at Nashville's historically prestigious female schools—Nashville Female Academy, Ward's Seminary, and Ward-Belmont—is needed. This dissertation will address that need, focusing on the period from 1816, when the Nashville Female Academy was founded, until 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in Nashville to give American women the right to vote. Along with descriptions of music courses offered, applied instrumental studies, and recitals given at the schools under consideration, attention will be focused on the historical development of the schools within the context of Nashville's own economic and cultural development, and connections will be sought between the strides made in music education at the various schools and musical performance throughout Nashville. In addition, the music programs at these female schools will provide a fascinating opportunity to view and analyze the changes in gender roles and stereotypes that occurred in this period. Recital programs, courses taught, and faculty biographies will be useful tools for this analysis, and will highlight developments in the complexity of courses and the type of pieces performed. During a pivotal era in the fight for women's rights and status, an era in which education and career opportunities for women were greatly

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<sup>14</sup> For example, see *Milestones, 1920* (Ward-Belmont School, Nashville: 1920), 169.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Tim Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country* (Charleston, SC; Chicago; Portsmouth, NH; San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2008).

advanced, the similar developments in music instruction at these schools provide a microcosm of the changes evident in women's status across the South as a whole. It is important to note that the majority of students who attended these schools came from the white upper-middle and upper class of the South, and the schools marketed themselves as Southern institutions, so this study will deal mainly with that sector of society.

### Review of the Literature

A large body of work studying early women's education in seminaries, academies, and women's colleges is readily available. One of the most complete general sources for this topic is Thomas Woody's *A History of Women's Education in the United States*.<sup>16</sup> This substantial volume, first published in the 1920s, chronicles female education from the early years of the American colonies to the early twentieth century. Although it is not a current source, Woody's book is perhaps the most thorough and inclusive collection of information on the subject, and has been consulted and cited by numerous recent authors. A more recent collection of articles offers additional useful information. Entitled "Symposium: Reappraisals of the Academy Movement," this collection contains several articles written by prominent historians in 2001. Their research not only describes the academies of the nineteenth century, but also discusses curriculum, student body makeup, attendance patterns, and issues of class and gender as related to these schools. It provides a helpful background for understanding the schools within their historical context, as well as shedding light on the status and importance of music in the curriculum.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*.

<sup>17</sup> Nancy Beadie, Bruce Leslie, Margaret A. Nash, and Kim Tolley, "Symposium: Reappraisals of the Academy Movement," *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 216, 70.

Other books focus more specifically on female education in a particular region or era, such as Blandin's *History of Higher Education of Women in the South Prior to 1860*.<sup>18</sup> This book describes specific institutions in different Southern states, and includes quite a bit of information on the Nashville Female Academy. It also provides an overview of female education in the South as a whole prior to the Civil War. Another valuable source on female education in the antebellum South is Christie Farnham's *The Education of the Southern Belle*, which investigates the world of the female seminary and female academy within Southern culture.<sup>19</sup> Its description of the various types of female schools—seminaries, academies, and colleges—that emerged during this period will facilitate a proper understanding of the female schools in Nashville addressed in this study. In addition, Farnham includes much discussion of the “ornamental studies” so popular at many of these schools and the emphasis on music education for women which often occurred during this era. She mentions the types of instruments that were taught and discusses the music instructors themselves, placing this instruction within its cultural context—both that of the female school and of the South as a whole. Her study is vital for understanding the background of the female seminaries and academies in Nashville, as well as for grasping the reasons why music instruction became such a prominent aspect of many of these schools. Numerous other articles and dissertations also focus on the history of women's education, both in general and in relation to specific institutions, although they are too numerous to mention here.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Blandin, *History of Higher Education of Women in the South*.

<sup>19</sup> Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle* (New York: New York University Press, 1994).

<sup>20</sup> General studies include Willystine Goodsell, *The Education of Women: Its Social Background and its Problems* (New York: MacMillan, 1923); Nancy Green, “Female Education and Competition: 1820-1850,” *History of Education Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 129-142; and Anya Jabour, “‘Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated’: Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family,” *The Journal of Southern*

Background information on the history and development of music education will also be relevant, and several sources address this topic. Bonnie Jacobi provides excellent material on music in the context of female education, in her article, “Music in Higher Education for Females in Nineteenth Century America.”<sup>21</sup> She notes how important music was for the female college, and also details some of the teaching methods that were used, such as the educational principles established by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). More general studies on the history of music education includes such articles as Fouts’ “Music Instruction in the Education of American Youth: The Early Academies,” which situates music instruction in relation to both male and female schools and notes its reputation as an “ornamental,” and perhaps unnecessary, subject in the eyes of many.<sup>22</sup> Investigation of Pestalozzian principles will also be important, since these were so influential in early music education, and several studies also exist on that topic.

Other important factors in female status and education during the period under consideration are the Women’s Suffrage and Women’s Temperance movements. Both of these movements helped women gain more independence and influence in political and social issues, which caused female education to become more comparable to male

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*History* 64, no. 1 (February 1998): 23-64, and “The Female Academy and Female Identity in the Old South,” in *Lives Full of Struggle and Triumph; Southern Women, Their Institutions, and Their Communities*, edited by Bruce L. Clayton and John A. Salmond, 74-92 (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003). Jean S. Starub, “Benjamin Rush’s Views on Women’s Education,” *Pennsylvania History* 34, no.2 (April 1967): 147-57 also provides good background information on the ideas of Benjamin Rush, an important leader in the reform of women’s education around 1800. More specific studies of individual institutions include Judith T. A. Bainbridge, “Nursery of Knowledge”: The Greenville Female Academy, 1819-1854,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 99, no. 1 (January 1998): 6-33; Mary Johnson, “Madame Rivardi’s Seminary in the Gothic Mansion,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 104, no. 1 (January 1980): 3-38; and Laura E. Luttrell, “One Hundred Years of a Female Academy: The Knoxville Female Academy, 1811-1846; The East Tennessee Female Institute, 1846-1911,” *The East Tennessee Historical Society’s Publication* 17 (1945): 71-83.

<sup>21</sup> Bonnie Schaffhauser Jacobi, “Music in Higher Education for Females in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 23, no. 1 (October 2001): 46-59.

<sup>22</sup> Gordon E Fouts, “Music Instruction in the Education of American Youth: The Early Academies,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 40, no. 4 (Winter 1972): 269-76.

courses of study. Numerous sources exist that discuss these changes, including Janet Giele's *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance, Suffrage, and the Origins of Modern Feminism*.<sup>23</sup> This source provides background information on both movements as well as discussion of the differences in motivations and goals between the two movements. While both ultimately helped women obtain the vote, the temperance movement focused more on social service and improvement, while the suffrage movement concentrated on women's rights and was a more prominent supporter of women's education. Marjorie Wheeler's *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement* also discusses female suffrage, and features an entire essay devoted to the struggle over suffrage in Tennessee.<sup>24</sup> Other books and articles discuss the suffrage movement and its connection with female status, independence, and education.<sup>25</sup>

Along with background reading on female roles and education, information on the history and culture of Nashville is important to this study. Garvin Davenport's article, "Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War," provides a lot of pertinent detail about concert and theatrical activities in the city during this period.<sup>26</sup> Another informative source on Nashville's musical history are the writings of Kenneth D. Rose, a professor of music at Ward-Belmont and a leader in the city's musical activities during the first half of the nineteenth century. His "A Nashville Musical Decade: 1830-1840" includes much

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<sup>23</sup> Janet Zollinger Giele, *Two Paths to Women's Equality: Temperance, Suffrage, and the Origins of Modern Feminism*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, ed. 1995. *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Troutdale, Oregon: NewSage Press, 1995).

<sup>25</sup> For instance, see Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1984); Holly J. McCammon, "'Out of the Parlors and into the Streets': The Changing Tactical Repertoire of the U.S. Women's Suffrage Movement," *Social Forces* 81, no. 3 (March 2003), 787-818; Elisabeth Isreaels Perry, "Men are From the Gilded Age, Women Are From the Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, 1 (January 2002), 25-47; and Mary Jane Smith, "Constructing Womanhood in Public: Progressive White Women in the New South" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University), 2002.

<sup>26</sup> F. Garvin Davenport, "Cultural Life in Nashville on the Eve of the Civil War," *The Journal of Southern History* 3, no. 3 (August 1937): 326-47.

material on musical life at the Nashville Female Academy, along with information on musicians and concerts throughout the city.<sup>27</sup> More of his writings are housed in the collection of the Tennessee State Library and Archives, which includes his “Pioneer Nashville: Its Songs and Tunes,” an unpublished document that gives detailed accounts of musical figures, concerts, and activities during this period, with some attention devoted to music in schools, as well. Tim Sharp’s *Music in Nashville Before Country* is another good source for early Nashville music history, and offers information on both vernacular and classical traditions as well as music in the academy setting.<sup>28</sup> More general histories of Nashville have also been consulted, notably those which include accounts of educational and cultural life.<sup>29</sup>

Several resources also exist that are more specifically directed toward the topic at hand. To gain an understanding of the antebellum context of the Nashville Female Academy, Candace Bailey’s work has contributed greatly to the study of music in relation to Southern Belles, including music instruction at female seminaries and academies. Her book *Music and the Southern Belle* provides in-depth information on the place of music within antebellum Southern society, especially as it related to young ladies and the expectations placed upon them by their families and culture.<sup>30</sup> Bailey includes an entire chapter on music education in female schools, which lists the types of courses and lessons offered and provides detailed information on the instructors found at such schools.

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<sup>27</sup> Kenneth D. Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade, 1830-1840.” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (1943): 216-231.

<sup>28</sup> Tim Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country* (Charleston, SC; Chicago; Portsmouth NH; San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> Important sources include Thomas Perkins Abernathy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1932); Alfred Leland Crabb, *Nashville: Personality of a City* (Indianapolis; New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1960); and Christine Kreyling, *Classical Nashville: The Athens of the South* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996), 11.

<sup>30</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*.

The rest of the book also offers helpful material for background study on females and music within Southern society.

Tammy Allison's dissertation, "'The Real College is Within Us': The Transformation of Women's Higher Education in Tennessee from 1880 to 1925," directly addresses some of the schools which this dissertation will consider.<sup>31</sup> She profiles two female institutions that remained active in and around Nashville during the first half of the twentieth century, including the Ward-Belmont School, and includes general information on the music and arts courses available at these schools, without providing details about the curriculum and the way it was modified to keep pace with the times. A substantial amount of information about the Ward-Belmont School is easily accessible as well. These sources include a chapter on the history of the school and its musical endeavors, which is included in a book manuscript by Dr. John Shadinger, professor of musicology at Belmont University.<sup>32</sup> *Gilly Goes to Ward-Belmont*, a first-hand account of the Ward-Belmont experience written by an alumna of the school, also provides some personal reminiscences of concerts and musical life at the school.<sup>33</sup>

Archival material including catalogs, bulletins, programs, correspondence, and other items, is available at the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Harpeth Hall School, and Belmont University. All of these repositories are in the Nashville area, and provide valuable information for this project. In addition, the Harpeth Hall School has recently digitized a large number of catalogs, bulletins, and yearbooks from Ward Seminary, the Ward-Belmont School, and the Ward-Belmont Conservatory of Music, and

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<sup>31</sup> Allison, Tammy, and Carroll Van West. "'The Real College is Within Us': The Transformation of Women's Higher Education in Tennessee from 1880 to 1925" (D. of Arts diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 2005).

<sup>32</sup> Shadinger, *History of Music At Belmont University*.

<sup>33</sup> Gilbertine Moore, *Gilly Goes to Ward-Belmont* (Nashville, TN: Benson Printing, 1973).

this resource has been frequently consulted in the writing of this dissertation.<sup>34</sup> Along with faculty and student lists, these materials include lists of graduates in the music program, some concert programs and recital schedules, biographical information on faculty members, and information on music clubs and cultural life at the schools. Other primary sources relating directly to the institutions under consideration include advertisements in contemporary newspapers and magazines, some of which are available through the “Archive of Americana” database.<sup>35</sup> More substantial collections of historical newspapers are held within the archives listed above.

### Methodology and Organization

This study begins with a brief overview of the history of female education in the United States in order to set the context for the rest of the discussion. Within this overview, special attention is devoted to the “ornamental subjects” that formed a large part of women’s studies. This part of the project relies heavily on textbooks and articles that deal with the history of women’s education, many of which have already been mentioned in the section reviewing existing literature. The overview also touches on early music education, especially as it was utilized in women’s academies and seminaries.

A chapter concerning the musical life of Nashville in the era under examination is included next. This portion of the dissertation relies heavily on research done by Kenneth D. Rose, violin instructor at Ward-Belmont, as well as materials held in the Tennessee

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<sup>34</sup> “Harpeth Hall,” *Internet Archives*, <http://www.archive.org/browse.php?field=subject&mediatype=texts&collection=harpethhall>.

<sup>35</sup> “Archive of Americana,” [http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/iw-search/we/MultiSearch?p\\_product=AOFA&p\\_action=keyword&p\\_theme=americana&p\\_nbid=M4FY45C CMTMyOTA5NDc1OS4xMjgyMToxOjEzOjEyOC4xNjMuMi4yMDY&p\\_clear\\_search=yes&d\\_refprod=AOFA&](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/iw-search/we/MultiSearch?p_product=AOFA&p_action=keyword&p_theme=americana&p_nbid=M4FY45C CMTMyOTA5NDc1OS4xMjgyMToxOjEzOjEyOC4xNjMuMi4yMDY&p_clear_search=yes&d_refprod=AOFA&).

State Library and Archives. By understanding the history and setting of Nashville, it is easier to place the schools being discussed in their natural context.

The body of the dissertation focuses on Nashville, Tennessee, and more specifically on the music education provided at the girls' schools already mentioned. Besides the basic historical accounts of Nashville noted above, the discussion utilizes many archival sources that help to discover the nature of music instruction at the schools under consideration. Repertoire and faculty lists, musical activities, and textbook choices are taken into account. However, the study looks more deeply than mere statistics and data about the schools. Rather, these materials are viewed in light of contemporary historical events, especially those involving women's rights and female suffrage. Moments of great significance, such as the struggle over the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote, are of particular importance. Such events influenced all aspects of female life and education, as suggested in the 1920 edition of *Milestones*, the yearbook of Ward-Belmont College, which calls 1920 a "golden year" that has granted women new power to use for the highest ideals and demonstrates the great importance that certain Nashville women placed on the right of female suffrage.<sup>36</sup> It also shows a connection between women's suffrage and female education, both of which granted women new power and opportunities for political and social change. Such connections will be sought throughout this study and will provide the foundation for conclusions about the value placed on music education at the representative female institutes and the evolution of this education over the years considered

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<sup>36</sup> "Forward," *Milestones 1920*; Ward-Belmont School. Nashville, 1920.

### Delimitations and Significance

This study is significant for several reasons. First of all, beyond the information included in Tammy Allison's dissertation, little research has been devoted to music instruction at the schools that will be studied, and thus important historical information about these specific institutions has been amassed. This information will be valuable for historians investigating Nashville and the state of Tennessee as well as these specific schools. On a broader scale, although much has been written about the history of women's education and the history of music education, relatively little has been written on music education at women's schools in Nashville during the period to be discussed. Thus, this project provides a foundation for further research in the area, as well as building upon that which has already been done. Perhaps most important are the conclusions drawn about the changing status of female education in the arts, which was evolving as the Women's Rights movement made great strides. This study shows the importance of music in women's lives and education throughout Nashville's history, demonstrating how it continued to be valued and championed even as it moved from the private to the public sphere, along with women themselves. Just as women ventured out of the parlor and into the professional world, music education for females began to prepare women for careers in music education and performance rather than for strictly private and ornamental purposes.

During this same period, music education for men also became professionalized, and male students faced many of the same struggles as women. In addition, African Americans achieved great strides in music education and performance opportunities, such

as those available at Fisk University in Nashville after the Civil War. However, because of the limited scope of this study, it will focus on music education for white females.

Because of this focus on the overall picture of women's life and place in society, this study does not attempt to create an exhaustive catalog of music repertoire at the schools under research. In addition, while it does consider the historical context of the time period, not every significant historical event is dwelt upon, and the main concentration is focused on events which directly impacted female life in the American South. Thus the study will provide a jumping off point for further research, while still contributing valuable information to musicological discourse and women's studies. It does not attempt to investigate the entire history of female education, but instead focuses on the years between the founding of the Nashville Female Academy, in 1816, and ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. This event was a significant moment in women's history in the United States, and it provides a symbolic endpoint for this study. The 105-year span considered here is a time period in which women's lives and roles changed drastically, and this dissertation provides a new lens for viewing these important social and cultural changes within one city in the American historical South and West.

## Chapter Two: Historical Overview of Female Education

By the end of the eighteenth century, important differences existed between North and South. Most prominent were the contrasting views on of slavery, which began to divide the country into two hostile factions. Another difference lay in the close ties that existed between the members of the Southern plantation aristocracy and the English nobility, which were never quite severed during the entire colonial period. While many in the North pursued industry and business and emphasized progressive ideas, those living in the plantation belt of the low country South held the majority of slaves, dominated the region's wealth and demonstrated some aspects of the chivalry and feudalistic ideals of Medieval Europe.<sup>37</sup> Portions of this wealthy white Southern elite "had clung to [their] aristocratic pretensions as a consequence of slavery and never exhibited the distaste for European style and manners [...] in the northeast."<sup>38</sup> Others in the South, especially in "up country" and mountainous regions, were eager to shed these antiquated ideas and even to embrace emancipation and abolition. These Southerners owned few or no slaves and held little of the monetary wealth of the region. In contrast, the elite households usually included large numbers servants, usually African American slaves, who functioned as butlers, man-servants, maid-servants and cooks, as well as various tutors, nursemaids, and other help. So many servants made domestic work and menial labor unnecessary for the lady of the home, who instead oversaw the activities of the household. These women had more time for personal and social interests, and devoted attention to music, needlework, and etiquette, while their slaves did not even receive a basic education. This created a strict racial dichotomy between the white owners, who were

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<sup>37</sup> See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction, America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 11-13.

<sup>38</sup> Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*, 38-9.

often educated and trained in social arts, and their slaves, who were not given access to education and often remained illiterate. In order to maintain this image, the white South formed a large portion of the colonial market for English etiquette manuals, and emulation of English customs later moved west with the settlers as the frontier extended past the Eastern seaboard into areas such as Kentucky and Tennessee.<sup>39</sup> As the years passed and independence from England was won, these traditions continued to prosper in an agrarian Southern society. Even after the Civil War, some of the old Southern aristocracy remained, as established families regrouped from wartime losses and struggled to preserve their heritage.<sup>40</sup>

It is this context that serves as the backdrop for the present narrative. In such a society, female education developed in order to prepare upper-class women for their futures as wives and mistresses of estates. Whether in the early nineteenth century, when the Nashville Female Academy was established, or in the twentieth century, when wealthy girls were being sent to Ward-Belmont for training, private education was expensive, and only a privileged few could afford it. The majority of society—those from the lower class, servants, and slaves—were largely excluded from these schools. The girls who did attend were living in a highly structured and controlled world, with specific roles already laid out for them at their birth. Thus the young ladies who attended Nashville's girls' schools were mostly of the highest social ranking and were being groomed to become "Southern ladies." An excerpt from an examination address at the

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<sup>39</sup> Arthur M. Schlessinger, *Learning How to Behave: A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books* (New York: MacMillan, 1946), 6; Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*, 39.

<sup>40</sup> It is important to note that this society only existed among the wealthy few who belonged to the highest social circles, but it is this class that largely attended the early girls schools. Thus, they are the main focus of this study.

Nashville Female Academy in 1820 perfectly describes the way young ladies were viewed in the antebellum South:

Your sex is eminently blessed with talents that can scatter new graces and ornaments upon every object within their sphere. Your sex has more generosity and sensibility than the other sex. You are by reason of your greater seclusion from the busy and active scenes of the world, necessarily devoted to sentiment and reflection; and these preserve in your souls the image of all that is free and generous.<sup>41</sup>

Young women at the Nashville Female Academy, as well as those in similar schools throughout the South, were trained to “scatter new graces and ornaments” throughout their life. These included music, needlework, painting, and other “accomplishments.”

Such a backdrop provides a window into the complex layers of Southern society and the interaction that occurred between members of these stratified circles. This study will endeavor to discover what life was like for a student in the early days of the Nashville Female Academy, or later, at Ward’s Seminary or the Ward-Belmont School. In order to do this, it is necessary to understand the basic history of upper-class white female education in the United States during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially in the context of the Southern aristocracy.

### The Beginning of Women’s Education in America

The earliest women’s education among the upper classes in the United States was mainly confined to the home environment, with mothers or hired tutors teaching young daughters the skills necessary for life along with rudimentary “reading, writing, and ‘rithmetic.” According to Thomas Woody, education at home was much more prevalent

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<sup>41</sup>“Miscellany, Nashville Female Academy,” *New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine* 3, no. 21 (February 2, 1820), 66. *Archive of Americana*, [http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p\\_product=EANX&p\\_theme=ahnp&p\\_nbid=I64I57EPMTM0MjgwMTQ5NS41NzE0ODI6MT0xMzoxMjguMTYzLjluMjA2&p\\_action=doc&s\\_lastnonissuequeryname=22&d\\_viewref=search&p\\_queryname=22&p\\_docnum=8&p\\_docref=v2:109E8919B61F1E28@EANX-10BE9A2B25F99E60@2385835-10BE9A2B33DB15E0@0-10BE9A2BE3DE1930@Miscellany.+Nashville+Female+Academy](http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=I64I57EPMTM0MjgwMTQ5NS41NzE0ODI6MT0xMzoxMjguMTYzLjluMjA2&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=22&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=22&p_docnum=8&p_docref=v2:109E8919B61F1E28@EANX-10BE9A2B25F99E60@2385835-10BE9A2B33DB15E0@0-10BE9A2BE3DE1930@Miscellany.+Nashville+Female+Academy), accessed January 16, 2012.

and continued much longer in the South than the North, because of socioeconomic conditions. A large portion of the Southern elite were planters and lived on widely scattered plantations and farms strewn across the countryside, even in Tennessee, where cotton plantations proliferated in the western region and modest farms lay across its central section.<sup>42</sup> The large distances that lay between plantation families made assembling all the children at a common school impractical, and often impossible. Thus, the great majority of families followed the English tradition of employing private tutors to teach their children.<sup>43</sup>

In the Southern states, female education became highly prized by those who could afford it, and it also helped to develop a distinctly Southern identity. According to Candace Bailey, in this region the gentry “laid emphasis on social accomplishments [...]”. The chief elements of this social education were music and dancing.<sup>44</sup> Bailey further highlights the importance of music as an “accomplishment” in Southern society, where young women studied it “...so that they could soothe and entertain their men, be they husbands, brothers, fathers, or guests. The purpose for music (and other accomplishments) was to enable a young woman to please others, a behavior that Southerners felt was paramount in women.”<sup>45</sup> At this time, most music performed by Southern women was in the home environment, since public display was discouraged, yet a certain level of proficiency was still desirable. Bailey notes that almost all wealthy Southern households included music lessons in their daughters’ education, whether taught by a talented mother

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<sup>42</sup> See Foner, *Reconstruction*, 12.

<sup>43</sup> Woody, *A History of Women’s Education in the United States*, 268.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.

<sup>45</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 13.

or by a hired tutor.<sup>46</sup> The importance of music education for females continued throughout the eighteenth century, and was embraced equally into the nineteenth century.

As the Enlightenment swept through Europe, and humanistic philosophy began to trickle across the Atlantic, more attention began to be devoted to the development of the female population. The American Revolution provided further impetus for female education, for women in the new republic needed to be educated in order to become competent mothers of the next generation of patriots and function as independent citizens, whether married, single, or widowed. In the years between the Revolution and 1830, in fact, the percentage of literate white women in America increased dramatically, and facilities for women's education were greatly improved.<sup>47</sup> The earliest schools for girls included "venture schools" and "dame schools," which were private enterprises often run out of a woman's own home and thus limited to only a few subjects and a few students.<sup>48</sup> These early schools have been described as "simple affairs where widows and spinsters hung out their shingles to offer English composition, grammar, spelling, history and the 'ornamental arts.'"<sup>49</sup> Thus, courses in music, dance, and needlework were an important part of female education from the beginning. Music, especially, was crucial in the growth of female schools; since it was culturally approved for women, it provided an acceptable subject for them to study in an organized institution.<sup>50</sup> Dame schools were also the first organized settings in which women emerged as teachers in Colonial America. Since they

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<sup>46</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 52-53.

<sup>47</sup> See Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect & Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 192-202.

<sup>48</sup> See Kim Tolley, "The Rise of the Academies: Continuity or Change?" *Symposium* In *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 226.

<sup>49</sup> Paul M. Pressly, "Educating the Daughters of Savannah's Elite: The Pape School, the Girl Scouts, and the Progressive Movement." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 80, no. 2, (Summer 1996) 249.

<sup>50</sup> Bonnie Schaffhauser Jacobi, "Music in Higher Education for Females in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 23, no. 1 (October 2001): 58.

were run and taught by single or married women and these women had oversight over the education and organization of the schools, dame schools became the founding place for the female domination present in education in the later nineteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

Farnham expands upon this idea in *The Education of The Southern Belle*, where she notes that in the South some of these schools were boarding schools for the elite, led by husband-wife teams and offering a range of ornamental subjects including dancing, music, and drawing.<sup>52</sup> Although relatively little is known about such schools, due to the lack of documentary evidence, it is apparent from existing sources that a good number of them existed in the South, especially around Charleston, South Carolina, and that they made substantial contributions to the history of female education. As the first schools to develop a curriculum specifically for the education of women, they set the standard for later schools, and this standard placed a large emphasis on female accomplishments. Venture schools, or “French schools,” as the larger boarding schools were called, offered instruction in music, French and other “ornamental” subject, and also served as important centers of social interaction.<sup>53</sup> Here the daughters of the older gentry of the South, members of the very highest class, mingled with girls from the “nouveau riche,” whose families were likewise privileged, but were still considered a rung lower on the social ladder.<sup>54</sup> Such social contacts continued to be an important, and often difficult, part of boarding school life for the next two hundred years. These interactions will provide further insight into the present study, for as various social classes mixed with one another,

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<sup>51</sup> Jennifer Madigan, “The Education of Girls and Women in the United States: A Historical Perspective,” *Advances in Gender and Education* 1 (2009): 11.

<sup>52</sup> Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*, 37.

<sup>53</sup> Tolley, “The Rise of the Academies”: 96.

<sup>54</sup> Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*, 37-38.

the roles and expectations for female members of these respective groups were continually being re-shaped.

In addition to allowing young women to interact with others of similar social ranking, French schools provided a place for both urban and plantation daughters to be trained in social etiquette, which was important for a successful courtship and marriage. Here students were “refined” through ornamental studies, instruction on proper deportment, and literary studies, that enabled them to charm a future beau through intelligent and colorful conversation.<sup>55</sup> These refinements naturally included music education, especially in the South, where the prevailing philosophy for women’s education emphasized making students suitable companions for their future mates. Many French schools contained more instructors of music than any other subject, further demonstrating its importance.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, by studying and mastering these ornamental arts, or “accomplishments,” as they were often called, a young woman’s marriage chances were naturally improved at such a school. Here, as she became friends with other females her age, she was able to meet their brothers and male relatives, thus broadening contacts for marriage prospects.<sup>57</sup> This is another aspect of boarding school life that was to continue well past the eighteenth century and into the twentieth, for while girls’ schools are by nature limited to only students of the female sex, they still provided abundant opportunities for boarders to meet those of the opposite gender, whether at special teas, during performances, or at sporting events later on in the twentieth century.

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<sup>55</sup> Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*, 42-3.

<sup>56</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 65-8.

<sup>57</sup> Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle*, 42-3.

In the midst of a culture that placed so much emphasis on finding a proper marriage partner and raising one's own family, however, the development of girls-only boarding schools also had a distinctly opposite effect. While young women were at these schools, preparing for their future roles, they were also experiencing a taste of freedom and independence from home and family responsibilities before marriage. For many, in fact, attending school allowed them "to explore other options, including intellectual development and adult independence," and perhaps even "fostered their resistance to the southern patriarchy's ideals of feminine dependence and selfless womanhood."<sup>58</sup> Pursuing an education far removed from home and family enabled girls to put off marriage for several years, and to consider other possibilities for their lives, at least for a time.

Besides the French schools that were privately run and served mainly to "finish" the daughters of society's elite, academies and seminaries for young ladies began to be established during the eighteenth century. These schools were designed "to provide a moral, literary, and domestic education for young women," and thus offered a more thorough education than the French schools.<sup>59</sup> Many of the first academies or seminaries for females were associated with a church or other organization. For instance, the Ursuline Sisters founded a convent for girls in New Orleans in 1727. Throughout the eighteenth century, the school drew students from all over the region, offering instruction in industry, religion, and the rudiments of education.<sup>60</sup> The Moravians soon followed the convent's lead, and their Seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, founded in 1742, set the

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<sup>58</sup> Anya Jabour, *Scarlett's Sisters: Young Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 49.

<sup>59</sup> Jennifer Madigan, "The Education of Girls and Women in the United States," 12.

<sup>60</sup> Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 329-30.

standard for the academies and seminaries of the early nineteenth century. This school offered instruction “in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Composition, Rhetoric, and Geography,” in addition to providing regular worship times. Although music was not specifically listed as a subject, it appeared frequently in worship as well as at other events of the school.<sup>61</sup> However, as the years progressed, the Bethlehem Seminary became a center for music education, particularly instrumental music. By the mid-nineteenth century, students were performing in public concerts, opera houses, and salons, and their music bridged “cultural barriers and opened doors of opportunity for exposure in social circles.”<sup>62</sup> At these concerts, the young women played from an impressive repertoire that mainly focused on nineteenth-century “salon” compositions, although a few students even ventured to perform solo concertos with the Bethlehem orchestra.<sup>63</sup> Most of the chosen works were by European composers, such as Frédéric Chopin and Felix Mendelssohn, but there was still room for a few recent American works, such as Louis Moreau Gottschalk’s *Marche de Nuit*, Op. 17, which was always a favorite.<sup>64</sup> Although the Moravian community and schools possessed a unique musical and religious heritage, many of the Seminary’s students were not Moravians, and the school’s musical and instrumental instruction were often emulated by other non-sectarian academies and seminaries.

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<sup>61</sup> Woody, *A History of Women’s Education in the United States*, 333.

<sup>62</sup> Jewel A. Smith, *Music, Women, and Pianos in Antebellum Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: The Moravian Young Ladies Seminary* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2008), 90. The emphasis on instrumental performance at the Bethlehem Seminary is indicative of the importance the Moravians placed on music. The church included instruments in their worship beginning in the mid-eighteenth century and often enjoyed elaborate performances of music by European and American composer. (See Richard Crawford, *America’s Musical Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2001.)

<sup>63</sup> Smith, *Music, Women and Pianos*, 91-92.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

Other early institutions for female education were not associated with a specific religious group or denomination. One of these, the Academy for Females in Philadelphia, proved to be very influential in the development of women's higher education. This school, founded by John Poore in 1786, boasted itself to be "for the instruction of young ladies in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Composition, Rhetoric, and Geography."<sup>65</sup> Here, women were able to choose from "English, writing, bookkeeping, geography, vocal music, dancing, history [...], poetry and essays, and Christian religion," and the importance of vocal music education was strongly emphasized.<sup>66</sup> At the Academy's examinations in 1790, an event that several notable political figures attended as "visitors," members of the Board of Trustees gave a series of speeches addressing female education. Many comments related directly to music instruction at the school. Although at this time some disapproved of instrumental music for women, such as the educator Benjamin Rush, who objected to the large amounts of practice time and high instructional fees it required, others support instrumental study for women.<sup>67</sup> John Swanwick, for instance, showed early support for instrumental instruction in the Academy setting. He stated that vocal music "...never is seen to so great advantage as when united to instrumental music—a science which, though not usually taught here, I hope none will neglect, within whose ability it may chance to fall to acquire it."<sup>68</sup> The acceptance of such opinions laid the foundation for future instruction in piano and other "ladylike" instruments at women's academies and seminaries throughout the nineteenth

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<sup>65</sup> Smith, *Music, Women and Pianos*, 333.

<sup>66</sup> Gordon E. Fouts, "Music Instruction in the Education of American Youth: The Early Academies," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 40, no. 4 (Winter 1972): 473.

<sup>67</sup> Jean S. Starub, "Benjamin Rush's Views on Women's Education," *Pennsylvania History* 34, no.2 (April 1967), 153.

<sup>68</sup> Fouts, "Music Instruction in Education," 474.

century. The school's continued emphasis on music is evident in accounts of commencement events, which included opening music as well as "appropriate music" interspersed among speeches and recitations.<sup>69</sup> In 1792, the Academy became incorporated in accordance with Pennsylvania law, the first such school for young women in the United States. It was supported by subscribers, who contributed monetarily to the school and thus insured a significant income in addition to tuition fees.<sup>70</sup>

Another early Academy is Sarah Pierce's Litchfield's Academy, located in Litchfield, Pennsylvania. Miss Pierce began her interest in female education early in life, when her older brother sent her to New York for education in order that she could help support the family. He admonished her that "[t]he short time you have and the many things you have to learn, occasions me to wish you would employ every moment for the purpose."<sup>71</sup> Her studies included music and other ornamental branches, for he noted that "I hope you will not miss a single dancing school, and that you will take lessons from Capt. Turner at other times [...] in walking, standing, and sitting, all the movements of which tho' they appear in a polite person natural, are the effect of art..."<sup>72</sup> Later, when Pierce opened her own school, which was incorporated in 1827, she "could not have filled her school unless she offered 'ornamental' subjects: painting, needlework, music, and many others. These were truly 'practical' subjects of her day for the upper-class girls who made up the bulk of her students."<sup>73</sup> In this "practicality" lay much of the reason

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<sup>69</sup> Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 337.

<sup>70</sup> It is important to note the Poore's Academy maintained a strong emphasis on liberal education throughout its existence, stressing the ability of women to study subjects often confined to males, such as higher mathematics, philosophy, and the sciences. (See Woody, 333-37.)

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>73</sup> Theodore and Nancy Sizer, Sally Schwager, Lynne Templeton Brickley, and Glee Krueger, *To Ornament Their Minds: Sarah Pierce's Litchfield Female Academy 1792-1833*, edited by Catherine Keen Fields and Lisa C. Kightlinger (Litchfield, CT: Litchfield Historical Society, 1993), 9.

ornamental studies were so highly stressed in most female education. Although high-minded idealists were eager to advance the cause of higher education for women, the majority of parents wanted their daughters to learn the ornamental arts that would land them a husband. Since even endowed schools had to earn enough from tuition to sustain the school, educators were forced to provide the courses and subjects that the general public desired. Only much later, around the turn of the twentieth century, did music and other arts become topics of serious study that could possibly lead to a future career for a female.

### Southern Ideals of Women's Education

Women's schools in the South had to cater even more than Northern schools to a clientele that desired ornamental education for their daughters. The ideals were connected through cultural ties to British and European traditions, and as the early French schools gave way to more organized academies and seminaries, these ideals remained prevalent. Even as "the importance of the arts should not be denigrated. Instruction in piano was often of a high caliber and concerts were a major aspect of the college experience," and most upper-class parents, especially in the South, did not want their daughters to become *too* intellectual.<sup>74</sup> Whether studying piano or another subject, a young woman was generally to develop "taste" rather than "brilliance," for overly flashy performance or too great a depth of knowledge might be considered unladylike and serve to ward off a prospective beau.<sup>75</sup>

Even as more structured educational institutions were developed for females, Venture schools continued to appear as centers of early education. Often girls would

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<sup>74</sup> Sizer, Sizer, Schwager, Brickely, and Krueger, *To Ornament Their Minds*, 26.

<sup>75</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 112.

attend these schools to learn the basic subjects before being sent off to another institution for “finishing.” These schools were more tightly structured and were usually sponsored by a group of local businessmen or were incorporated by the city, thus ensuring sufficient funding.<sup>76</sup> They often employed several teachers and instructors in various subjects, and were usually called academies or seminaries, though the curriculum was by no means standardized across the country. Early on, these schools bore many different names, being referred to as academies, seminaries, or colleges interchangeably. Yet they almost all promoted the “ornamental studies,” as Farnham states: “[f]emale colleges pioneered in the study of music and art, their work being precursors of the fine arts degree, though not generally recognized as such.”<sup>77</sup> By the 1830s, these subjects were included in nearly all female schools in the South, and soon “[m]ost institutionalized music education in the United States before the Civil War was located in private girls’ schools, known as ‘female seminaries,’ institutes,’ or ‘academies.’”<sup>78</sup> This instruction often incurred additional fees beyond regular tuition, an expense that demonstrates the high regard music instruction held among the Southern elite.

The additional fees charged for music instruction varied from school to school and year to year, but fees for instrumental instruction could be as much as twice those for other subjects.<sup>79</sup> Even if the rate was lower, music and other ornamental topics were always an additional fee of some sort. This tradition has been passed down to more

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<sup>76</sup> See Tolley, “The Rise of the Academies,” 227.

<sup>77</sup> Farnham, *Education of the Southern Belle*, 26.

<sup>78</sup> Tick, *American Women Composers before 1870*. 33.

<sup>79</sup> Kim Tolley notes that in North Carolina in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, musicians might charge as much as \$20 for piano instruction, while only \$10 was required for needlework and art. (See Kim Tolley, “Music Teachers in the North Carolina Education Market, 1800-1840; How Mrs. Sambourne Earned ‘Comfortable Living for Herself and Her Children,’” *Social Science History* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 85.

modern schools, where music lessons generally incur a small additional fee for the pupil, partly to cover the costs involved in individual instruction.

### Early Applied Study at Female Schools

Another factor that demonstrates the importance of music education for girls in the South is the fact that at Southern academies for young ladies, there were often more music professors than those for any other subject.<sup>80</sup> For instance, at the Greensborough [sic.] Female Academy in North Carolina, of the seven total professors employed in 1839, three were hired for music instruction.<sup>81</sup> At Greenville Female Academy, in Greenville, South Carolina, great emphasis was also placed on music, especially after 1832, when a new principal, Rev. R. C. Cater, took over the school. He soon hired a new “music professor” and devoted considerable finances to acquiring pianos for study.<sup>82</sup> The Nashville Female Academy, as well, employed a high percentage of music professors and even built a separate building for music instruction in 1853.<sup>83</sup> The fact that private instruction was needed for music lessons undoubtedly contributed to the need for a higher percentage of music professors, yet the emphasis on hiring music instructors also demonstrates the importance placed on music in female schools.

Corresponding to the high percentage of music professors, the number of students who studied music was also very high. At Greenville in 1859, 135 out of 159 students—about 87 %—were taking music lessons, and in the 1840s and ‘50s the Nashville Female Academy routinely had *more* “ornamental” students than regularly enrolled pupils.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 68.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>82</sup> Judith T. Bainbridge, “A “Nursery of Knowledge”: The Greenville Female Academy, 1819-1854,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 99 no. 1 (January 1998): 17, 25.

<sup>83</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 61.

<sup>84</sup> <sup>84</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 80; J. E. Windrow, “Collins D. Elliott and the Nashville Female Academy,” *Tennessee Historical Magazine* 3, no. 2 (1935): 82.

Years later, the same priorities were still evident, if not as pronounced, in the education of Southern girls, for in 1908, 300 of 800 students at Ward-Belmont College—about 40%—included music instruction in their education.<sup>85</sup> Other schools generally followed in this line, and musical performances were an important part of the academic, social, and recreational life of these schools.

The caliber of music instruction that actually took place at these schools varied over time. In the first half of the nineteenth century, music education in schools continued to serve the same purposes it had fulfilled at Dame and Venture schools. As one of the “accomplishments,” vocal and genteel instrumental music was taught to prepare young ladies for courtship and marriage. Bonnie Jacobi aptly describes this type of instruction in her article, “Music in Higher Education for Females in Nineteenth-Century America.” Here she states that educators before the mid-nineteenth century used music instruction to help students “attract men and [...] make a discriminating choice among the suitors...”<sup>86</sup> By 1850, however, ideas about music education began to change. Rather than merely teaching girls enough to play a few showy pieces on the parlor piano, more serious instruction began to be sought. Woody quotes a contemporary education journal, stating “[a]ccomplishments are most important when well taught and become real; but a smattering of drawing and playing upon an instrument are not accomplishments. Humble domestic arts properly occupy a place in female education if ‘an illiberal view of female character and influence’ does not assign them too great an emphasis.”<sup>87</sup> Thus music education could be embraced as a more serious subject if it was well and thoroughly taught, and instruction at girls’ schools was often more thorough than that at male and co-

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<sup>85</sup> Shadinger, “Music at Belmont College and Ward-Belmont College,” 7.

<sup>86</sup> Jacobi, “Music in Higher Education for Females,” 49.

<sup>87</sup> Woody, *A History of Women’s Education in the United States*, 431.

educational institutions. Tick supports this conclusion when she notes that music instruction in female academies and seminaries really laid the foundation for institutionalized music education in the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>88</sup> While many music instructors such as Lowell Mason only taught elementary music in public co-educational institutions, female academies and seminaries provided thorough and technical tutelage in various instruments, as well as more advanced instruction for older students.

This instruction usually included “vocal culture,” or voice lessons, a popular and ladylike endeavor, as well as acceptable instruments such as the piano, harp, and guitar. Owning a piano or harp also provided elite Southern families with another way of displaying their wealth. While almost anyone could own a “fiddle” or flute, to own a piano in the nineteenth century was a symbol of status and refinement. During a period when men began to work outside the home and leave the care of the household to their wives, parlor culture flourished and expanded. Women, along with overseeing household affair and children’s education, were responsible for “beautifying” the home, and performing music was a prime way of doing just that. An advertisement from *Godey’s Ladies Book* perfectly summarizes prevailing views regarding parlor piano: “A parlor without a piano seems like a greeting without a smile. Music in the family always includes the idea of cheerfulness at home; and also a resource, when one is not cheerful, which will supply the place of pleasant conversation.”<sup>89</sup> To have the extra income to afford piano lessons and the leisure time to practice signified that a family had attained a

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<sup>88</sup> Tick, *American Women Composers Before 1870*, 33.

<sup>89</sup> *Godey’s Ladies Book*, August 1863; Advertisement for Boardman and Gray Pianos, *Accessible Archives*, <http://www.accessible.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/accessible/print?AADocList=9&AADocStyle=STYLED&AAStyleFile=&AABeanName=toc1&AANextPage=/printFullDocFromXML.jsp&AACheck=1.8721.9.0.9>, accessed July 19, 2012.

proper middle-class status and deserved recognition and acceptance in society. Thus, although female students could and did become adept at their instrument, their musical education was focused on light and proper parlor piano styles rather than the heavy classics of Beethoven and Haydn.

Candace Bailey provides insight into this home music making and the instruction women received in order to participate. Although her research focuses on music in the South, much of it seems to hold true, at least to some extent, for Northern ladies as well. Above all, female music was meant to be kept in the home, and true ladies avoided all public display. Bailey quotes the memoirs of an elite Charleston woman of the time which state:

In that day and class, ladies shunned all public exercise or display of talent or beauty. Their letters were admirable, but they did not write books. They charmed drawing rooms with their voices or music, but never appeared on a stage. They talked delightfully, but did not make speeches.<sup>90</sup>

The same held true for young ladies studying music at seminaries and academies, for they very rarely, indeed almost never, performed in public concert settings. The one common exception occurred at graduation exercises and public examinations, when parents and friends came to witness the student's progress and expertise in their particular areas of study.<sup>91</sup> These exercises were education-rather than performance-oriented, and the audience consisted solely of invited guests who had vested personal interests in the student's progress. The musical selections were usually heavily oriented toward popular and light classical pieces that avoided overly technical display, although sacred music

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<sup>90</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 25-26. This section quotes the 1912 memoirs of Mrs. St. Julian Ravenel, a citizen of Charleston during the antebellum period.

<sup>91</sup> Other exceptions naturally occurred. For instance, public recitals and technical pieces were much more common at Moravian schools, which generally out-paced other institutions in their level of instruction. (See Smith, *Music, Women, and Pianos in Antebellum Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: The Moravian Young Ladies Seminary*.)

also appeared. Bailey provides an example of such a program, which was performed at the Georgia Female College on July 14, 1852.

#### Part I

1. Overture, From “John of Paris”
2. “Oh! Haste crimson Morning” Song From “Lucia Di Lammermoor”
3. “Le Diademe, Brilliant Variations”
4. “It was Here In Accents Sweetest” Song from “I. Purtani”
5. “O Dolce Concento” [from Mozart’s *Die Zauberflote*]
6. “Scenes That Are Brightest,” Ballad, From “Maritani”
7. Variations to “Nel Cor Piu”
8. “A Governess Wanted,” Song
9. The Celebrated “Medley Overture” of Aldridge
10. “While My Thoughts Still Turn to Thee,” Song, from “Giovanni di Napoli”

#### Part II

1. “L’élégante fantaisie, pour la Harpe,” by Boscha
2. “Salut a l’amerique,” song [Louis Ernst, 1852]
3. “National Schottische” [piano duet by Charles Grobe]
4. “The Wildflowers Soon Will Shed Their Bloom,” Song from “Lucia di Lammermoor”
5. “Friendship Polka,” by Miss F. R. Guttenberger
6. “I’ll Be No Submissive Wife,” Song
7. Emerald Waltz
8. “For Our Queen and Liberty” Brilliante Aria and Chorus from “Giovanni di Napoli”
9. “Battle of Resaca de la Palma”

## 10. “Fare-Thee-Well,” Song<sup>92</sup>

Schools also provided young women with the opportunity to perform in parlor settings, as they would later in life. Institutions frequently held events to which guests were invited—both family members and town citizens—and the girls played their pieces in an intimate setting. The fine line between these soirées and public performances is sometimes difficult to distinguish, but educators held fast to the idea that the parlor was not “public.” Students at St. Mary’s in Raleigh, North Carolina, even had opportunities to perform for the governor at these “private” affairs.<sup>93</sup> Such events often included faculty performances alongside the students, and faculty compositions might even be played.<sup>94</sup> In addition to newly composed pieces, the repertoire focused heavily on popular and sentimental works, following in the line of standard parlor piano music. One interesting inclusion was the instrumental dance, which might even be accompanied by dancing among the guests. Polkas, schottisches, and quadrilles were all in vogue and several different dances might be played at one event.

Above all, during the antebellum era, it was imperative that upper-class white ladies avoid any technical and demanding music, at least in public display. Judith Tick notes this philosophy in education, quoting John Sullivan Dwight, renowned music critic, writer, and journal editor regarding his disapproval of “scientific” music for female performers and noting that women thus avoided overly ambitious or technical music.<sup>95</sup> Although some ladies certainly studied and practiced more difficult repertoire, numerous factors contributed to their reluctance to include it in public display. First of all was the

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<sup>92</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 75-77.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>94</sup> Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*, 128.

<sup>95</sup> Tick, *American Women Composers Before 1870*, 29-30.

emphasis upon good taste, which was dictated by social norms and cultural critics such as Dwight. Good taste prevented a lady from wanting to appear to be too advanced to those listening, especially to prospective suitors, for that might make her seem overly learned and not fit to run a household. While many piano pieces of the time were “brilliant,” or virtuosic, proper “taste” dictated that ladies would not include such a work on even a semi-public performance, even if it was within their capabilities musically. Bailey notes that contemporary writers believed taste “includes more than a lack of ability; it also includes knowing what to play, when to play, and how much to play for whom.”<sup>96</sup> Many caricatures appeared in newspapers which condemned ladies who went past “good taste” in public performance, making them seem wild and unrestrained. This repertoire control was slow to fade in the South, or at least in Nashville, as recital programs from the Belmont school in the early twentieth century suggest.<sup>97</sup> These programs include a few excerpts from Beethoven and Mozart works, but the majority are lighter dances and songs. They will be considered in more detail later in this study.

Just as the tradition of women performing less brilliant pieces continued for some time, the selection of instruments available for female study was slow to change. For example, in 1898, Ward Seminary employed professors to teach piano, organ, voice, harp, mandolin, guitar, banjo, violin and cello.<sup>98</sup> Although string instruments were included, wind instruments were still “unsuitable” for proper ladies. Even in the 1920s, the Ward-Belmont Orchestra included string players who were female students, but the wind

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<sup>96</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 117

<sup>97</sup> See *Aitrop IV (1904)*, *Milady in Brown 1905*, *Milady in Brown 1906*, Yearbook of the Belmont School for Girls, (Nashville, TN: Belmont School for Girls).

<sup>98</sup> *Iris, 1898* (Nashville, TN: Ward Seminary, 1898).

section was composed of gentlemen from the surrounding area.<sup>99</sup> Such distinctions continued to preserve the ideal and image of the Southern Belle, even as society was changing and women began to have more independence and equality.

### Broadening of Female Education

Near the end of the antebellum era, as musical repertoire and instrumental study was becoming more technical, both general education and music education at women's schools also began to become more comprehensive and systematized. The 1850s were a period of great growth for these private academies, and schools for females "have not received enough credit for their innovative pedagogy in enlarging the range of subjects, especially in the sciences."<sup>100</sup> Many educators followed in the footsteps of reformers such as Mary Lyon (1797-1849), Catherine Beecher (1800-1878), and Emma Willard (1787-1870) and sought to develop a new system of education for young women which built on the curriculum of men's schools and gave students a thirst for knowledge and new tools for useful service.<sup>101</sup> As a result, many more subjects were offered and advanced study in numerous topics became common. Now, young women could choose from an array of topics including astronomy, algebra, geometry, geology, and physical education.<sup>102</sup>

However, most white educational institutions remained single-sex, and women were rarely permitted to study in the same schools, or take many of the same courses, as their

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<sup>99</sup> See Richard Shadinger, "Music at Belmont College and Ward-Belmont College, 8.

<sup>100</sup> Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 23.

<sup>101</sup> Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 24-25. Mary Lyon was an early promoter of female education and founded Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1839. This Institution gave females an education comparable to that at many male colleges, as well as providing scholarship support and emphasizing mission work and service. Catherine Beecher was a sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher. She became a well-known authoress of books advancing the independence and power of women, and helped to promote many early women's societies. Frances Willard was also a supporter of women's rights, and became most influential as a leading officer of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1879.

<sup>102</sup> See Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 409-22.

male counterparts. In contrast, African American coeducational institutions were founded in large numbers following the Civil War, and a generation of black women was educated alongside men. The “ornamental” subjects so prized in white schools were not included in the curriculum for African American women, but they were allowed to take advanced courses and study subjects comparable to those available to males at the time, thus outstripping white women in the breadth and depth of their curricula.<sup>103</sup>

In this era, the educational philosophies of Johann Pestalozzi became popular in the United States.<sup>104</sup> He introduced the idea that the best learning was achieved when concepts built upon one another so that students could really understand what they were studying. Pestalozzi also believed it was important to create a welcoming and homelike school environment of “emotional security,” which allowed students to learn more comfortably and quickly and helped to develop innate moral qualities.<sup>105</sup> These ideas were fully embraced by female schools, even into the twentieth century, as several school catalogs demonstrate. National Park Seminary, for example, an elite female finishing school founded in 1894 near Washington, D.C., was full of sorority houses offering a “quaint, homey bliss” in an estate-like setting intended to inspire learning and comradeship [sic].<sup>106</sup> Ward-Belmont also emphasized a comfortable learning environment, with the 1919-20 catalog proclaiming that “[t]he President and his family and many of the teachers live in the residence halls, and their presence as constant advisors and

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<sup>103</sup> See Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina press, 1996): 33-37.

<sup>104</sup> Bonnie Jacobi, “Music in Higher Education for females,” 55. Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827) was a leading thinker and reformer in education philosophy. His ideas regarding the importance of sensory activities and experiences as well as the inclusion of moral and physical instruction in education revolutionized schoolrooms around the world throughout the nineteenth century.

<sup>105</sup> Gerald Lee Gutek, *Pestalozzi & Education* (New York: Random House, 1968), 61.

<sup>106</sup> Sarah Davis McBride, “Ornaments of Education; the Material World of National Park Seminary,” *Washington History* 4, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1992), 52.

sympathetic friends contributes much to that spirit of comradeship and good cheer so evident in the school.”<sup>107</sup> The catalog went even further in describing the school, which was “characterized by cordial friendship and sympathetic interest in the attitude of the faculty toward the students in all the activities of the school.”<sup>108</sup> Such statements point back to the ideas of Pestalozzi that educators should extend the loving and supportive role of the pupil’s mother in order to foster better learning and understanding.

Pestalozzi was also a strong supporter of musical and artistic education, for he believed “strongly that the arts have their place and function in [...] education.”<sup>109</sup> In his view, the most important aspect of music was not proficiency, but the “most beneficial influence that it has upon the feelings.”<sup>110</sup> Thus he used music to foster moral growth and education, rather than teaching art for art’s sake. Pestalozzi advocated music education to add grace to the student’s character, rather than as a means to technical virtuosity. As such, music directly addressed “every bad or narrow feeling, of every ungenerous or mean propensity, of every emotion unworthy of humanity,” counteracting these feelings and resulting in a more moral individual.<sup>111</sup> During the mid-eighteenth century, when classes in music history and theory began to be offered in addition to private lessons, Pestalozzian principles were used to guide instruction and study, especially in the vocal department. This emulation led to the division of music into a series of steps and

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<sup>107</sup> 1919-1920 Catalog of the Ward-Belmont School (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1919), 17.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Vicki Eaklor, “Roots of an Ambivalent Culture: Music, Education, and Music Education in Antebellum America,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 33, no. 2 (1985): 63.

<sup>110</sup> Arthur D. Efland, “Pestalozzi and 19<sup>th</sup> Century Music Education,” *International Journal of Music Education* 3, no. 1 (May 1984), 22. Quotation from Harmann Krusi, Jr., *Pestalozzi: His Life, Work, and Influence* (Cincinnati: Wilson & Hinkle Co., 1874), 178.

<sup>111</sup> “Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827): His Approach and Methods,” from “The Development of Education,” *Pestalozzi World: Educating Children for a Better Life*, <http://www.pestalozziworld.com/pestalozzi/methods.html>, accessed August 1, 2012. Also see Gerald Gutek, *Pestalozzi & Education*, 140-41.

elements, as well as causing most teachers to demonstrate sounds and experiences before introducing written notation.<sup>112</sup> For instance, repeated exercises separated rhythm from pitch, teaching the individual elements before combining the two in song. Pestalozzi himself confined music instruction to vocal music, in which he noted the importance of the “simple and untaught grace of melody,” and the beneficial results of using national melodies in music instruction.<sup>113</sup> While all of Pestalozzi’s principles may not have been embraced by every teacher, his ideals revolutionized music education and provided a model for all who would follow.

One of those influenced by Pestalozzian education was Lowell Mason (1792-1872), often called “the father of public school music” in the United States. Mason employed many of Pestalozzi’s ideas in his educational philosophy, believing that learning should be pleasant and based upon concrete perception and experience. He also emphasized the idea of rote learning and building musical skill by systematic levels of learning.<sup>114</sup> The American educator was well aware of his reliance on Pestalozzi’s ideals, and acknowledged this in various places, including the preface to his *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music* (1834). Here he describes his method of building new information on concepts already learned and arousing the curiosity of the student in the learning process. Mason describes this as a type of *Pestalozzian instruction*, in which it “pleases scholars to find out things themselves.”<sup>115</sup> Thus Pestalozzi’s ideals came to be

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<sup>112</sup> Gutek, *Pestalozzi and Education*, 64.

<sup>113</sup> Quotation from Mallorie Chernin, “A Practical Application of an Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic: The Development of Pestalozzian Education,” *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986), 64. See also Gerald Gutek, *Pestalozzi & Education*, 140-41.

<sup>114</sup> See Arthur L. Rich, “Lowell Mason, Modern Music Teacher,” *Music Educators Journal*, 28, no. 3 (January 1942): 22-23.

<sup>115</sup> Lowell Mason, *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music, for Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music, on the System of Pestalozzi* (Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter, 1834), 14.

embraced in American public school music, and many of Mason's ideas were adopted by private schools, as well.

The early classroom instruction in music which utilized these principles became more common during the second half of the nineteenth century. Music Vale Seminary, a Connecticut institution established in 1835, was one of the first female schools to offer courses in music history and theory. This institution provided concentrated study in the arts and, along with private instrumental and vocal instruction, included courses "in notation, harmony, thorough bass, and counterpoint."<sup>116</sup> With its concentration on musical studies, Music Vale was an unusual case, although some other conservatories also offered similar courses. The Nashville Academy of Music, founded in the 1830s, is one such example. In addition to regular private lessons, it emphasized musical science and offered regular theory examinations and courses.<sup>117</sup> These early ventures into classroom instruction in music were soon imitated by institutions in various parts of the United States. Classes in music history and theory were included in the curriculum of both Ward's Seminary and Belmont College by the late nineteenth century, and Ward-Belmont later boasted a full range of courses in music history as well as written and aural theory.<sup>118</sup> These studies were an important part of music education, for they enabled the performer to become a well-rounded musician with an understanding of the various aspects of music.

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<sup>116</sup> Tick, *American Women Composers Before 1870*, 53.

<sup>117</sup> Kenneth D. Rose, *Pioneer Nashville, Its Songs and Stories*, vol. I, 39; "Kenneth Daniel Rose Papers," Tennessee States Library and Archives.

<sup>118</sup> See the yearly bulletins of the schools listed.

## Females in Academic and Professional Careers

As musical studies at women's schools became more comprehensive and thorough during the nineteenth century, the career prospects of female graduates also began to expand. In a generation of American women who fought for and gained the right to vote and who took pride in service to the community and to the nation, numerous changes were also made on many other fronts. No longer were upper-class women confined merely to the home and parlor, but at the turn of the twentieth century females began to campaign for their own rights and for those less fortunate. Female "contributions on behalf of many groups [such as immigrants, orphans, and the indigent] placed them beyond the private, family-oriented arena to which females had formerly been relegated."<sup>119</sup> In addition, women became more well-educated, and the years between 1890 and 1920 were thus "a period of emergence for modern women who were often college educated, unmarried, and self-supporting."<sup>120</sup> These women saw themselves as precursors of greater things, and believed that "the promise of the educated woman had just begun."<sup>121</sup> Although these graduates and scholars faced continuing prejudice in the job market, the era from 1890 to 1920 saw the number of women holding jobs in professional fields noticeably increase, especially in accepted "feminized" positions such as nurses and librarians.<sup>122</sup> During this period, also, women began to break into the higher levels of academia, with more females attending graduate school and earning advanced degrees. By 1920, 47% of women in the

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<sup>119</sup> Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 140. Settlement Schools such as the Hull House in Chicago were born out of this movement, providing women with opportunities to aid others in more difficult circumstances.

<sup>120</sup> Sondra Wieland Howe, "Women's Participation in the NEA Department of Music Education, 1884-1925," *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 26, no. 2 (April 2005): 132.

<sup>121</sup> Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 140.

<sup>122</sup> For instance, by 1920, 88% of all librarians were female, and 96% of all nurses were women. Social work was another female-dominated field, with women holding 62% of jobs in 1920. The field of law, on the other hand was almost nonexistent for women in the early twentieth century, and only 5% of physicians were women. (Ibid., 127.)

United States had some level of college education, and 34 % finished at least a bachelor degree. However, although about 15% of these women went on to obtain a doctorate in their chosen field, few of these were able to obtain employment as professors.<sup>123</sup> The first women to obtain advanced degrees saw themselves as pioneers fighting against the status quo, just as the first women to attend college had fought stereotypes and prejudice. In the early days, most advanced female scholars had some sort of family support and encouragements, usually in the form of substantial financial help, thus most of them were from the middle or upper classes of society. Those who married upon graduation generally discontinued their academic careers, choosing to focus on their new role as wife and mother. The few schools that were open to employing female professors contributed to this trend, since they generally neglected married women because they already had their husband's support, leading to the result that nearly all women in academia in the early twentieth century were single.<sup>124</sup> Despite all difficulties, however, during this transitional period just prior to World War I and the Depression, when women's status was constantly changing, the increases made in women's education and career options are an excellent example of these developments.

Naturally, as in other fields of study, young women who concentrated their education on music around the turn of the twentieth century also began to have more opportunities to use their skills on a professional and academic level. In the later years of the nineteenth century, more and more female performers became internationally

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<sup>123</sup> Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 133.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 135-38.

recognized, and women began to play instruments not previously accepted for ladies.<sup>125</sup> At the same time, female composers such as Amy Cheney Beach (1867-1944) began to emerge. Beach, especially, was important in the professionalization of women musicians, for she composed large-scale works that women had previously been discouraged to attempt. Her *Gaelic Symphony* (1896) was a full-length symphonic work that contained strength and passion and earned her the regard of fellow composers such as George Chadwick.<sup>126</sup> Such pioneers led the way in a gradual shift of the status of female musicians, and thus contributed to the changing focus of music education at women's schools. No longer was music considered merely an "accomplishment" suitable for the parlor, but girls who studied vocal and instrumental performance now had the option of performing in public, and those who took theory and composition might even become composers in their own right.

Many graduates also used their music education to become teachers, both of small children and more advanced students, as the advancements in musical and professional opportunities for women mirrored those in society as a whole. Thus music instruction at women's schools began to more fully embrace the "scientific" aspects of music. This term had been used for centuries to refer to the theory of music, and is found repeatedly in discussions of music education. One example is John Poore's address to the Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia in 1787, which is described above.<sup>127</sup> Other such references appear in the 1840s, when Mrs. Lincoln Phelps embraced music both as an

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<sup>125</sup> Examples of female performers prominent at this time include the pianists Teresa Carreño, Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler, Julie Rivé-King, and Amy Beach. The violinist Camilla Urso was another prominent figure who pioneered in string performance for women.

<sup>126</sup> See Adrienne Fried Block, *Amy Beach: Passionate Victorian* (New York: Oxford UP, 1998): 103.

<sup>127</sup> See p. 26. In this address, he discussed the "science" of instrumental music. (John Swanwick, "Thoughts Upon Female Ed., addressed to the visitors of the YLA in Philly, Oct. 31, 1787," 146-53. Quoted in Gordon E. Fouts, "Music Instruction in the Education of American Youth: The Early Academies." *Journal of Research in Music Education* 40, no. 4 (Winter 1972): 473.

accomplishment and as a science, writing “As an elegant accomplishment, and a resource against adversity, music may well be considered a desirable branch of education, when circumstances permit its attainment. This *science* [emphasis added] may also be cultivated, without any detriment to mental improvement...”<sup>128</sup> However, at that time systematic instruction in theory and counterpoint was not yet part of most music education.

During the second half of the nineteenth century this lack of theoretical or “scientific” instruction in music began to change in women’s schools, which often led the way in arts instruction. One excellent example of the broadening scope of music education at ladies schools may be taken from an 1874 catalog of the Conservatory of Music at the Pittsburgh Female College:

The methods employed in these world renowned conservatories have been adopted and instruction is given in Music both as a science and an art. In addition to the lessons given on the instrument selected by the pupil, instruction is given in the theory of Music, harmony, reading at sight and so on, a knowledge of these being essential in training to become a thorough musician.<sup>129</sup>

Such a course of study includes many of the components required for a college degree in music today, and would have gone a long way to prepare graduates for a future in some sort of musical profession, be it as a performer, piano teacher, or college professor. Women’s roles were changing, and as stated above, some schools were quick to keep their courses up to date with the times.

One important aspect of female education that is pertinent to this study is that schools in the South often lagged behind the rest of the nation in advancements in female

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<sup>128</sup> Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, *The Fireside Friend, or, Female Student* (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, 1840), 251.

<sup>129</sup> Elizabeth Phillips Hart, *A History of the Pittsburgh Female College, 1854-1896* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh Female College Association, 1946), 18.

studies, with many still holding on to antebellum ways and European ideals. By the early twentieth century, however, even women below the Mason-Dixon line began to assert independence. In Tennessee in 1920, Southern women rallied behind the cause of suffrage to campaign for the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment and the granting of women's right to vote. After a long and arduous struggle, they were able to win over enough Southern politicians to achieve victory on August 26.<sup>130</sup> While women's suffrage represented great determination and commitment to change, it also served as a vehicle to preserve white supremacy. Many politicians and supporters of women's suffrage hoped that granting white women the right to vote would counteract the influence of African Americans and immigrants at the polls.<sup>131</sup>

At the same time, the change evident in the women's suffrage movement was reflected in other aspects of society. During the transitional period leading into the twentieth century, female schools in Nashville and throughout the South, like others in the North, began to include more rigorous courses and subjects. The Nashville College for Young Ladies, for instance, formed a partnership with Vanderbilt University, sharing its library and some of its scientific apparatus. This school, founded by Dr. George Washington Fergus Price in 1880, boasted an "ambitious curriculum" that included such subjects as psychology, logic, political science, literature, and music. Since Price was interested in providing a "real education for young women," classes were comprehensive, and students were able to attend lectures at Vanderbilt.<sup>132</sup> Ward's Seminary likewise

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<sup>130</sup> For more information, see Anastasia Sims, "Armageddon in Tennessee: The Finale Battle Over the Nineteenth Amendment," in *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. Marjorie Spruill (Troutdale, OR: NewSage Press, 1995), 333-52.

<sup>131</sup> For instance, see Philip No. Cohen, "Nationalism and Suffrage: Gender Struggle in Nation-Building America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 21, no. 3 (1996), 717.

<sup>132</sup> Kay Baker Gaston, *The Education of Mary Harriet Henry* (1984-87), 7; 15.

offered a wide array of subjects, employing science and mathematics professors along with literature, language, and music instructors. Later, at Ward-Belmont, specific tracks of study were offered that prepared the student for further collegiate study and ostensibly an academic or professional career. For these degrees, an in-depth curriculum was required, and in the field of music, subjects such as aural and written theory and music history were routinely offered.<sup>133</sup>

The very same schools, however, also demonstrated the continuing conflict between the ideal of the Southern Belle and women's advancement in the professional world. Even in 1920, just after women had secured the right to vote, the Ward-Belmont Catalog opened with the following inspirational passage: “[N]ow, in this glorious year of 1920, she [woman] finds herself free, at last, to express her aspirations in the ways that will make for the uplift of humanity.” In This “Ideal” was interpreted as grasping “the deep significance of Service,” although to whom this service was rendered is not specified. In some ways such sentiments sound strangely close to the aim of soothing, entertaining men and pleasing others, which was imperative for the antebellum Southern Belle.<sup>134</sup> In the early twentieth century, the purpose of women's education in the South was still much in debate, for while many graduates of Ward-Belmont did go on to further collegiate study and professional employment, an equal or greater number were there to be “finished” and prepared for a future as a wife, mother, and hostess in the tradition of the Southern Belle.

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<sup>133</sup> For instance, see the 1919-1920 Catalog of Ward-Belmont College (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1919), 23.

<sup>134</sup> *Milestones, 1920, Yearbook of the Ward-Belmont School* (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1920), Forward. Also see pages 3-4.

Thus, the position of education for upper-class white women in the early twentieth century was still undecided, especially in the South. The idea of the elegant Southern Belle was still very strong, and in a culture that often strove to recreate antebellum rituals, females often had to live with antiquated expectations. In the highest levels of Southern society, especially, from whence most students at private female schools came, young ladies had a specific role that involved entertaining and charming future beaux, and many would go on to become mistresses of substantial estates.<sup>135</sup> At the same time, the growing independence and opportunities available to women challenged existing conventions. Into this ambiguous and exciting world emerged the graduates of Nashville's schools in the early twentieth century.

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<sup>135</sup> A 1923 study demonstrated that the median income of the families of students who matriculated at private girls' schools was \$5,140, while that for women at state schools was \$3,349. (See Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 146.)

### Chapter Three: Cultural Life in Nashville

The area of Middle Tennessee where Nashville now resides was for centuries home to various Native American cultures: first the Mississippians occupied the coveted hunting grounds, and later the Cherokee, Chickamauga, and Shawnee settled there. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the area began to be explored by French trappers and traders, and the first trading post was established in 1710. During the years leading up to the Revolutionary War, colonial settlers from the east coast began to venture west across the Appalachian mountains into central Tennessee, which was then part of North Carolina. This new frontier offered promise, mystery, and adventure, and attracted both honest settlers and greedy opportunists.<sup>136</sup>

A few years later, in 1779, James Robertson led a band of 250 men to the Cumberland Valley, where they arrived on Christmas Day. The following year, in April 1780, John Donelson guided the families of these first pioneers to the area, accompanied by provisions. Soon the settlement was christened Nashborough, in honor of General Francis Nash of North Carolina, and in 1784 the current name of Nashville was chosen.<sup>137</sup> Despite its frontier status, the city soon developed into a cultural and agricultural center, beginning with the incorporation of its first institute of higher education in 1785. That year, Robertson and a local clergyman established Davidson

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<sup>136</sup> For more information, see Ophelia Paine and John Lawrence Connelly, "Nashville (Metropolitan Nashville/Davidson County)," in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=964>, accessed August 9, 2012.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

Academy, which would later become Cumberland College, and within ten years several inns and stores were built in the vicinity.<sup>138</sup>

In succeeding years, as white settlers drove indigenous peoples from the area, the stockades which had been necessary to protect the city's new residents were no longer needed. Seizing the opportunities in the now accessible region, more settlers migrated westward, and by the year 1800 Nashville featured brick homes, a local newspaper, a dependable mail service, and two local churches. Flourishing trade along the Cumberland River and down the Mississippi supported the growing economy and the cotton industry in western Tennessee also contributed to an economic and population boom in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. During this period, Nashville emerged as "not only [a] typical [city] but one of the most important centres [sic] of western life during that period."<sup>139</sup> Because of its position as a cultural leader in what was then considered the West, the economic, social, and educational establishments of Nashville were admired and emulated by other cities across the region, and its inhabitants embraced various artistic and intellectual pursuits. Jesse Burt agrees with this observation, noting that "[c]ontemporary sources show a strong community appreciation of education, organized religion, reading, good conversation, good manners, and worthy aspiration."<sup>140</sup> Among these aspirations were artistic and musical activities, which will be considered in more detail later in this chapter, and which included the establishment of several musical academies during the first thirty years of the century. By the 1820s, Nashville had emerged from the wilderness to become a center of civilization and culture.

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<sup>138</sup> Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), 197-98.

<sup>139</sup> Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, 198-224, 277.

<sup>140</sup> Jesse C. Burt, *Nashville: Its Life and Times*, (Nashville, TN: Tennessee Book Company, 1959), 52.

During this same era, Nashville also saw remarkable population growth: while the city boasted 1100 inhabitants in 1810, the population had more than tripled to 3500 residents in 1823. By this time, most of the buildings near downtown were made of brick rather than wood, and while the streets were still mainly unpaved, sidewalks were marked off for pedestrian access. Other civic improvements which appeared during this era included oil lamps along the main city streets and the construction of waterworks, a pump-house, and various roads and bridges. Many of these projects were accomplished by a group of slaves owned by the city, and although some slaves were used in the construction of Northern cities, the prevalence of slavery in Nashville helps to demonstrate that it was already considered a “Southern” city despite its location in the “West.”<sup>141</sup> This identification greatly impacted the course of the city’s history, as well as the educational institutions which were being established.

Other signs of Nashville’s growing prominence and sophistication included the city’s burgeoning publishing industry and literary activity, which first began near the end of the eighteenth century and had become prominent by 1850.<sup>142</sup> Nashville’s location proved to be a major contributor to this development, since it became one of the leading cities in the South and because functioned as a hub of railroad and river transport. Many books and journals published in the city were circulated throughout the South, causing Nashville to be recognized as a publishing center. Some of the works published were by Nashville residents, such as the female poets Virginia French (?—1880) and Clara Cole, who were quite active at the time and wrote in the romantic style then in vogue.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> See Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, 277-79.

<sup>142</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 93.

<sup>143</sup> Davenport, “Cultural Life in Nashville,” 344-45. Virginia French often wrote under the pen name “L’Innocue,” and served as a contributor and editor for many journals. (*The Tennessee Encyclopedia of*

Several women's magazines, such as the *Southern Lady's Companion* and the *Parlor Visitor*, also had headquarters in Nashville.<sup>144</sup> These publications were similar to *Godey's Ladies Book* and other feminine journals, and included various articles on moral issues, fashions, recipes, and other topics of interest to Victorian ladies. In these and similar magazines originating in Nashville, prevailing nineteenth-century culture and ideals were very much evident, showing that the city had indeed become a major center of civilization in the West.

At the same time, however, Nashville's frontier roots were still very evident. For example, Philip Lindsley (1786-1855), a graduate of Princeton University who came to Nashville in 1824 as President of Cumberland College, was less than impressed with the civic life he found there. At the time, while no longer a true frontier town, Nashville was still very much part of the "the West," and preserved many of its frontier traits. Ideals such as materialism, individualism, and suspicion of eastern education and opinions were still very much in vogue.<sup>145</sup> Materialism was evident in the general focus on creating a booming economy and building an impressive city, even if that meant neglecting some of the "finer things." The individualism and independence of the populace was readily apparent in local customs and manners, or the lack thereof. While these traits proved somewhat irksome to a Princeton graduate, it was perhaps the general suspicion of eastern education and culture that proved most challenging for Lindsley, who came to Nashville with the main purpose of bringing such influences to the city's education

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*History of and Culture*, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=521>, accessed April 21, 2014.) Charlotte Clara Marling Cole (1807-83) was well-known as a poet and the mother of John Marling, an editor in Nashville. (Andrew Johnson, *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, edited by LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins [Nashville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1972], 446.)

<sup>144</sup> Davenport, "Cultural Life in Nashville," 346.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 328.

system. In a series of anonymous writings published in the Nashville papers, he offered his humorous, albeit sometimes biting, observations about the frontier traits displayed by Nashville's inhabitants. In addition to complaining about a general lack of quality food products, Lindsley suggested a lack of education, writing that "[e]verything degenerates in Tennessee. Doctors are made by guess...lawyers by magic...parsons by inspiration...legislators by grog...merchants by Mammon...farmers by necessity...editors and schoolmasters by St. Nicholas."<sup>146</sup> Lindsley was also offended by some local customs which expressed the people's individuality in various ways, such as spitting chewing tobacco in public and the common practice of fake beggars going door to door with their invented stories. Yet he also noted that Nashville was home to such aspects of civilization as public reading rooms and even a museum.<sup>147</sup> Lindsley's commentary on the city is remarkably close to those written by European travelers who visited Nashville at the same time. For example, Mrs. Francis "Fanny" Trollope, an English author who toured the United States and wrote somewhat humorous accounts of her experiences, noted that Tennessee was one of the most uncouth places she had ever visited. Likewise, James E. Alexander, another European commentator, was disappointed with his impressions of the state's capitol. He was horrified to see local citizens blow noisily on their coffee to cool it down during a meal, and wrote that they ate their dinner "as if it were [their] last meal."<sup>148</sup> America was a young country, and its western states were full of eager, imaginative settlers who still held on to many of their frontier ways as

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<sup>146</sup> Leroy J. Halsey, editor, *The Works of Philip Lindsley* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1866), 629. Quoted in F. Garvin Davenport, "Culture Versus Frontier in Tennessee," *The Journal of Southern History* 5, no. 1 (February 1939), 20.

<sup>147</sup> Davenport, "Culture Versus Frontier," 20-22.

<sup>148</sup> Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell, *Tennessee: A Short History* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 234-35.

they struggled to forge a new nation and establish civilization on the edge of the wilderness.

Within a few years, however, most of Nashville's frontier traits had disappeared, and by 1850 the city was truly a leader in the South. That year, the city was also Tennessee's largest city, with 10,160 inhabitants, and was rapidly becoming a center of transportation and communications. Fifteen toll roads emerged from the city and the Nashville-Chattanooga railroad came through in 1851, connecting the city to the Western and Atlantic railroad that ran all the way to Charleston, South Carolina, and making travel to Nashville much quicker and easier.<sup>149</sup> As commercial trade flourished, traveling theater performers and musicians also began to consider Nashville an important stop. One of the most famous actors to visit Nashville during this period was the famous Shakespearean actor Edwin Booth, brother of the infamous John Wilkes. Known for his "romantic" aura and melancholy air, Edwin was at the height of his career when he visited Nashville, drawing large crowds in 1859.<sup>150</sup> Many notable musicians also frequented the city, and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Nashville's musical and artistic activity continued up until 1861, so that, as Leland Crabb states, "Nashville had taken great strides in its artistic development when the Civil War came on."<sup>151</sup> All of that changed when Tennessee seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy in 1861, putting much of Nashville's culture and wealth in jeopardy. Local citizens were torn in their loyalties, as others throughout the country were during this pivotal era. While most Nashvillians were staunch supporters of the

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<sup>149</sup> Folmsbee, Corlew and Mitchell, *Tennessee: A Short History*, 297-98. Also see "Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1102>, accessed April 22, 2014.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 235-36.

<sup>151</sup> Crabb, *Nashville: Personality of a City*, 214.

Southern cause, some Union sympathizers remained in the city throughout the Federal occupation. One of these, Hetty McEwen, flew a Union flag even before Federal troops moved in, considering it a “treasured symbol” of what her ancestors had fought for during the Revolutionary War. The great majority of locals were more likely to snub the Union flag than honor it, and during the initial occupation of the city a spirit of melancholy and fear hovered over Nashville. One Union supporter compared it to “a military funeral” full of sadness and humiliation for the Southern supporters.<sup>152</sup>

Ultimately, the Union occupation saved Nashville from much of the destruction wrought in other areas of the South and most of the city emerged with relatively few permanent scars, yet the war served to stifle much of the normal musical, theatrical, and educational activities of the city. Crabb notes that performances were staged for Union troops and their friends, but other than that, Nashville was quiet during the war.<sup>153</sup>

After the Civil War, as white Southerners faced the grim period of Reconstruction, cultural life among the upper classes was slow to emerge from the decimation of war. A city such as Nashville, which had not suffered as much as many other areas, was a little quicker to recover, but it was still several years before its cultural life began to flourish. During the rest of the 1860s, hardly any theatrical performances took place in the city, and artistic pursuits remained slow even into the next decade.<sup>154</sup> By the 1880s, however, Nashville’s cultural scene had resumed in earnest, with musical events occupying a central position in city life.

The Centennial Exposition held in Nashville in 1897 provided a huge boost to the city’s cultural life and served as a way for Nashville to demonstrate its position as a

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<sup>152</sup> Walter T. Durham, *Nashville; the Occupied City, 1863-63* (Nashville: Williams Printing Co., 1985), 48.

<sup>153</sup> Crabb, *Nashville: Personality of a City*, 215.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

leading cultural center in the Southern United States. The Exposition followed the pattern of earlier World's Fairs, especially the great "Columbian Exposition" held in Chicago in 1893. The Tennessee event was called by state historians Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell "the greatest [extravaganza] that Tennesseans had ever witnessed," and Nashville welcomed and entertained guests from around the world with everything from historical relics, to a "Little Egypt," to replicas of Greek buildings.<sup>155</sup> Perhaps most memorable was the replica of the Greek Parthenon, which highlighted Nashville's self-identity as the "Athens of the South." This moniker was a result of the emphasis on education which Nashville exhibited from its earliest years, as well as of the importance placed on teaching Classical languages at the city's colleges and universities. Philip Lindsley was a major contributor to Nashville's Classical heritage, and many historians believe he was the first to use the terms "Athens of the South" during a speech in 1840.<sup>156</sup> The first fully documented use of the moniker came a few years later, when one of Lindsley's former students wrote: "But of all we have seen and known, we may safely say, there is no city west of the mountains which seem [sic] to us so justly entitled to be called the "Athens of the West" as Nashville. And for that distinction we think there is no man to whom Nashville is so much indebted as Dr. Lindsley."<sup>157</sup> Lindsley had helped to bring an appreciation for education and classical learning to the somewhat rustic frontier culture he encountered in Nashville.

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<sup>155</sup> Folmsbee, Corlew and Mitchell, *Tennessee: A Short History*, 430-32.

<sup>156</sup> Christine Kreyling, *Classical Nashville: The Athens of the South* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996), xii-xiii.

<sup>157</sup> Leroy J. Halsey, *A Sketch of the Life and Educational Labors of Philip Lindsley, D.D.* (Hartford: Williams, Wiley & Turner, 1859; reprinted from *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, September 1859), 41. Quoted in Kreyling, *Classical Nashville*, xiv.

In addition to the emphasis on education, the early fondness many Nashville citizens showed for classical architecture also contributed to its reputation as the “Athens of the South.” By the time the Capitol building was constructed in 1845, such a classical heritage already existed in the city that William Strickland, an architect from Philadelphia famous for his classical style, was hired to design it. The Greek monument topping the building set the standard for later architects and designers who followed Strickland’s lead, and Nashville’s public buildings all began to utilize a classical style.<sup>158</sup> Thus it was only natural for the organizers of the Centennial Exposition to desire to promote Nashville’s constructed image, and this was achieved by erecting replicas of Greek buildings as well as putting a great focus on cultural activities and education during the entire event.

Among the cultural marvels offered at the Exposition were a large art exhibit; housed in the Parthenon; a display of historical types of transportation ranging from an ox-cart to a palace car; and picturesque parks with manicured gardens and fountains.<sup>159</sup> Numerous special buildings and displays also contributed to the cultural environment. One of the most interesting was the “Woman’s Building,” which was designed by local artist Sarah Ward-Conley, whose parents had founded Ward Seminary. For this project she created “a somewhat idealized” version of the Hermitage, Andrew Jackson’s home, which featured several exhibits, a gift shop, and a roof-top restaurant. It hosted numerous dinners and receptions during the Exposition, and the library it housed was a popular attraction.<sup>160</sup> Various “Special Days” and meetings addressing political, economic,

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<sup>158</sup> Krelying, *Classical Nashville*, xiv.

<sup>159</sup> Folmsbee, Corlew and Mitchell, *Tennessee: A Short History*, 412.

<sup>160</sup> Elizabeth Israels Perry, “Memorializing the 1897 Tennessee Centennial Woman’s Building,” in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World’s Fairs*, ed. T.J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 153; Bobby Lawrence, *Tennessee Centennial; Nashville 1897* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 1998), 40.

cultural, and intellectual subjects, all geared toward “woman’s mission and woman’s work,” were also held at the building. Many female musicians performed vocal and instrumental concerts demonstrating their skill, and other arts were prominently featured in the building’s exhibits. However, it was the female speakers that were usually the focal point of special events. Although their speeches often favored old-fashioned Victorian ideals of women’s place in the domestic sphere, which they considered to be the proper arena for females to use their newly-gained political and social powers, they still embraced these new freedoms.<sup>161</sup> Such tensions between old and new way of thinking were prevalent in Southern society throughout the early twentieth century.

Even with these idealistic conflicts taken into account, the Woman’s Building at the Centennial Exposition was a great success. According to a contemporary account from the *New York Times*, “the woman’s board [...] has contributed far beyond its importance in numbers to the success of the exposition.”<sup>162</sup> The sheer popularity of the Woman’s Building, as well as the fact that it was conceived, designed, and carried out by a strictly female board, demonstrates the growing importance of women in society leading into the twentieth century. In this way, the Woman’s Building at the Centennial Exposition served as a portent of the social changes to come to Nashville and the surrounding region in the next few years, changes which culminated in the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

Other aspects of the Centennial Exposition also served as a transition into the future for the state of Tennessee. When Governor Robert Love Taylor gave an address at

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<sup>161</sup> Perry, “Memorializing the 1897 Tennessee Centennial Woman’s Building,” in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World’s Fairs*, 157-58.

<sup>162</sup> E. G. D. “Nashville’s Exposition,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1897, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/95457159/fulltextPDF/138E39BBDB7C3B71C5/19?accountid=11836>, accessed August 31, 2012.

the Grand Opening, he showed great excitement for the years ahead, declaring “Who can tell what another century will unfold? I think I see a vision of the future opening before me. I see triumphs in art, achievements in science, undreamed of by the artisans and philosophers of the past.”<sup>163</sup> The event itself provided glimpses into the future, serving as a “pivotal moment” in city and state history. During this event, Mary Ellen Pethel notes that Nashville started to embrace “commercialized leisure, urban identity, sport, and socialization.”<sup>164</sup> Since the Exposition was located near most of the Nashville’s colleges and universities, students—both male and female—frequented the grounds and availed themselves of the stimulation and entertainment offered there. For the first time, young women were able visit public spaces and events without harming their reputation as ladies, and Ward’s Seminary took full advantage of this new social behavior by staging its own day on October 28. On this special occasion, students were allowed to ride the public streetcars and stroll around the grounds on their own, taking in the full atmosphere.<sup>165</sup> Such freedom would have been impossible only a few years before, when female behavior was much more tightly constricted by social expectations and demands.

As the twentieth century dawned, these new ideals of leisure, amusement, and freedom continued to take root and flourish in Nashville. One prominent way in which they were manifest was in the formation of numerous social and civic organizations for both male and female members. Most of these groups were created by the new elite of Nashville society, which was comprised of both old families and newcomers who had gained wealth through recent business endeavors. In Nashville, the Hermitage Club was

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<sup>163</sup> Quoted in E. G. D. “Nashville’s Exposition,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1897.

<sup>164</sup> Mary Ellen Pethel, “Athens of the South: College Life in Nashville, A New South City, 1897-1917” (Ph. D. Dissertation, Georgia State University), 2008, 195.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

perhaps the most respected men's club, and although only males were permitted to join and to attend regular meetings, the Club hosted numerous social events such as balls and cotillions, which had long been open to women. Other male clubs focused on literary and historical topics, such as the Round Table and the Old Oak, while some gathered to promote various sporting endeavors.<sup>166</sup> In addition to the equestrian clubs, Nashville boasted a golf club and a baseball club for men by 1900.<sup>167</sup> However, in this period when women's rights and power were increasing, females played the most decisive role in shaping the social structure of the new upper class. They were the ones to organize most of the social gatherings such as soirees, outings, and debutante balls, which were then reported on in society magazines.<sup>168</sup> Alongside these social events, women's clubs and organizations existed in growing numbers and had a decided impact on Nashville society. William Waller lists many of the women's groups active in the 1890s, which included literary clubs, magazine clubs, the Tennessee Historical Society, and musical gatherings.<sup>169</sup> Ten years later, many of the same organizations were still in existence, with new ones appearing, as well. One of the most prominent to be organized after 1900 was the Centennial Club, which focused on civic rather than social issues and had origins in the Women's Department of the Centennial Exposition. The club, officially formed in 1905, strove for "the cultivation of higher ideals of civic life and beauty, the promotion of city, town and neighborhood improvement...[and] the promotion of hygiene and sanitary

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<sup>166</sup> Don H. Doyle, *New Men, New South, New Cities: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 211-13.

<sup>167</sup> Nashville's Baseball Club won the championship for its league—the Southern Association, in 1901. They faced opponents from all over the South, such as New Orleans, Shreveport, and Birmingham. See Carl F. Zibert, *Yesterday's Nashville* (Miami, Florida: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., 1976) 59.

<sup>168</sup> *Mirror* and *Chat* were both established in Nashville in the 1890s to chronicle the activities of the upper class. Various other directories, registers, and blue books also listed the most prestigious and elite citizens of Nashville and other cities. (See Doyle, *New Men, New South, New Cities*, 214; 219-20.)

<sup>169</sup> William Waller, Editor, *Nashville in the 1890s* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970), 38-40.

conditions.” Despite these high ideals, the club also functioned as a social gathering place, and after 1908 began to focus more on the arts rather than on reform.<sup>170</sup> The Nashville Woman’s Club, organized in 1909, took up where the Centennial Club left off. It focused on community health and welfare, and began by organizing story times in local parks for neighborhood children. By World War I members of the Club had worked for clean health laws, created programs to feed local children, and promoted improvements in education.<sup>171</sup> These women and many of their counterparts were ready and willing to exercise the new power and influence entrusted to them in a rapidly modernizing society.

Thus, with the women’s suffrage movement, females began to have more power than ever before, whether it was devoted to the cause of prohibition, female education, or women’s rights. Although Nashville still embraced many of the old Southern ideals and customs, these slowly began to give way to modern trends and ways of thinking. Even at elite schools such as Ward-Belmont, girls were given new roles and opportunities. By 1929, that school had even added a jazz ensemble comprised of female students playing instruments including the saxophone and other winds for various social events and ceremonies.<sup>172</sup> Not only were these young ladies exploring a modern style of music, but they were performing on instruments that only a few years before had been off-limits for females to even try, thus demonstrating a microcosm of the larger changes taking place in society.

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<sup>170</sup> William Waller, Editor, *Nashville 1900-1910* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972) 141; Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 224-25.

<sup>171</sup> “History of the Club,” *The Woman’s Club of Nashville*, [http://www.thewomansclubofnashville.com/History\\_of\\_the\\_Club/](http://www.thewomansclubofnashville.com/History_of_the_Club/), accessed September 20, 2012.

<sup>172</sup> *Milestones, 1929*, Yearbook of the Ward-Belmont School (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1929), 220-21.

## Early Education in Nashville

From the very beginning, education was an important part of Nashville's culture. Some consider the first private school in the area to have existed on board the flag-boat in Colonel Donelson's fleet as it traveled down the Cumberland River to Nashville in 1780. On this boat, Mrs. Ann Johnson, sister of James Robertson, taught nearly thirty children who were part of the group of settlers and, after landing in Nashville, these studies continued for some time. In 1784, this school gave way to Davidson Academy, and Nashville's educational history grew from there.<sup>173</sup> As the early citizens of Nashville strove for civilization, education was an important part of their efforts. Schools were founded even before Tennessee was granted statehood, and provision was made for educational support throughout the state when the Congress voted in 1806 that 640 acres be set aside in each township for common schools.<sup>174</sup> It took several years, however, for a functioning public school system to be created, causing private schools to become more prevalent and influential. Only in the 1850s did public education begin to emerge, and soon uncertain funding and lack of public support, combined with difficulties over racial segregation after the Civil War, kept the system from flourishing.<sup>175</sup> The lack of good public schools created a true need for private institutions, and private schools for both males and females emerged to fill that void. One of the first of these was the Nashville Female Academy, established in 1816.

In addition to elementary and secondary schools, many private colleges and universities began to appear in Nashville and the surrounding area during the nineteenth

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<sup>173</sup> E. E. Hoss, *History of Nashville, Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: Methodist Episcopal Publishing House, 1890), 405.

<sup>174</sup> Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, 252.

<sup>175</sup> See Cynthia Griggs Fleming, "Elementary and Secondary Education," in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=964>, accessed August 10, 2012.

century. In 1893, Lucius Salisbury Merriam compiled an in-depth account of higher education throughout Tennessee, in which he offered a general survey as well as detailed information on a few colleges he considered the finest. While he deemed standards at many of these early schools questionable and noted that some of the degrees conferred were earned “by maintain[ing] a reputation for good moral character and attending to their businesses for several years,” a few schools did merit his approval. These included the University of Nashville (formerly Davidson Academy), Vanderbilt University, the University of the Cumberlands, and the University of the South.<sup>176</sup>

Of the schools on Merriam’s list of quality institutions, it is noteworthy that two of the four—the University of Nashville and Vanderbilt—were in the capitol city, and that they both contributed much to the cultural, as well as to the academic, life of the community. While Vanderbilt was not founded until 1875, the University of Nashville dated all the way back to 1784, when its predecessor, Davidson Academy, had opened. It was incorporated as Cumberland College in 1806, and soon was housed in a large brick college building. In 1826, not long after Lindsley arrived as its new President, the College became the University of Nashville. Under his leadership the school amassed a library of nearly 8500 volumes, and the student body grew to an enrollment of about 100 each year by the 1830s.<sup>177</sup> With a strong medical program and adjoining hospital, the University of Nashville had become a respected and influential institution by the 1850s.

The University was a leader among many other Academies and colleges for both male and female students that were established and growing in Nashville during the

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<sup>176</sup> Lucius Salisbury Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893); quoted in Frank B. Williams, Jr., “Higher Education,” in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=964>, accessed August 10, 2012.

<sup>177</sup> “Brief History of the University of Nashville, Tennessee,” *The American Quarterly Register* 12, no. 3 (February 1840), 250-54, American Periodicals, accessed August 12, 2012.

antebellum period. Many of these schools contributed much to the artistic and cultural, as well as educational, environment. In addition to the Nashville Female Academy, which was one of the most prominent schools, Nashville boasted a Ladies College and a Female Institute, the Shelby Medical College, two Commercial Colleges, and several private institutions.<sup>178</sup> For instance, Mrs. Scott's Seminary for Young Ladies opened in 1824 and flourished for over eighteen years, providing excellent training for a generation of Nashville's females. E. E. Hoss calls Mrs. Scott "one of the most successful teachers of that early day," and her school included a broad selection of subjects ranging from arithmetic, English, and astronomy to "useful and ornamental needlework." T. V. Peticolas, one of the city's leading musicians, taught drawing for Mrs. Scott, and she also employed an instructor in French.<sup>179</sup> Mrs. And Mrs. Abercrombie also directed a private girl's school in the city which had been founded by a couple from Kentucky, but became a prominent institution when the Abercrombie's took over in 1816. Sarah Childress, future wife of President James K. Polk, was perhaps the school's most famous pupil, and the Abercrombie's furthered music in Nashville by including vocal and instrumental instruction.<sup>180</sup> Various other smaller private schools were scattered across the city and its surrounding vicinity, and they endeavored to fill the void left by the slowly-developing public school system in the antebellum era.

During the Civil War, many educational institutions throughout the South either downsized greatly suspended classes entirely. In cities like Nashville, which was occupied by Union troops for much of the conflict, most institutions were closed for at least part of the war, and many of their buildings were used for other purposes, such as

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<sup>178</sup> Davenport, "Cultural Life in Nashville," 333-46.

<sup>179</sup> Hoss, *History of Nashville*, 408-9.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 406.

temporary hospitals, during the conflict. Both the Nashville Female Academy and the University of Nashville were thus requisitioned in 1862, and later the Academy was used as the provost marshal's office. The Academy, in particular, suffered heavily during the war, for not only was it evacuated and used by the Federals, but the school's President, Colin D. Elliot, was arrested, the Academy was pillaged, and classes were never resumed.<sup>181</sup> Some other schools fared a little better during the conflict, especially smaller institutions such as Emma Holcombe's Southside Institute, which resumed classes only a few weeks after the initial occupation.<sup>182</sup> One school, in fact, the St. Cecelia Academy, operated by the Dominican Sisters, was actually established during the war and allowed to continue classes throughout the entire conflict. Thus the level of disruption caused in Nashville's educational institutions varied, yet the Federal occupation left a marked and lasting impression on cultural life for the white middle and upper classes of the city.<sup>183</sup>

In the wake of the incalculable destruction and loss suffered by the white society of the South during the war, the renewal of education served as a faint glimmer of hope for the future. Although Nashville's upper class had not suffered to the extent many other cities had, it still needed to rebuild, and only by attempting to resume some type of normalcy and to bridge the gap between antebellum and post-bellum societies could the Nashville's elite culture and economy ever begin to recover.<sup>184</sup> Some women's colleges throughout the South, such as St. Cecilia, had managed to continue through the war with

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<sup>181</sup> Blandin, *History of Higher Education of Women in the South*, 280.

<sup>182</sup> Durham, *Nashville; the Occupied City*, 86.

<sup>183</sup> It is interesting to note that the Civil War and Federal occupation of Nashville had a much different impact on the African American population. During this period, slaves were emancipated, African American men received the right to vote, and educational options for black citizens were greatly improved. The founding of Fisk University in 1866 is just one example of the new opportunities available to the African American community. (See A. A. Taylor, "Fisk University and the Nashville community, 1866-1900," *The Journal of Negro History* 39, no. 2 (April 1954): 111-126.

<sup>184</sup> As mentioned above, the destruction of war had an opposite effect on black society in Nashville.

little or no change, and they continued to preserve antebellum traditions and ideals, helping to bridge this gap. Michael Cohen notes that some had considered these schools “sanctuaries from the war” during the conflict, and after it ended they served as “microcosms of the halcyon world of days past.” Following the war, these schools continued to educate only white females from the upper class, just as they had before, even years later when other colleges began to target a less homogenous student body.<sup>185</sup> In many ways the female schools discussed in this study also strove to preserve antebellum ideals. Even those that were established after the War, such as Ward’s Seminary, targeted the same upper-class, white female population, and many of the courses and certificates offered served to create proper ladies who could fulfill the role of a Southern Belle.

Other educational institutions in the South did begin to include a wider demographic. The emerging need to educate the newly freed slaves led to the creation of educational institutions for African Americans and the integration of some existing schools. In addition to humanitarian ideals and the desire to help these former slaves establish a new life, economic issues were important of the inclusion of African Americans in the education system. Some male-only colleges also began to include women in this era, seeking larger student bodies and greater income. During a time when many Southern schools were struggling to make ends meet, any students that could be recruited were a welcome addition to tuition income, whether they were white, black, male or female. At the same time, due to growing racism and segregation in the South, many schools were established solely for African American students. One of the earliest

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<sup>185</sup> Michael David Cohen, “Reconstructing the Campus: Higher Education and the American Civil War” (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2008), 146-47.

and most famous, Fisk School, was first opened in Nashville in 1866, and became Fisk University two years later. By 1871 it featured a variety of subjects ranging from religion to liberal arts, and the University became internationally known through the efforts of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. This touring vocal ensemble performed arrangements of African American spirituals in venues all the way from Nashville to London and contributed greatly to the Nashville musical scene.

Additional educational efforts were undertaken around Nashville during the period of Reconstruction. In 1873 Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt donated one million dollars to establish a world-class University in Nashville, and the school opened as Vanderbilt University in 1875. From its beginning, Vanderbilt was a leading institution, offering studies in both liberal arts and sciences and including several professional schools affiliated with the main college.<sup>186</sup> The University grew rapidly, and although women initially were not accepted, by the early twentieth century female scholars had earned nearly equal status and regularly received the highest grades and academic honors.<sup>187</sup> Their successes highlight the gradual progress women across Tennessee and throughout the South were making toward modern ideas of female equality and women's rights.

As the twentieth century dawned, education continued to be valued in Nashville, with several public universities and teachers colleges opening. At these schools, middle class young men and women were able to pursue a degree that would lead to a career in education or in a specific trade. These institutions drew an entirely different type of

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<sup>186</sup> "History of Vanderbilt University," *Vanderbilt University*, <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/about/history/>, accessed August 27, 2012.

<sup>187</sup> Patricia Miletich, "Vanderbilt University," in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1440>, accessed August 27, 2012.

student than those who matriculated at Vanderbilt, the University of Nashville, or the elite female schools such as those studied in this dissertation. As educational opportunities expanded, more and more Nashville citizens were given the chance to pursue a professional vocation and to fulfill their dreams.

### Musical Life in Antebellum Nashville

During the nineteenth century, Nashville enjoyed an active musical and artistic scene which provided citizens with numerous opportunities to enjoy classical and popular music as well as theatrical performances. As early as 1820, when J. H. Taylor arrived from London to begin building pianos in the city, music had assumed an important place in Nashville's society. Ten years later, James Aykroyd was selling pianos in the city, and soon Nashville's musical life began in full force.<sup>188</sup> Kenneth D. Rose (1888-1960), a musician and scholar who spent many years as an instructor at Ward-Belmont and contributed much to the study of Nashville's early music, researched and chronicled its nineteenth-century artistic scene. In his article "A Nashville Musical Decade, 1830-1840," Rose states that by 1830 Nashville featured a "flourishing group of professional musicians, [...] several prosperous music stores, and [...] an artistic and dramatic activity more extensive than might have been expected."<sup>189</sup> He mentions theatrical activities in addition to music, and it is clear that the theater was an important component of early Nashville culture. Alfred Crabb notes this, saying that "...Nashville has never been without interest in the drama and at times has found it, in its varied forms, most

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<sup>188</sup> Martha Rivers Ingram, with D. B. Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle: A Performing Arts Odyssey in the Athens of the South, Nashville, Tennessee* (Franklin, TN: Hillsboro Press, 2004), 12.

<sup>189</sup> Kenneth D. Rose, "A Nashville Musical Decade, 1830-1840." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (1943), 217.

exciting.”<sup>190</sup> The first recorded theatrical performance in the city took place on December 4, 1807, only a few years after Nashville initial settlement. In 1816, Samuel Drake’s theatrical company, then playing in Frankfort, Kentucky, decided to add Nashville to their tour circuit. The next year, Noah Ludlow and his theatrical troupe sponsored the renovation of an old salt house into the Market Street Theater, which was soon a successful venue that housed regular theatrical performances.<sup>191</sup> At the same time, music continued to flourish, and a Musical Society already existed in the city. Its stated aim was to give concerts to raise funds for other musical endeavors that would “cultivate a taste for music,” and to use excess funds “to some public good.”<sup>192</sup> By 1820, then, a substantial group of musicians and music lovers already existed in the city, for such a Society required both sufficient musicians to put on the concerts and sufficient audience members to attend.

Early institutions of higher learning, including Cumberland College and the Nashville Female Academy, were also dependable sources for theatrical performances and made great contributions to the city’s musical scene.<sup>193</sup> The University of Nashville and the Female Academy, in particular, were centers of musical study and performance. Rose describes how these schools patronized local musicians and music dealers and influenced the surrounding areas with their concerts and recitals.<sup>194</sup> Numerous contemporary accounts and advertisement detail the musical events at these schools, and many city concerts were held in their facilities.

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<sup>190</sup> Alfred Leland Crabb, *Nashville: Personality of a City*. Indianapolis, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1960, 208.

<sup>191</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo’s Struggle*, 4-5.

<sup>192</sup> *Nashville Whig*, April 9, 1816; cited in Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo’s Struggle*, 4.

<sup>193</sup> Crabb, *Nashville, Personality of a City*, 212.

<sup>194</sup> Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade,” 223.

Because of the city's active musical community, familiarity with many of the great classical masters was common in Nashville at this time, as a series of concerts organized by local musicians show. The first two events were so successful that a third was added in October 1830, which was a "Grand Oratorio," or sacred concert including works from "The Messiah," and "The Creation." Local papers praised the execution of the music, and the oratorios proved to be a hit.<sup>195</sup> The sheer amount of musicality and talent required for such a performance is staggering, especially in 1830, when Tennessee was not far removed from being an unknown wilderness and the first generation of pioneers was still alive. Such early ventures into music laid the foundation for rapid cultural growth and musical achievement.

The Musical Fund Society of Nashville was another important player in the arts during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Society was founded in 1837, an auspicious year for music in Nashville despite the Financial Panic which occurred at the same time. That year, several important international artists visited the city, normal educational and musical endeavors flourished, and concert series continued to grow.<sup>196</sup> Local citizens supported these activities, such as the local musicians who sponsored the Musical Fund Society.<sup>197</sup> The Society introduced its own concert series, which raised funds to support their efforts and to purchase musical instruments, and they asked all who wanted to support musical taste to contribute to the cause.<sup>198</sup> The first concert proved a rousing success, drawing excellent reviews, and regular monthly recitals were given until March 1839. The local press seemed to adore the Society, printing advertisements for

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<sup>195</sup> Rose, "A Nashville, Musical Decade," 223.

<sup>196</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 19-20.

<sup>197</sup> Rose, "A Nashville Musical Decade," 228.

<sup>198</sup> Tim Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 85.

upcoming concerts and listing the repertoire to be performed. These programs included then contemporary composers such as Giacomo Meyerbeer, Vincenzo Bellini, Auber, and Weber, along with local composers. This demonstrates the up-to-date nature of the repertoire at these events, although older works by Mozart and others did appear.<sup>199</sup> The Society followed the model of other musical societies, which were an important aspect of nineteenth-century musical culture in many cities across the United States. Philadelphia established its own “Musical Fund Society” in 1820, and Louisville boasted such an organization by 1860.<sup>200</sup> Nashville’s Musical Fund Society, however, was short-lived, and for un-known reasons the popular organization vanished from all accounts in 1839.<sup>201</sup> Perhaps funding was short, or other organizations were ready to step in, but despite its short life-span the Musical Fund Society played an important role in establishing musical life in Nashville.

The early Nashville music scene was largely stimulated by a wave of European, mainly German, immigrants who came to Nashville in the 1830s and 40s. These new citizens were often highly trained musicians, and many of them began to offer private music lessons, while others opened music stores or established music schools. As early as 1826, newspapers advertised the skills of these musicians. For instance, on April 23 of that year, the *Nashville Banner* included an advertisement for T. V. Peticolas, who had recently arrived in Nashville, taught at Mrs. Scott’s Seminary, and was prepared to instruct “young gentlemen” in playing the flute.<sup>202</sup> Rose further documents some of

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<sup>199</sup> Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade,” 219; 227-28 and Sharp, “Nashville Music Before Country,” 85.

<sup>200</sup> See Martha Chrisman Riley, “Portrait of a Nineteenth-Century School Music Program.” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 38, no. 2 (summer 1990), 80.

<sup>201</sup> Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade,” 228.

<sup>202</sup> Tim Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country* (Charleston, SC; Chicago; Portsmouth NH; San Francisco: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 51.

Nashville's leading musicians in the 1830s, such as William Nash, who arrived in 1836. Little is known of Nash's earlier career, but he quickly emerged as an influential figure in Nashville's musical life.

Soon after arriving, Nash announced his eagerness to teach “the pianoforte, organ, singing in all its branches, direct church choirs and schools, [and to] instruct Psalmody and chanting...”<sup>203</sup> In addition to teaching, Nash ran a music store where he sold a variety of musical supplies and wares and appeared in numerous concerts in the area.<sup>204</sup> One of his greatest contributions came when he bought his own building for music instruction, which first known as “Mr. Nash's Concert Hall” and later became part of his Nashville Academy of Music. Nash's school was opened on High Street in 1836, and it soon rose to rival the music program at the Nashville Female Academy.<sup>205</sup> In addition to his private teaching and work with the Nashville Academy of Music, both Nash and his wife, a vocalist, taught at the Female Academy, where he directed the department of Music for several years. The couple also appeared in numerous concerts around the city.<sup>206</sup> Nash mysteriously disappeared from all Nashville accounts around 1846, and although Kenneth Rose mentions one advertisement for a piece composed by a William Nash in New Orleans in 1860, nothing definite is known about the remainder of his life.<sup>207</sup> Despite his abrupt departure, William Nash played a pivotal role in the development of the Nashville musical scene, and his diverse musical pursuits—private teacher, professor, musical merchant, and performer—demonstrate the versatility and adaptability of most of America's early musicians.

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<sup>203</sup> Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade,” 225.

<sup>204</sup> See Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 60-63.

<sup>205</sup> Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade,” 225; Hoss, *History of Nashville, Tennessee*, 410.

<sup>206</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 61.

<sup>207</sup> Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade,” 226.

Besides Nash and his wife, many of Nashville's other prominent musicians also taught at the Female Academy. Among these was Otto Rupius, who was listed as a professor there in the 1850 census.<sup>208</sup> In addition to his musical and educational employments, Rupius also wrote literature and published a few musical compositions in Louisville during the 1850s. Others were involved in the Nashville Academy of Music, including William Harmon, an American who had been trained in Europe. In addition to his work with Nash at the Academy, Harmon was a popular accompanist and soloist on the piano and often worked with other music schools in the city.<sup>209</sup> As demonstrated by these examples, most musicians in early Nashville contributed to the city's musical life in various ways.

Numerous musicians also advertised themselves as independent music instructors and merchants. Even if they were not regularly associated with an organized institution, their careers contributed to the growing music business in the city. Among these was a German immigrant, C. F. Schultz, who first came to Nashville after he heard of "its known refined taste in music."<sup>210</sup> After early studies in his home country, Schultz had come to the United States to teach in Pennsylvania, and soon upon his arrival in Nashville he was prepared to open a Music Institute.<sup>211</sup> In addition to organized musical instruction, Schultz worked as a composer and pianist and taught guitar and music theory at various points in his career.<sup>212</sup>

Henri C. Weber, another German immigrant, was also a prominent musical figure in mid-century Nashville. He taught both instrumental and vocal music at the Academy

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<sup>208</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 53.

<sup>209</sup> Rose, "A Nashville Musical Decade," 227.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 226-27.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 226-27.

of Music and also composed several pieces of his own. In addition to contributing to the music of his own time, Weber left a musical heritage through his daughter Mary, who, along with her husband Frederick Emerson Farrar, later opened a music school in the city.<sup>213</sup> These were only a few of the early musicians who impacted the classical music of antebellum Nashville through their educational and performance-oriented contributions.

By mid-century, Nashville boasted numerous schools and colleges dedicated to music education or at least offering music courses. Most of these were small establishments named after their proprietors and leaving little trace on the historical record, but the Nashville Female Academy emerged as a continuing leader in the music scene and was greatly involved in the city's active concert life. During this era, many of the concerts held in Nashville took place at the Female Academy, which was one of four prominent recital halls. This list also included Nash's Concert Hall at the Academy of Music, the City Hotel, and the Masonic Hall, which was perhaps the most popular of all and hosted most of the leading concerts. It had been built in 1818, and the elite audience members were usually fervent in their enjoyment and appreciation of the performances.<sup>214</sup> A few years later, in 1850, the Adelphi Theatre was built on Fourth Avenue. Also called by several other names, including the Nashville Theatre, the Grand Opera House, Gaiety Opera House, and the Nashville Opera House, it hosted some of the largest concerts held in the city during the later nineteenth century.<sup>215</sup> The Theatre, which required a capital investment of \$20,000 for its construction, was built in the Classical

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<sup>213</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 16; also see *Nashville in the 1890s*, edited by William Waller (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1970), 35.

<sup>214</sup> Rose, "A Nashville Musical Decade," 231. The Masonic continued to flourish throughout the nineteenth century; it was renamed the Bijou in 1892, and four years later was christened the New Masonic after a thorough refurbishment (Waller, *Nashville in the 1890s*, 12).

<sup>215</sup> "The Nashville Theatre, circa 1859," *Nashville Public Library Digital Collections*, <http://digital.library.nashville.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/nr/id/280/rec/8>, accessed August 28, 2012.

style with Roman arches, pilasters, and other ornamental architecture. The inside of the Theatre was just as grand, with spacious lobbies and colorful décor.<sup>216</sup> This venue, despite some financial troubles, would house many of the greatest musical and theatrical events held in Nashville prior to the Civil War.

Perhaps the most famous of these events was the visit of the Swedish soprano Jenny Lind (1820-1887), known as the “Swedish Nightingale” and already world-renowned in 1851 when she stopped in Nashville during a wildly successful American tour organized by P.T. Barnum. The famous Impresario made quite an event of Lind’s Nashville concert, just as he had her other appearances throughout the country. According to Davenport, Lind’s boat that floated down the Cumberland River was greeted in Nashville by crowds of fans who had received word of her arrival, no doubt due to Barnum’s shrewd publicity.<sup>217</sup> Contemporary accounts testify to this warm reception, with *The Christian Observer* of April 5 reporting that “The arrival of M’lle [sic] Jenny Lind on the 27<sup>th</sup> from St. Louis has caused great excitement. The wharves and housetops in the vicinity of landing were crowded by those eager to catch a glimpse of the fair Swede; and as she came on shore she was greeted with hearty cheers.”<sup>218</sup> The best tickets for Lind’s Nashville concerts, held at the Adelphi, were auctioned off, with the first drawing \$200, and the two concerts together netted nearly \$12,000. *The Christian Observer* also noted that Mr. Elliott, President of the Nashville Female Academy, purchased 60 tickets, which were surely intended for his pupils. At the concert, Lind’s

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<sup>216</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo’s Struggle*, 32-33

<sup>217</sup> Davenport, “Cultural Life in Nashville,” 339.

<sup>218</sup> “General Intelligence, *The Christian Observer* (1840-1910); April 5, 1851, 30, no. 14, 55; *American Periodicals*, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/docview/135987063/1392D4C74B5CB721B2/42?accountid=1> 1836, accessed September 14, 2012.

selection of classical and popular pieces, including the nineteenth-century favorite “Home, Sweet Home,” won over most audience members, although at least one editor was critical of her performance, declaring her to lack the sentimentality valued by American ears.<sup>219</sup> Regardless of individual preferences, however, the excitement shown by the citizens of Nashville over Lind’s appearance, as well as the critique some of them gave her performance, demonstrates the high level of musical appreciation prevalent in the city by 1851. A concert appearance by the French violinist Camilla Urso (1840-1902) later in that decade was another important event for female music-lovers in Nashville. Urso and Lind provided two role models for young ladies in Nashville who were pursuing musical studies within the limited sphere available to them in the antebellum South.

Another extremely important musical event that took place in the Adelphi Theatre was the May 26, 1854, performance of Gaetano Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor* with a full complement of chorus and orchestra, presented by Arditi’s Italian Opera Company, a New York-based troupe that toured widely. Although the twisted plot of this particular work kept it from being too successful with Nashville audiences, Donizetti’s *Norma* was later a smashing success, and opera became an important part of entertainment in the city.<sup>220</sup> According to James Parton, a transplanted Englishman who became the biographer of Andrew Jackson, Horace Greeley, and other notable Americans, opera soon became a staple in Nashville’s musical scene. He wrote that while walking down the

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<sup>219</sup> Davenport, “Cultural Life in Nashville,” 339; Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo’s Struggle*, 35-36; “General Intelligence, *The Christian Observer* (April 5, 1851), 55.

<sup>220</sup> Davenport, “Cultural Life in Nashville,” 339-40.

street, one might hear ordinary citizens singing Italian airs with passion and skill.<sup>221</sup> The emphasis placed upon education, both general and musical, in Nashville was already making great progress in teaching the populace to appreciate, patronize, and practice the arts.

When the Civil War began Nashville's citizens were not sure what to expect, but with the Union occupation of 1862, cultural life in the city was drastically altered. Many musical activities were stifled, partly due to the suspension of classes at Nashville's educational institutions. Local citizens also had little money to spare for tickets, and during a time when their city was being torn apart, musical life seemed to be of little importance. However, theatrical activity did continue, for Union soldiers and Federal sympathizers were looking for amusement, which they found in plays and vaudeville performances. Most local citizens stayed away from these events to avoid interacting with the Unionists who did attend, and many of these soldier-dominated theater crowds became drunken, rowdy, and even dangerous.<sup>222</sup> What entertainment was available to Nashville natives during the war was often found in the home, where ladies might perform for one another or have quiet gatherings, but these were private affairs confined to close circles of family and friends. Thus Nashville's elite white society was greatly curtailed, both economically and culturally, by the Civil War, and it took many years for citizens to recover enough to once again place high importance on artistic endeavors.

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<sup>221</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 28. Quoting from W. W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County* (Nashville, TN: Charles Elder, 1971), 209.

<sup>222</sup> On one occasion, Union troops attending a performance began assaulting African American audience members, throwing them out into the street and even beating those who wore Federal uniforms (See *Ibid.*, 41-42).

## Musical Life in Post-bellum Nashville

Musical activities finally began to re-emerge in the 1870s, when Nashville started to take on renewed life, and they continued to grow in the decades to follow. During the last decades of the nineteenth century many new venues for performances were built in the city, including the Vendome Theatre, built in 1887. The first performance in the Vendome took place on October 3 of that year, when Emma Abbott (1850-1891) sang a leading role in *Il Trovatore*. This 1,600-seat venue included sixteen private boxes and was called “A perfect gem, the prettiest and finest theater in the South” by Abbott herself, who had performed in theaters across the country.<sup>223</sup> During the next twenty years, the Vendome, which was funded by wealthy stockholders from the “cream of society,” welcomed such notable performers as the soprano Adelina Patti (1843-1919), who sold out the house, and several well-known thespians.<sup>224</sup> Other famous concert artists including Ole Bull (1810-1880) and Anton Rubinstein (1829-1894) also visited Nashville at regular intervals. Larger companies became more common as well, with many renowned opera troupes and instrumental ensembles performing in the city.<sup>225</sup> In 1892, during a Midwestern tour, Theodore Thomas and the newly founded Chicago Symphony Orchestra visited the city during its “May Musical Festival,” which became an annual tradition in Nashville patterned on European music festivals and attracting large crowds to see a variety of performances. Two years after the Thomas Orchestra’s visit, the Festival welcomed the Walter Damrosch Orchestra, another famous American

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<sup>223</sup> George Zepp, “Venerable Vendome once was Church Street's Gem,” *Newspaper Archives; Tennessee.com*, [http://159.54.227.69/learn-nashville/archives/05/03/56672431.shtml?Element\\_ID=56672431](http://159.54.227.69/learn-nashville/archives/05/03/56672431.shtml?Element_ID=56672431), access August 22, 2012.

<sup>224</sup> Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 222; Waller, *Nashville in the 1890s*, 122.

<sup>225</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 100.

ensemble.<sup>226</sup> Numerous other important concerts took place in Nashville in the post-bellum period, establishing the city as an important stop for touring musicians and ensembles.

Many of these concerts occurred at the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in 1897, which did much to further Nashville's musical scene. Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell write that "The musical presentations provided one of the highlights of the exposition. On many occasions the large pipe organ in the auditorium, a novelty to some visitors, could be heard. Vocalists and choruses, including the Fisk Jubilee Singers, entertained thousands..."<sup>227</sup> These performances ranged from informal band concerts to orchestra performances, and most of the large concerts were held in the main Auditorium mentioned in the quotation above. This venue, which held more than 6,000 audience members, was built "in loving remembrance by all who are fond of the highest music," and featured daily performances.<sup>228</sup> The Auditorium also housed a huge belfry and a pipe organ, and during the Exposition it hosted concerts by many famous ensembles including Victor Herbert's 22<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Band of New York. At the group's Nashville concerts, Herbert appealed to contemporary taste by programming a large variety of pieces ranging from a saxophone solo, to a waltz, to Giacomo Meyerbeer, Johann Strauss, and Leo

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<sup>226</sup> "Theodore Thomas Benefit at the Union Gospel Tabernacle," *Tennessee Virtual Archive*, <http://teva.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15138coll12/id/67>, accessed August 20, 2012. Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 111, 113. Theodore Thomas (1835-1905) was a German-born violinist and conductor who became famous in America as the conductor of stellar orchestras which toured the country, giving summer concert series and performing at one-time events. In 1891 he formed the Chicago Orchestra, which he led until 1904. Walter Damrosch (1862-1950) was a German-American composer and conductor of great acclaim. He became famous for the ensembles he led, the operas he presented, and his radio broadcasts of classical works. See also Rose Fay Thomas, *Memoirs of Theodore Thomas* (New York: Moffatt, Yard, and Co., 1911), 370-72.

<sup>227</sup> Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, *Tennessee, A Short History*, 432. The organ itself was made of oak, weighed 15,000 pounds, and contained 1,847 pipes. After the Exposition ended, it was moved to the Memorial Chapel at Fisk University. (See Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 83-84).

<sup>228</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 117.

Delibes.<sup>229</sup> Herbert's band was perhaps the most popular of the ensembles at the Exposition, appearing over several weeks.<sup>230</sup> It drew rave reviews and pleased audience members from all walks of life, who were eager to demonstrate their enjoyment. For example, after one concert the band was "wildly cheered; listeners claimed that they played Verdi and Stephen Foster with equal skill and feeling." On that occasion, the crowd followed them to the train to send them off.<sup>231</sup> Nashville audiences were familiar enough with the classical music world to recognize the fame and skill of Herbert's ensemble.

Another ensemble featured frequently at the Exposition was that led by Gustav Fischer, who formed a "Centennial Orchestra" for the event. The group performed at many of the special days that occurred and appeared in several of the venues including the Woman's Building and the Parthenon. As with Herbert's group, Fischer's orchestra performed a variety of pieces, including several marches and dances, and Fischer himself composed some of its numbers.<sup>232</sup> Various special days held during the Exposition drew large audiences and featured musical performances. One of these was the "Negro Day," on which the Mozart Society of Fisk University sang; this event drew African Americans from all over the state. A few months later, the Fisk Jubilee Singers performed on Jubilee Day, which occurred in October. Another local educational institution was featured at the Music Convocation, held on May 17 in the Women's Building. Alongside numerous other musicians, the Glee Club from Price's College for Young Ladies sang to a standing-room-only crowd at this event. The "Grand Opera Night" of July 29 was also

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<sup>229</sup> Lawrence, *Tennessee Centennial*, 70, 86.

<sup>230</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 83.

<sup>231</sup> Folmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, *Tennessee, A Short History*, 433.

<sup>232</sup> Lawrence, *Tennessee Centennial*, 112-13.

notable, and it included a performance by Nashville native and concert pianist Marie Louise Bailey. She played the first movement of Rubinstein's Concerto in D Minor, accompanied by the military band. The composer and pianist Edward MacDowell (1860-1908) even journeyed to Nashville during the Exposition, performing in his debut with the Boston Orchestra.<sup>233</sup> The huge emphasis on music and the arts shown during the entire six-month affair demonstrated the high value Nashville already placed on its cultural life and provided numerous opportunities for citizens to hear world-renowned musicians. Perhaps most importantly, The Centennial Exposition served to display Nashville's cultural prowess before the world.

As the twentieth century dawned, musical life in Nashville continued to thrive. The Union Gospel Tabernacle, completed in 1892, hosted numerous sacred and secular events, including a visit by the Metropolitan Opera Company in 1901. This concert was a success, despite the fact that the star performer, soprano Emma Calvé, pleaded sickness and failed to appear in the title role of *Carmen*.<sup>234</sup> In the next few decades, numerous important theatrical and musical events continued to take place on Nashville's stages.

During this era, music education at local institutions also continued to grow. The female schools discussed in this study will be chronicled in more detail later, but many of them had flourishing music programs, even going so far as to call themselves "conservatories" for study. Several unfruitful attempts were also made during the 1890s to start a Conservatory of Music to replace Nash's short-lived Academy of Music. For

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<sup>233</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 83. Bailey was born in Nashville in 1874, studied with Theodor Leschetizky, and won recognition and honors for her performances across Europe ("APFEXBECK, Mrs. Aloysius Louis (Marie Louise Bailey)," *The American Catholic Who's Who*, edited by Georgina Pell Curtis (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1911), *Internet Archive*, [http://www.archive.org/stream/americancatholic00curtuoft/americancatholic00curtuoft\\_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/americancatholic00curtuoft/americancatholic00curtuoft_djvu.txt), accessed September 8, 2012.

<sup>234</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 90-91.

instance, August Schemmel founded a “Nashville Conservatory of Music” in 1893, but it was no longer existent a few years later, and Schemmel soon left the city.<sup>235</sup>

In addition to concert life, other aspects of the music industry began to emerge in Nashville during the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. As the publishing business in Nashville flourished after the Civil War, both the Southern Methodist and Southwestern Publishing Houses distributed their products from the city. One of the first local publishers was the Jesse French Company, which established itself not only as a leading music publisher in 1872, but also as a merchant of pianos and organs in 1895. Soon, the Company was a national distributor of instruments, expanding to several other cities.<sup>236</sup> William Waller described the Jesse French Piano and Organ Co. in the 1890s, stating that it “is one of the largest concerns of the kind in the United States.” He further noted that it had 75 employees and that its building boasted “the handsomest front in Nashville,” encompassed 15,750 square feet, and included modern amenities such as an elevator.<sup>237</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, the French company sold all the leading brands of pianos, including Steinway, Chickering, Weber, and Story and Clark. French was able to expand his business by offering lower rates than any other Nashville store.<sup>238</sup> French also contributed to the musical life of the city by forming the Jesse French Orchestral Society in 1894. This organization provided an outlet for amateur musicians, who met twice a week to play music.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 74-75.

<sup>236</sup> “Pianos, Rags, Jesse French, and Their Relation to the Starr Music Company,” *The French Family Association*, [http://www.frenchfamilyassoc.com/FFA/FAMOUSFRENCHES/JesseFrenchPiano.htm#\\_Jesse\\_French\\_Piano](http://www.frenchfamilyassoc.com/FFA/FAMOUSFRENCHES/JesseFrenchPiano.htm#_Jesse_French_Piano), accessed August 20, 2012.

<sup>237</sup> Waller, *Nashville in the 1890s*, 48.

<sup>238</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 109-10; Waller, *Nashville in the 1890s*, 48.

<sup>239</sup> Waller, *Nashville in the 1890s*, 38.

Another prominent business was founded by one of the French Firm's clerks, Henry A. French, who started his own music company in Nashville in 1883, selling music books, instruments, and sheet music, and advertising his services for "everything in the musical line." He soon ventured into publishing, printing more than 12,000 pieces, and became famous in Nashville for his musical activities.<sup>240</sup> Among the works published by French's company were new pieces celebrating the region, such as the "Belle Meade Waltz," and the "Tennessee Centennial March."<sup>241</sup>

In addition to classical music and music publishing, popular music was also a thriving business in Nashville during this era. As vaudeville began to sweep across the nation in the early twentieth century, incorporating some aspects of minstrelsy and introducing a new generation of songs to the country, many famous vaudeville performers made their way to Nashville. A successful Tin Pan Alley song that praised the Volunteer State, *The Girl I Loved in Sunny Tennessee*, became a staple on the vaudeville circuit, and it was also a prominent song in early country music.<sup>242</sup> When WSM radio began broadcasting out of Nashville in 1923 and introduced the Grand Ole Opry two years later, Nashville's musical character was changed forever. Within a few years, the "Athens of the South" had been transformed into "Music City, U.S.A.," and a new style began to draw audiences to Tennessee's capital.

However, despite the rise of country music and the continuing growth of the record and entertainment industries in Nashville, classical music continued to be an important part of the city's life. Several musical clubs were established and flourished in

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<sup>240</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 110.

<sup>241</sup> "Belle Meade Waltz," composed by J. A. La Barge, was published in 1895; "Tennessee Centennial March," by W. E. Braswell, was published in 1897, the year of the Exposition.

<sup>242</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 118.

the early twentieth century, including many organized solely by women such as the “Wednesday Morning Musicale,” and the “Philharmonic Society.”<sup>243</sup> The MacDowell Club, a chapter in a national musical organization founded in honor of Edward MacDowell, was founded in 1905 and had grown to over two hundred members by 1911.<sup>244</sup> These musical societies devoted themselves to performances and compositions, and provided support for local artists. They also became involved in historic preservation, as typified by the Wednesday Morning Musicale’s contribution of a commemorative music stand in Centennial Park.<sup>245</sup> More and more, women began to take the lead in these endeavors, fully embracing the new opportunities available to them with the women’s rights movement and the modernization of Victorian culture. Many of these female leaders had been educated in Nashville themselves, and had attended one of the prominent girls’ schools located in the city, where their obvious devotion to music and the arts had been fostered. The next few chapters will discuss this educational environment, and will seek to discover why so many women graduated from these institutions with a passion to preserve arts and culture.

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<sup>243</sup> The Wednesday Morning Musicale was founded in 1892, and the Philharmonic Society branched off from it in 1898. (Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 120).

<sup>244</sup> Mrs. William W. Geraltton, *Social Directory, Nashville, Tennessee*. Nashville, TN: Cumberland Press, 1911, 171.

<sup>245</sup> Ida Clyde Clarke, *All About Nashville: A Complete Historical Guide Book to the City* (Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce Co., 1912), 51.

## Chapter Four: The Nashville Female Academy

The Nashville Female Academy was organized only a few years after Nashville became a city, and it quickly rose to become one of the most respected female schools in the South. As early as 1830 its influence extended well beyond the Nashville city limits, and it helped to foster the educational and cultural life of the city. By the advent of the Civil War, when education throughout the South was thrown into upheaval, the Nashville Female Academy was considered one of “three regionally outstanding educational institutions” in Nashville, along with the University of Nashville and Shelby Medical College.<sup>246</sup> Although the Academy never fully re-opened following the conflict, it left an indelible mark on the history and formation of education and cultural life in Nashville and across the region.

The Nashville Female Academy was also an important player in the musical activities of the city. Kenneth Rose notes that from 1816 “the Nashville Female Academy was consistently in the forefront of all musical enterprises,” and many of the prominent musicians of the city also taught at the Academy. In addition, the school’s recital hall was a center of local concert life, and faculty members frequently organized and performed in musical events around the city.<sup>247</sup>

### Early Years at the Academy

The Nashville Female Academy was founded on July 4, 1816, by a group of local businessmen who were anxious to encourage the cultural life of their community. Like many other early academies, the school was supported by selling shares to stockholders, rather than by a single wealthy donor. These stockholders then elected a board of trustees,

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<sup>246</sup> Durham, *Nashville: The Occupied City*, 4-5.

<sup>247</sup> Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade,” 217, 219.

who ran the institution and oversaw its business affairs and hiring decisions. Although the school was not associated with or run by a particular denomination, two Presbyterian clergymen addressed those gathered at the dedication in 1817, and this religious theme set the tone for the school throughout its history. As the years passed, even decisions such as the choice of music to be taught in the mandatory vocal music classes was governed by religious and ethical principles.<sup>248</sup>

One of the earliest accounts of the Academy comes from the *Essex Register* of Salem, Massachusetts. It provides a brief description of the Academy's physical grounds, stating that "[t]he building is in the center of a large square, in which the forest trees remain. It will already accommodate 156 students, and is intended for 300." The article goes on to discuss the first teachers hired by the school, Dr. Daniel Berry and his wife, who were former residents of Salem.<sup>249</sup> Berry also left a description of the campus in 1818, writing that

The Academy is quite pleasantly situated about a half a mile from the center of the town in a pleasant grove on the side of a hill quite a retir'd place [...] The school is quite pleasant and we think making handsome improvement; it is on a much more extensive plan than we had any idea when we left you; the present number of scholars is 180 as many as can be accommodated conveniently in the end of the building [...] they have commenc'd on the other wing [...] We have had one public examination, shall have our second about the middle of July.<sup>250</sup>

It is obvious from this account that the school was begun on a relatively large scale, and to consider the existence of such a large institution dedicated to female education that early in Nashville's history illustrates the importance the city's residents placed on higher

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<sup>248</sup> Lee Nathaniel Newcomer, editor, "Two New England Teachers in Nashville, 1818," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1960), 74.

<sup>249</sup> "Nashville Female Academy," *Essex Register*, October 22, 1817, 3 (Archive of Americana), <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.uky.edu>, accessed December 16, 2012.

<sup>250</sup> Daniel Berry, letter to Rev. William Bentley, Jun 6, 1818, from "Two New England Teachers in Nashville," 76.

learning. The high quality of the school from its earliest days also demonstrates the Academy's wide appeal. It was founded by leading Nashville businessmen and marketed itself to the upper class and upper middle class across the South. Although specific details about the number of students from various states are not available, surviving accounts note that pupils came "from far and wide" across "all the Southern states."<sup>251</sup> The school's continual emphasis on teaching ornamental arts and graces shows that its advertisements targeted a sector of the population with enough money to afford the finer things and to indulge in leisure activities. However, many of the Academy's advertisements also make note of its reasonable prices and the great quality students received for their comparatively low tuition. Such statements show that not all the Academy's patrons were part of the upper echelon of the Southern elite, but were perhaps members of the upper middle class who wanted to improve their social status.

By 1819, the Academy was "designing to procure a suitable teacher of music as soon as practical," and a record of faculty members and courses offered at the school in 1820 can be found in article from February of that year.<sup>252</sup> By 1820 Dr. Berry had been replaced with Rev. William Hume, the new superintendent, and Hume was joined by five female instructresses who taught

Reading, Writing, English Grammar; Arithmetic Composition, History, Geography, Ancient and modern with the use of the Globes, Rhetorick, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy. Botany and Mythology, Plain Sewing, Filigree, and all kind of ornamental needlework, Embroidery, Tambouring, Rug work, &tc. &tc.— Drawing and Painting, in their various branches, Flowers, Fruit, Figures Perspective, Paintings on Velvet, Satin, and Wood; and in imitation of

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<sup>251</sup> See "Affairs in Nashville," *The New York Times*, August 23, 1863, *NewYorkTimes.com*, <http://www.nytimes.com/1863/08/23/news/affairs-nashville-athens-southwest-south-seeking-schools-north-decline-practice.html>, accessed January 16, 2012.

<sup>252</sup> Rose, *Pioneer Nashville, Its Songs and Stories*, vol. I, 41.

Inlaying & Bronze. *To these music will be added*, as soon as a suitable teacher of music can be procured.”<sup>253</sup>

An account of the Academy’s exams for that year, found in the *New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*, includes an address delivered by A. Balch, one of the trustees. He began by praising the students’ progress, which allowed them to reach “that point, in the scale of moral and intellectual excellence, which [we] know you are capable of reaching.”<sup>254</sup> From his comments, it is obvious that these young women were not expected to pursue the full extent of male studies, but yet he told them that their new knowledge would “add greatly to your future happiness [...], enable you to strengthen your judgments, to cultivate your taste, to soften your manners [...] and even to add luster to the charms of your personal beauty.” Surely ornamental studies were on his mind when he made these statements, which continued by noting that females possess “talents that can scatter new graces and ornaments upon every object in their sphere.”<sup>255</sup> These sentiments mirror common views regarding female education at the time, especially among the Southern elite, who expected a Southern belle to beautify her home with music and needlework, as well as to entertain her family and guests with musical entertainment during parlor gatherings.

Despite the school’s early emphasis on music and “ornamental” topics, a newspaper advertisement from the *Nashville Whig* in 1822 provides some hint that regular music lessons still were not offered at the Nashville Female Academy. Instead, a “Mr. Green” took advantage of the cultural importance and necessity of music lessons for

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<sup>253</sup> John P. Erwin, “Society,” *Weekly Messenger* (Russellville, KY) February 1, 1820, 3 (Archive of Americana), <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.uky.edu>, accessed December 17, 2012.

<sup>254</sup> Miscellany: Nashville Female Academy,” *New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*, February 4, 1820, 65; Proquest: American Periodicals, <http://ezproxy.uky.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/docview/127888219?accountid=11836>, accessed December 16, 2012.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

the young women attending the Academy, and presumably of the lack of a full-time teacher at the school, to promote his private studio. His ad describes the studio as “near the Female Academy, [where] young Ladies can receive their lessons when school hours are over, and a Piano Forte will be furnished them for their private practice. A few young Ladies can be furnished with boarding.”<sup>256</sup> A few months later, the same Mr. Green reappears as co-organizer of a “Sacred Oratorio” concert, which also functioned as a term examination for the Nashville Female Academy. The program included excerpts from several classical oratorios and concluded with Vincenzo Puccitta’s chorus “Strike the Cymbal.”<sup>257</sup> This short anthem, which includes brief solo parts in a call-and-response format with a four-part chorus, is in the key of C major and does not stray far in tonality, progressing only to a V/V on a few occasions. Despite the rather bland harmony, there is quite a bit of rhythmic activity, with numerous sixteenth-notes and dotted rhythms, which demonstrates a somewhat advanced degree of musical skill.<sup>258</sup> The rest of the program consisted of hymns and choruses, and although most of the repertoire may not have been extremely challenging, it shows that music was indeed actively pursued at the Academy as early as 1823.

The following year, 1824, provides more detailed information about music studies at the Nashville Female Academy. A *Nashville Whig* notice from January 5 causes one to believe music instruction had been sub-par to that point, for it announces that “Mr.

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<sup>256</sup> “Advertisement,” *Nashville Whig*, 1822, found in Rose, *Pioneer Nashville, Its Songs and Stories*, vol. I, 47; “Kenneth Daniel Rose Papers,” Tennessee States Library and Archives.

<sup>257</sup> Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, 47-8. Vincenzo Puccitta (1778-1861) was an Italian composer who went on to work at the King’s Theatre in London, toured with a famous soprano across Europe, and turned to editing in his later years. Many of his operas were performed in leading European Theatres, and his “Strike the Cymbal” can be found in other concert programs across the antebellum South. (See Andrea Lanza. “Puccitta, Vincenzo.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 17, 2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/22515>.)

<sup>258</sup> Vincenzo Puccitta, “Strike the Cymbal” (Philadelphia: B. Carr, 1820), *Library of Congress Performing Arts Encyclopedia*, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/ihas/loc.music.sm1821.360050/default.html>.

Pollock” will continue to teach music, and better results are expected than previously, as “a diminished number of pupils” will allow him more time with each one.<sup>259</sup> A bit of a controversy arose over music at the Academy that fall, when a visiting musician, the Italian John C. Muscarelli, stated in the *Whig* that he was dissatisfied with the salary offered to him to instruct music at the school and the Academy answered with a notice of its own. Muscarelli wrote that he had expected to receive \$25 for a session that included 36 lessons at the Academy, but discovered that the real salary was \$24 for 60 lessons, which amounted to forty cents per lesson. It is quite possible that Muscarelli exaggerated, for the Academy’s response was to advertise that Mr. Pollock would continue instructing music for \$25 per session, as if that had been the rate all along.<sup>260</sup> This price, while very low by modern standards, is considerably higher than the \$3 charged per quarter for instruction in the arts at the Moravian Female Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1821, and perhaps demonstrates the excellent economic status of Nashville in the 1820s.<sup>261</sup>

It was also during the early nineteenth century, a time when theatrical performances and musical concerts were first becoming a regular part of city life, that the Nashville Female Academy emerged as a leader in these cultural activities. Crabb notes that the University of Nashville and the Female Academy were the main sources of consistent dramatic activity. He describes events at the Academy, where “the programs came closer to the drama, usually including some music, some declamation and a

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<sup>259</sup> *Nashville Whig*, January 5, 1824, found in Rose *Pioneer Nashville, Its Songs and Stories*, 49.

<sup>260</sup> N.d. *Nashville Whig*, found in Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, 51-2. Little information exists on John C. Muscarelli, but he appears to have been an Italian who traveled as a “professor and composer of music.” In the months before visiting Nashville, he had appeared in concert in both Cincinnati, Ohio, and Lexington, Kentucky (See Joy Carden, *Music in Lexington Before 1840* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1980), 51; also William Osborne, *Music in Ohio* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2004), 26.

<sup>261</sup> Smith, *Music, Women, and Pianos in Antebellum Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, 49.

dramatic skit. There is record of a violin performance by Dr. Boyd McNairy at the academy. He was accompanied by his wife at the piano. The report held that the music was ‘very uplifting.’”<sup>262</sup> The Academy’s prestige was evident in 1825, when it emerged as an important stop for the Marquis de Lafayette during his brief visit to Nashville. When he arrived at the school, almost 100 “intelligent and beautiful females” greeted him on the lawn, serenading him with an ode and strewing roses in his path.<sup>263</sup> Such details paint a picture of the Nashville Female Academy in the mid-1820s as a genteel, respected, and growing establishment. The fine arts were undoubtedly highly valued, and the institution occupied an important place in local culture.

As the next decade began, the city and its cultural life continued to flourish. Rose notes its commercial and political success, which strengthened Nashville’s standing as one of the South’s leading cities, and helped to create “fallow soil for the cultivation of the fine arts.”<sup>264</sup> Increasingly frequent performances by touring musicians and theatrical troupes, which were aided by improved traveling conditions, contributed to this cultural formation, and several local music stores and music teachers catered to a year-round desire for music and music instruction. During this decade, the Nashville Female Academy continued to be one of the dominant schools of the city, and contributed greatly to the “intellectual growth” of Nashville as well as being active in musical affairs. Although several schools for girls existed in Nashville at this time, including Mr. Hunt’s

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<sup>262</sup> Crabb, *Nashville, Personality of a City*, 209. Dr. Boyd McNairy (1785-1856) was a graduate of Davidson Academy and later the University of Pennsylvania. He returned to Nashville, where he served for twenty-eight years as a Trustee of the University of Nashville and gained a prominent place in the community. (See “A History of Davidson Academy,” *Davidson Academy*, <http://www.davidsonacademy.com/aboutda-history2.php>, accessed December 17, 2012).

<sup>263</sup> Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, 56.

<sup>264</sup> Rose, *Pioneer Nashville, Vol. II*, 1.

Female Academy and Mr. S. Brown's Select School for Young Ladies, it is notable that the Nashville Female Academy was consistently recognized as the leader in this field.<sup>265</sup>

During this time, the music program at the Academy flourished, and many faculty members who had received European training and possessed strong musical talent were employed there. A *Nashville Whig* advertisement from July 22, 1830, discusses the music instruction at the school: "The next session of this institution will commence on Monday, 19<sup>th</sup>. Inst.; ... In the music department Mr. Walsh has been engaged, who will continue as a permanent instructor—his qualifications are at least equal to any in the state. Prices \$25 per session. Three pianos are furnished at the Academy for the Young Ladies."<sup>266</sup> It is obvious from this notice that piano instruction was an important part of music education at the Academy, and this importance paralleled the rising status of the piano throughout the United States at the time.

In the early nineteenth century, the piano came into its own across Europe and America as it was improved from the wooden, small fortepiano of Mozart's day into a larger, more powerful, iron-framed instrument that was able to create strong and passionate sounds. At the same time, after Alpheus Babcock of Boston received a patent for a one-piece metal-frame piano in 1825, piano manufacturing began on a much larger scale than previously. Rather than private craftsman producing each piano individually, pianos began to be mass-produced, and during the first half of the nineteenth century the

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<sup>265</sup> Numerous articles and accounts demonstrate the Academy's excellent reputation, such as an article that appeared in *The American Almanac* in 1834. In a lengthy discussion of the state of common schools in Tennessee, the correspondent noted that "[t]here are many good schools in every part of the state [...] and several excellent female institutions, particularly the Nashville Female Academy..." (*The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge*, 1834, 216 (American Periodicals), <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/docview/89631509/13B1522055B5629FD27/2?accountid=11836>, accessed December 18, 2012.)

<sup>266</sup> Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, Vol. II, 14.

percentage of American households that owned a piano skyrocketed.<sup>267</sup> Many of these households were in the South, especially among the gentry, and schools such as the Nashville Female Academy, which catered to the growing demand for music instruction, also contributed to the growth of the piano industry by purchasing instruments for their students. In addition, school music programs fueled the music publishing industry as they routinely bought vocal and instrumental music for their students to study and perform.<sup>268</sup>

With piano mania sweeping the nation, it is reasonable to assume that Henry C. Walsh, the music professor mentioned in the 1830 *Whig* advertisement above, instructed piano, among other musical topics, even though little information is to be found on his life.<sup>269</sup> Brief advertisements however, give little specific information about music education at the Academy and whether instruction progressed beyond parlor music and “ornamental” skills required by a proper Southern belle. Most female instruction at the time did not, and this problem is clearly discussed in an editorial from the *Nashville Republican and Gazette* of 1831. Here the author criticizes the shallow state of most female music education, in which students did not progress beyond popular airs and elementary principles, and recommends *The Euterpiad, or Musical Intelligencer* to help young “relish and improve the taste for this delightful science.”<sup>270</sup> This editor’s

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<sup>267</sup> Jonas Chickering was the first to move piano-manufacturing to a factory setting, which he began to do in the 1830s. For more information on the growth of the piano industry in the United States, see Crawford, *America’s Musical Life*, 233-39.

<sup>268</sup> Jewel A. Smith chronicles this in *Music, Women, and Pianos*, where she discusses the books and pieces mentioned on expense journals, receipts, and invoices (Smith, *Music, Women, and Pianos*, 80-87; see also chapter 5).

<sup>269</sup> Walsh was one of the core group of Nashville musicians in the 1830s, and was perhaps a European immigrant, although that is not known for sure.

<sup>270</sup> Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, Vol. II, 16. *The Euterpiad, or Musical Intelligencer* was a periodical edited by the American composer John Knowles Paine, who said it was “devoted to the diffusion of musical information and belles lettres.” It was begun in 1820 and continued until its failure in 1825. Beginning in 1821, the periodical was offered on subscription to Nashville citizens. (Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years, 1790-1909* (NY: Oxford UP, 1988), 101; Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, Vol. 1), 46.

description of female music instruction brings to mind the image of the “parlor girl” so deeply loved in the antebellum south. The students of the Nashville Female Academy were almost certainly not studying Beethoven, Mozart, and Haydn, but rather were learning pieces that would properly beautify their future homes and allow them to present themselves as refined and cultured young ladies.

During the 1830s, The Nashville Female Academy continued to improve the talent and prestige of its music faculty, with William Nash, an influential musician in the area, being hired in 1836 upon his arrival in the city. In the late 1830s another important member of the Nashville music scene emerged when the Musical Fund Society was established to promote higher artistic endeavors than the commonly sung minstrel and folk tunes. This organization was supported by Nash along with other prominent musicians, and sponsored a regular concert series featuring respected classical composers until its demise in 1839. Thus, it provided opportunities for musicians and music teachers such as Nash to perform, and for student to attend concerts and recitals. The young women of the Nashville Female Academy were surely among those who attended and heard the works of both contemporary composers such as Weber, Bellini, and Rossini, and of the classical masters. In this way their musical horizons were expanded beyond light parlor music to include larger symphonic and choral works.

#### The Elliott Years

Beginning in 1844, when Collins D. Elliott took over as President of the Nashville Female Academy, the school became even more well known, and as a result much more information is available about the institution’s later years. Dr. Elliott, the Academy’s longest-tenured president and most influential leader, was born into a strong Methodist

family in 1810 and devoted himself to education and religious work throughout his life. After overseeing the preparatory department at Augusta College in Kentucky, his alma mater, he moved to Huntsville, Alabama, where he taught languages at La Grange College from 1831 to 1839. During this period, he also became a licensed Methodist minister, but still devoted most of his attention to education. After leaving La Grange, he moved to Nashville, where he was soon employed at the Female Academy. Only five years later, in January 1844, he became joint Superintendent of the Academy, which began a period of financial and academic success for the school that was to last until the Civil War.<sup>271</sup>

Under Elliott's administration, the Academy more than doubled its size in less than twenty years, and the number of ornamental pupils skyrocketed from eighteen in 1844 to 256 in 1860.<sup>272</sup> Much of this growth can be traced directly to Elliott's efforts. As Windrow notes, "...when the idea of a new building or of any convenience or ornament presented itself to Dr. Elliott's mind, he made it a reality as quickly as possible, even though it should be necessary for him to spend his own money in order to make these dreams come true."<sup>273</sup> The contributions made by Elliott included improvements to both the grounds and buildings and the academic programs, and cost Elliott himself about \$143,000 in personal investments throughout his tenure.<sup>274</sup> The ambitious educator thus had an extremely large stake in the success of the school and was willing to do whatever he needed in order to ensure this success.

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<sup>271</sup> Windrow, "Collins D. Elliott and the Nashville Female Academy," 74-79.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-9.

<sup>273</sup> Windrow, "Collins D. Elliott and the Nashville Female Academy," 87.

<sup>274</sup> Blandin, *History of Higher Education of Women in the South*, 275.

Further information about the physical state of the school during the 1850s and early 1860s is available from several sources. Windrow recounts a description written by Elliott's daughter Elizabeth. She writes that the school occupied seven acres on Church Street in downtown Nashville and housed three separate buildings, all of which were more than one story and included connecting galleries, a chapel, and a recreation or exercise hall.<sup>275</sup> A newspaper advertisement from April 1857 informs readers that great improvements have been made to the campus. A spacious new chapel, 85 additional dormitory rooms, almost complete steam heating, hot and cold running water, and restrooms in all parts of the building were now features of the Academy. In addition, new musical instruments and improved classroom apparatus were being secured, and the faculty had been expanded. All of this led to an increase in tuition—the first in twenty-five years according to the article—although the new tuition was only \$30 per academic session (42 weeks) in the preparatory department, with increasing rates for more advanced studies.<sup>276</sup> An 1861 catalog of the Academy further details the campus, which Elliott wrote occupied six well-enclosed acres in the Western part of Nashville, and offered the fresh air, healthy environment, and recreation of country living along with all the advantages of the city. The catalog also praised the steam-heated facilities and gas lights, which were thought to reduce the risk of fire.<sup>277</sup> Since steam heating had only been invented in the 1830s and gas lighting was slow to be adopted across the United States,

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<sup>275</sup> Windrow, "Collins D. Elliott," 87.

<sup>276</sup> "Nashville Female Academy," *Nashville Union and American*, April 16, 1857 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1857-04-16/ed-1/seq-3/?words=ACADEMY+NASHVILLE+FEMALE?date1=1856&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=14&x=15&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3&index=5>, accessed January 15, 2013.

<sup>277</sup> "Catalog, Nashville Female Academy," 1861; "Collins D. Elliott Papers, 1816-1932," Tennessee State Library and Archives.

the Nashville Female Academy under Elliott truly did have superior facilities and modern conveniences fit to compete with Northern schools to keep young women in the South.

In addition to excellent facilities, the Female Academy was well-known for its healthy and safe living environment. An article from *The Nashville Union and American* of July 20, 1854, states of the school: “In regard to “Maternal Care” and “Healthfulness,” we think the Academy excels any other Institution in the United States.” In 40 years, only two girls had died at the school—an excellent record for the first half of the nineteenth century—and over the past year, no students had even been sick enough to warrant overnight monitoring. The article goes on to discuss the effort put forth to provide “Maternal Care,” and concludes that “if parents can feel secure as to their daughters’ health any where [sic.] the Academy offers to them that security.”<sup>278</sup> The April 1857 article mentioned above also discusses the “maternal” nature of boarding life at the Academy. It describe the intimate living arrangements—five pupils in the largest rooms and only four in the others—and notes the necessity of the “presence of a mother” in a girl’s development. Ostensibly the faculty and staff of the Nashville Female Academy were more than adequate to fill this need in student’s lives.<sup>279</sup> Other testimonials to the healthful environment of the Academy may be found, such as an 1861 publication stating that for all 80 boarding pupils over the past year, only \$15 had been spent on doctor’s bills.<sup>280</sup> These promotional notices paint a picture of a warm, welcoming, and safe environment in which young women were free to study, learn, and grow both as women

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<sup>278</sup> “Nashville Female Academy,” *The Nashville Union and American*, July 20, 1854 (Library of Congress, Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1854-07-20/ed-1/seq-2/?words=ACADEMY+NASHVILLE+FEMALE?date1=1836&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=12&x=9&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=15>, accessed January 1, 2013.

<sup>279</sup> “Nashville Female Academy, *Nashville Union and American*, April 16, 1857.

<sup>280</sup> “Nashville Female Academy, Boarding Department,” (1861), “Collins D. Elliott Papers,” Tennessee State Library and Archives.

and as artists. In a culture where domesticity and home life were so highly prized, similar qualities were necessary for a boarding school, as well, and it was not uncommon for schools to seek a home-like environment. For example, the Salem Female Academy, in Salem, North Carolina, divided its student into “families” of girls roughly the same age, supervised by tutoresses, yet their catalog does not highlight the maternal quality of the school as Elliott did for the Nashville Female Academy.<sup>281</sup> Whether this represents a true difference in the homelike environment of the school is impossible to discern, but from the large numbers of students who matriculated at the Nashville Female Academy, the institution must have been more than a little successful in carrying out these claims. What certainly did set the environment of the Nashville Female Academy apart was its proximity to Nashville, which provided numerous advantages not available at other schools. Students of the Female Academy were able to take part in Nashville’s active cultural life, attending concerts and theatrical events that could only be found in a large city.

Another way Elliott contributed to the growth of the Academy was through his publicity efforts, which included numerous publications and advertisements. Many of these praise the improvements made at the school and note its competitiveness with other female schools across the country. One article from the *Southwestern Monthly* of 1852 contends that “that there is no branch of female education, nothing of what is termed "female accomplishments" but what can be acquired here, as well as anywhere.” It continues by pointing out that sending girls away from the South for their education will

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<sup>281</sup> *Catalog of the Teachers and Students of the Salem Female Academy, 1860-1861* (Salem, NC: L.V. and E.T. Bloom, Printers, 1861), 15 (Digital NC), <http://library.digitalnc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/yearbooks/id/5198/rec/1>, accessed January 9, 2013.

only make them discontented with their life in that region.<sup>282</sup> With such notices, Elliott promotes the Academy as an institution fully capable of competing with any school in the North, where many Southern girls went to complete their studies. Such recognition was important at a time when tension was mounting between North and South and those who studied in the North often began to acquire Yankee ideas about slavery and other political issues of the day.

Elliott's continuous publicity efforts are apparent through numerous other advertisements, some of which provide more detailed information about instruction at the Academy during his tenure. One such advertisement is found in *The Nashville Union and American* of July 23, 1853, and discusses some of Elliott's efforts to advance the school: "FINE ARTS: We have made, recently, extensive and costly preparations for the instruction of our pupils in Music, Painting, Drawing, &c."<sup>283</sup> While no more details are included in this notice, Candace Bailey records that in the same year, great growth in enrollment led to the erection of a new music building at the Academy.<sup>284</sup> A few years later, Elliott provided more information about the "ornamental department" in the *Nashville Union and American*. Here he notes that almost all the boarding pupils, and more than half the day students, are interested in this department. In order to merit such interest, he wrote, "[i]n painting, drawing, and music, we have endeavored to secure for our patrons the very best talent in the country." After promising even more renowned teachers the next year, the article goes on to hint that there are plenty of piano, harp,

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<sup>282</sup> "Nashville Female Academy," *The Southwestern Monthly* (Nashville, TN: Wales & Roberts, 1852), 446.

<sup>283</sup> "Nashville Female Academy," *The Nashville Union and American*, July 23, 1853 (Library of Congress, Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1853-07-23/ed-1/seq-3/?words=ACADEMY+NASHVILLE+FEMALE?date1=1836&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=Tennessee&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=3&x=9&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=6>, accessed December 15, 2012.

<sup>284</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 61.

guitar, and voice teachers at the Academy to teach not only the school’s students, but also ladies of the city who desired to take lessons at the institution.<sup>285</sup> It was surely a testament to the talent employed by the school that so many members of the community desired to study music there, and Elliott was eager to capitalize on this reputation.

Because of its reputation for ornamental studies, the Academy was able to charge quite hefty tuition for individual instruction in these areas. In February 1861, a bulletin was published which included “terms and conditions” for enrollment at the school: “For entire Academic year of 42 weeks, board and Tuition In the Preparatory Department \$200; In the Academic \$240; and \$250; in the Collegiate \$275; Tuition to day pupils in the Preparatory Department \$20; in the Junior Academic \$40; Senior Academic \$50; in the Collegiate \$60.” The next section details tuition for ornamental topics:

TUITION—MUSIC—Vocal or Instrumental, Piano or Guitar.	
(three Lessons a week each).....	\$60
Use of Instrument—Piano.....	\$10
Use of Guitar.....	\$5
Drawing and use of models.....	\$35
Modern languages (lessons each day).....	\$40
Latin and Greek.....	\$20
Needle Work.....	\$10
Oil Painting and use of models (lessons each day).....	\$100
Harp and use of instrument.....	\$110
College Choir.....	\$10

It is interesting to note that the rate for music instruction, with three lessons per week, was exactly the same as tuition charged for regular enrollment in the Collegiate course, which was the most advanced offered. Not only were these rates charged, but they were

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<sup>285</sup> “Nashville Female Academy, Ornamental Department,” *The Nashville Union and American*, August 25, 1859 (Library of Congress, Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1859-08-25/ed-1/seq3/?words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1836&rows=20&searchType=basic&state=&date2=1922&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=14&x=18&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=3>, accessed December 17, 2012.

also willingly paid by many pupils. In 1861, the same year this bulletin was issued, the ornamental department of the Academy had an enrollment of 375, which exceeded the regular school enrollment of 325 by fifty pupils.<sup>286</sup> The extra students were the community members mentioned in several advertisements, who thought highly enough of the Academy's faculty to enroll in private lessons.

The practice of charging additional fees for ornamental studies was fairly common in the South throughout the antebellum period. For instance, in 1834 tuition at the Greenville Female Academy in South Carolina ranged from \$10 at the elementary level to \$32 for the highest grades. Here, music lessons cost \$8 per session, with an additional fee for instrument rental, thus amounting to more than some students paid for their regular classes.<sup>287</sup> Similarly, the Spring Hill Female Academy in Arkansas charged \$30 for music instruction compared to \$25 for regular courses.<sup>288</sup> Another example is the Mansfield Female College in Louisiana. Here, regular tuition in 1855 was \$25, piano or guitar lessons were the same price, with an additional \$5 fee for instrument use, and harp instruction was \$40 per session.<sup>289</sup> These schools, among many others, further highlight the importance of musical and artistic ability for young ladies in the South

### Faculty

Piecing together information about the faculty employed at the Nashville Female Academy is rather tricky, but references from various newspaper advertisements and other sources help to create a picture of its quality. From its earliest days, the Academy

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<sup>286</sup> Windrow, "Collins D. Elliott," 82.

<sup>287</sup> *Greenville Mountaineer*, 1834; found in Bainbridge, "A Nursery of Knowledge: The Greenville Female Academy," 16.

<sup>288</sup> *Arkansas Weekly Times*, 1837; found in Allen Stokes, "Education in Young Arkansas: Spring Hill Female Academy," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (Summer 1968), 107.

<sup>289</sup> *Catalog of the Mansfield Female College*, 1855; found in Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*, 87.

hired superior faculty members, and during the later years of the institution, Blandin notes that “Dr. Elliott always employed the very best teachers he could find. He imported experts from the East, from England, from France, and from Italy.”<sup>290</sup> Before Elliott came on the scene, musicians employed by the Academy were largely drawn from the city’s resident population as well as the Germans who flocked to America in the early nineteenth century. William Nash was perhaps the most well-known of these teachers, and upon his arrival in Nashville in 1836 he advertised that he would teach “the pianoforte, organ, singing in all its branches, direct church choirs and schools, instruct Psalmody and chanting...” all along with his duties as a teacher at the Female Academy and the Nashville Academy of Music, which he founded later that year.<sup>291</sup> The latter institution boasted practice rooms, regular faculty and student recitals, theory examinations, weekly applied lessons, and practice monitors for younger students, all ideas which were adopted by the Ward-Belmont school in the early twentieth century. It is quite possible that Nash also implemented some of these practices at the Nashville Female Academy, thus creating a nearly modern form of music education at the school, even in the 1830s.

Nash, who believed that music should be taught “based upon the unerring laws of nature and common health,” directed the department of music at the Female Academy, where his wife, a vocalist, was also an instructor, all in addition to his duties at the Academy of Music.<sup>292</sup> Perhaps the best testament to Nash as a teacher and musician is found in the *Nashville Daily Republican* of July 21, 1838:

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<sup>290</sup> Blandin, *History of Higher Education of Women in the South*, 276.

<sup>291</sup> Rose, “A Nashville Musical Decade,” 225.

<sup>292</sup> Although not much information is available on the first Nashville Academy of Music, it seems to have been a very important component in the musical life of the city during the 1830s. Along with Nash, several

[T]he name of the gentleman at the head of this article is too well known in this community to need any preliminary remarks. It is sufficient to say that he came to our city two years ago, well recommended as a gentleman and a teacher of music, and his labors among us have confirmed all that was spoken in his favor. As a teacher, Mr. Nash is unrivalled, and the late examination of his pupils...has led me to wonder how it is that those children do so completely understand what adults have generally considered a very abstruse science...I say while we see all this, shall we withhold our mite, or shall we go forward with our children and at once make music a branch of the common education.<sup>293</sup>

Thus he was recognized as a brilliant educator and one who was able to teach children the technical aspects of music. Surely Nash and his wife contributed much to the musical environment of the Female Academy while they were there, building a more thorough and advanced curriculum than was previously offered.

Perhaps the most renowned faculty members employed by the Academy were the violinist Camilla Urso and her mother, Émilie Girourd Urso, a Portuguese vocalist.<sup>294</sup> Urso, a native of France who spent much of her life in the United States and served as a pioneer for other women in the field of violin performance, began her studies at the Paris Conservatoire. In 1852, she sailed to America along with her father and a few other musicians, and for the next three years toured the country, performing in major cities and appearing with prestigious ensembles. In 1855, she retired to Nashville with little money and no plans.<sup>295</sup> Although there are only two recorded performances by Urso while she was in the city, both in May of 1856, the violinist spent several years in Nashville, where she married her first husband, George M. Taylor, and gave birth to two children. Taylor, along with Urso's mother, taught at the Nashville Female Academy, and the violinist

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other prominent musicians were involved in its creation, and it focused on musical sciences, along with applied lessons. (See Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, vol. II, 38-39).

<sup>293</sup> Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, Vol. II, 40.

<sup>294</sup> Jennifer Schiller, "Camilla Urso: Pioneer Violinist, 1840-1902" (DMA Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2006), 7.

<sup>295</sup> Schiller, "Camilla Urso," 23.

herself was later to devote much time and effort to educating younger women as musicians.<sup>296</sup> Some evidence of Taylor's association with the Academy is found in an advertisement he placed in *The Nashville Union and American* of July 25, 1859. Here Taylor announced that "I do not give lessons in connection with any School in the city except the Nashville Female Academy. After my engagements are filled there, I call with pleasure on my pupils in any private family."<sup>297</sup> This provides further evidence of local citizens studying music with faculty members of the Academy because of the excellent reputation and high quality of its music department. There are also some records that Urso herself taught at the Academy, although it is hard to tell for sure. In any case, to have such a prestigious connection as the Urso family—European-trained, internationally renowned, and extremely successful musicians—only served to strengthen the talent and reputation of the Nashville Female Academy's faculty.

Other music faculty members during Elliott's tenure included the pianist Miss A. L. Davis, an Englishwoman named Mrs. Robinson, and a Frenchwoman named Madame De Roode and her daughter Marie.<sup>298</sup> The latter two are also referred to as Madame De Roode and Mademoiselle Maria De Roode in contemporary newspapers. Further information about them is available in a June, 1859, preview of an upcoming "Grand Concert" in Nashville. Mademoiselle De Roode would be performing at the event, which was to be held in the Chapel of the Nashville Female Academy and was forecast to be very "attractive" and successful. The advertisement goes on to discuss those who would

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<sup>296</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 37-8.

<sup>297</sup> "Advertisement," *The Nashville Union and American*, July 25, 1859 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1859-08-25/ed-1/seq3/?words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1836&rows=20&searchType=basic&state=&date2=1922&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=14&x=18&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=3>, accessed December 17, 2012.

<sup>298</sup> Windrow, "Collins D. Elliott and the Nashville Female Academy," 88-89.

be attending the concert, but the author does write that M'Il De Roode "sings like an angel," and notes that tickets are available at local music stores.<sup>299</sup> From this advertisement, it sounds as if Mademoiselle De Roode was a well-known performer in Nashville, and the location of the concert further underscores her connection with the Nashville Female Academy and its music program. While more information about Mademoiselle De Roode is difficult to procure, a notice appears in the *Nashville Union and American* a few years later, stating that "Mrs. E. York, formerly Miss De Roode," will be instructing vocal and instrumental music in the city.<sup>300</sup> From the advertisement, it seems that she has remained prominent in Nashville's musical life, which emphasizes her musical talents and standing, even after her years of instruction at the Nashville Female Academy had ended.

Further clues about the faculty employed at the Academy under Elliott are found in other reviews and advertisement from contemporary Nashville newspapers. An 1856 review of a concert held at McKendree Church praises the performance of "Miss Emma P.," who was described as "brilliant and finished," and capable of powerful technical execution. Later in the article, the writer notes that she was a vocal and instrumental teacher "at that favorite, and time-honored institution, the Nashville Female

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<sup>299</sup> "M'Ille De Roode Concert," *Nashville Patriot*, June 8, 1859 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033711/1859-06-08/ed-1/seq-3/?words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1857&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&sequence=&state=Tennessee&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=13&x=14&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3&index=11>, accessed January 21, 2013.

<sup>300</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, January 26, 1869 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1869-01-26/ed-1/seq-4/?words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1868&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=10&x=12&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3&page=5&page=6&index=5>, accessed February 14, 2013.

Academy.”<sup>301</sup> However, no further information is to be found on this vocalist, whose full name also remains a mystery.

Along with the regular faculty, it seems that extra music teachers, not employed by the institution, may have elected to teach at the Academy, as an advertisement from 1849 notes: “in addition to the very large and able faculty of the Music Teachers who reside in the Academy, any teacher in the city can give lessons here.”<sup>302</sup> Thus the Academy functioned as a center of musical life in the community, not only for those who were employed there, but also for outside instructors and students. The additional instructors must have rented studio space in much the same way music stores still rent space to music teachers in the United States. Such an arrangement would have provided publicity for the Academy along with extra income, and was surely one of Elliott’s entrepreneurial ideas.

In January 1860, Elliott announced in the *Nashville Union and American* that two new instructors had been hired, Camille Brunet and Athalie Gasche. Both of these women were engaged to teach piano and solfege, and their impressive musical backgrounds included study with European pianist and composer Henri Herz (1803-1888) at the Paris Conservatoire. According to the advertisement, an academic session of study with either of these instructors was \$40, and was available to both Academy students and outside pupils.<sup>303</sup> A few months later, when Elliott had stepped down and been replaced

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<sup>301</sup> Amicus, “The Concert,” *The Nashville Union and American*, March 5, 1856 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1856-03-05/ed-1/seq-2/;words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1836&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=13&x=16&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&index=18>, accessed January 13, 2013.

<sup>302</sup> Windrow, “Collins D. Elliott and the Nashville Female Academy,” 88-9; also Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, Vol. II, 16-17.

<sup>303</sup> “Nashville Female Academy, Music Instruction,” *Nashville Union and American*, January 13, 1860, (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1860-01-13/ed-1/seq->

by George M. Everhart in June of 1860, another advertisement notes that a “superior harpist” had been secured for the fall session, and that the “teachers and professors” in the Ornamental and Music departments “are of high celebrity.”<sup>304</sup>

The Academy’s practice of hiring European music instructors enabled it to compete with the best schools in the North. Institutions such as the Moravian Young Ladies Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the Hartford Female Seminary in Hartford, Connecticut, and other leading female schools across the nation, also looked to Europe for many of their music faculty. In the 1850s the Moravian school employed several German and Swiss natives who taught general music and piano, as well as several European-trained vocalists.<sup>305</sup> In the 1850s, however, the faculty of the Nashville Female Academy was at least on par with any of these schools, especially when one considers that the Urso family and two direct students of Henri Herz were connected with the institution. Although Collins D. Elliott was a master of publicity, most of his claims were truly substantiated by the decisions he made regarding facilities, courses, and faculty at the Nashville Female Academy.

### Music Curriculum at the Academy

The importance of music and other ornamental studies at the Nashville Female Academy cannot be overstated, especially in light of the motto put forth in an 1855 advertisement: “The Lady first, the Scholar next.” Here Elliott promised that the

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2/;words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1860&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=Tennesssee&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=16&x=10&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=0, accessed January 13, 2013. Herz taught piano at the Paris Conservatoire for over thirty years, and had visited Nashville himself on a tour in 1847.

<sup>304</sup> *Daily Nashville Patriot*, June 12, 1860 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025725/1860-06-12/ed-1/seq-2/;words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1860&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=14&x=9&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=16>, accessed January 24, 2013.

<sup>305</sup> Smith, *Music, Women, and Piano in Antebellum Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, 58.

Academy would “refine the sentiment and manners” of its students, and such advertisements were designed to win the approval and support of prospective students and their families, who had specific ideas about ladylike conduct based on contemporary writings and traditions.<sup>306</sup> In the antebellum South, the pursuit of refinement and social standing continued to hold great fascination, and etiquette manuals and ladies’ journals provided information necessary for the upper classes to mold themselves into accepted molds of conduct. The authors of these manuals included both men and women, and as the nineteenth century progressed, more Americans began to write such texts. Some of these works were written in the form of friendly advice to young women, such as Lydia Sigourney’s *Letters to Young Ladies* (1833). Sigourney (1791-1865) was an American poet and human-rights activist in addition to writing didactic literature such as the *Letters*. This work, her most influential in that genre, includes an entire chapter devoted to “manners and accomplishments,” and the musical arts are described as “the most popular of all accomplishments.”<sup>307</sup> Vocal music, in particular, merits special attention, for it is “within the reach of most persons,” and may contribute to the peace and harmony of home life.<sup>308</sup> Thus Elliott’s emphasis on the ornamental arts and the inclusion of vocal music courses in the regular curriculum was a necessary and expected part of any school striving to train young women. By advancing beyond rudimentary music instruction and employing highly trained music faculty who taught the girls technical and artistic skills, the Nashville Female Academy was able to emerge as a leader in its field.

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<sup>306</sup> “Nashville Female Academy,” *Nashville Union and American*, August 21, 1855 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1855-08-21/ed-1/seq-2/?words=ACADEMY+NASHVILLE+FEMALE?date1=1836&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=13&x=16&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&index=5>, accessed January 13, 2013.

<sup>307</sup> Lydia Sigourney, *Letters to Young Ladies* (NY: Harper & Bros., 1837), 105-119

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

By considering the curriculum used and repertoire performed at the Academy, we are able to develop a picture of the artistic program at the school and its success in preparing women for parlor performance and home music-making. An invaluable source of information about the music curricula used at the Nashville Female Academy is available in a catalog excerpt found in the Collins D. Elliott Papers at the Tennessee State Library and Archives. It includes a list of textbooks required each semester for Freshmen, Sophomores, Juniors and Seniors. One of the courses required every semester of all four years is “Vocal Music,” and following the title, the books used each term are listed.

While different books were added each year, a collection entitled *Songs of Zion* was used every semester of all four years. However, because no composer, editor, or publisher is listed for the book, it is impossible to determine exactly what version of “Songs of Zion” is being referred to. It seems most plausible that the Academy used *Songs of Zion: A Manual of the Best and Most Popular Hymns and Tunes, for Social and Private Devotion*, published by the American Tract Society in 1851. This book is a collection of hymns and sacred tunes designed “to assist the people of God in his worship and to promote the salvation of souls.”<sup>309</sup> The book follows the pattern of older hymnbooks and Psalters, with melodies laid out in three staves and four-part harmony followed by multiple verses designed to fit each of the various meters. It promotes

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<sup>309</sup> *Songs of Zion: A Manual of the Best and Most Popular Hymns and Sacred Tunes* (New York: American Tract Society, 1851), Preface. Although this book, which would have been recently published in the United States, seems the most likely option for the *Songs of Zion* used by the Nashville Female Academy, other possibilities include John Cole, *Songs of Zion: Containing a Selection of Approved Psalm Tunes in Four Parts: With a Concise Introduction to Music and an Appendix Containing the Chants of the Protestant Episcopal Church as Sung at St. Paul’s and Other Churches* (Baltimore: Joseph Robinson, 1818); Thomas Whittemore, *Songs of Zion, or, The Cambridge Collectio of Sacred Music: Designed for the Church, for the Social Meetings of Christians, and for Family Worship* (Boston: Trumpet Office, 1837); and *Revival Melodies, Or Songs of Zion, Dedicated to Elder John A Knapp* (Boston: J. Putnam, 1842).

worship, reverence, and a focus upon the true meaning of the words, as opposed to the more educational and artistic aims of other books used by the Academy.

During the freshman year, the other book required for all vocal music classes was William Bradbury's *The Singing Bird*. This collection has quite a different focus from *Songs of Zion*, as the introduction states: "The Singing Bird is intended especially to render comparatively easy and pleasant the introduction of VOCAL MUSIC as a study, as well as a pastime, in schools, and seminaries, and juvenile classes."<sup>310</sup> As stated, this book is more of a general introduction to music, with the basics of musical notation and singing introduced in a step-by-step format. Much of the first forty pages is devoted to explanations of various musical elements, beginning with the introduction of the scale or "musical ladder," and continuing on to rhythm, melody, harmony, dynamics, and even transposition. This content is followed by numerous exercises, which gradually become more complicated, interspersed with two more chapters further explaining transposition and introducing the concept of major and minor tonality. By the end of the book students are expected to sing in three-part harmony, perform complex rhythms, and read fluently in all major and minor keys. The book provides an interesting window into the changes that have taken place in music education since the mid-nineteenth century. In *The Singing Bird*, musical elements are introduced at break-neck speed, with mathematical and scientific principles assaulting the reader at every turn. It is obvious that more recent ideas about learning styles and gradual comprehension were not taken into consideration, for in the mid-nineteenth century it was still almost a novelty to teach music in a classroom setting at all.

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<sup>310</sup> William B. Bradbury, *The Singing Bird, or Progressive Music Reader; Designed to Facilitate the Introduction of Vocal Music in Schools and Academies* (New York: Ives & Finney, 1852), 2.

The exercises and songs presented in *The Singing Bird* also help one to understand the philosophy of music education at the Nashville Female Academy. The book includes fourteen different types of exercises, which provide practice in chromatic scales, major and minor keys, and other technical aspects of music. The main part, however, is a collection of various songs and choruses. Although *The Singing Bird* is not a hymn book, as *Songs of Zion* was, “Sacred Pieces” are the first, and ostensibly most important, category of musical examples. These sacred songs, which are scattered throughout the book and range from newly-composed works to old German tunes, comprise 18 of the 116 pieces in the book. The rest of the songs are divided into “Rounds” (30), “Sentences and Other Short Pieces” (16), “Temperance Pieces” (3), “Patriotic Songs” (4), “Home Songs” (9), “Songs to Encourage Study” (10), “Holiday or Vacation Songs” (6), and “Songs for Graduates” (5). Most of these, while not explicitly sacred, serve to ingrain specific principles for living into the students, and praise studiousness, loyalty, and domestic life. All of these values were important for a Southern belle to possess, for she was expected to be virtuous, busy, skilled at overseeing a household, and devoted to home, family, and country. Thus even the vocal music courses at the Nashville Female Academy played a part in creating Southern Belles worthy of their status and ready for their futures as ladies of plantations and estates.

After completing the freshman year, Academy students continued their study of vocal music with the book *Tara’s Harp: A New Collection of Favorite Songs and Glee’s for Youth; Designed for the Use of Schools, Seminaries, and the Social Circle.*

*Containing also, a Complete Course of Elementary Instruction in Vocal Music,* by J. A.

Getze.<sup>311</sup> According to the Publisher's Notice, the book was "intended for the school-room or the parlor," and it includes a "simple and explanatory" introduction to music. This section begins with a dictionary of various musical terms, mainly tempo and dynamic markings, and then progresses to the "elementary principles of Musical Notation." In six concise pages the student is introduced to note values, rests, various meters and time signatures, triplets, scales, the musical staff, and notes on the staff. Several practical exercises follow and continue to introduce other aspects of notation such as slurs and articulation. After the chromatic scale is taught and students learn to transpose into other keys, the elementary portion concludes with exercises ranging from the key of E (four sharps) to the key of A-flat (four flats).<sup>312</sup>

The main portion of *Tara's Harp* begins on page 35 and comprises 204 pages of songs written in staff notation. The index in the back of the book is arranged in alphabetical order, with a "Sacred Music" section of 19 songs at the end of the list. This comprises a little less than one-sixth of the 122 songs included, about the same percentage as the number of sacred songs in *The Singing Bird*. The rest of the pieces fall into the line of parlor music and school songs, honoring the same symbols of home, loyalty, and country that may be found in Bradbury's book. Songs such as "What Is Home Without A Father" and "What is Home Without a Mother" reinforced contemporary views on home and family relations, which was the center of life for most students at the Academy. It is especially notable that the favorite nineteenth-century tune, "Home! Sweet Home" by Henry Rowley Bishop (1786-1855) is also included, thus

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<sup>311</sup> J. A. Getze, *Tara's Harp: A New Collection of Favorite Songs and Glees for Youth; Designed for the Use of Schools, Seminaries, and the Social Circle. Containing also, a Complete Course of Elementary Instruction in Vocal Music* (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker, 1858).

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-34.

continuing to celebrate the centrality of a secure home environment.<sup>313</sup> Other songs are simply light pieces or folk tunes, such as “Listen to the Mocking-Bird” and “Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star.”

The structure of the songs in *Tara’s Harp* varies quite a bit, with some written in three-part harmony in open score, and others written with a unison line over piano chords. Some songs change format between the verse and the chorus, such as “Mother, Home, and Heaven,” which opens with a unison verse over a chordal accompaniment and continues with a three-part chorus written for soprano, alto, and bass.<sup>314</sup> This three-part format is perhaps the most common found in the book, and makes one believe that some of the girls surely sang the bass line up an octave, unless it was merely played on an instrument while the upper voices were sung.

During their junior year, students again used *Songs of Zion* in voice classes, but Lowell Mason’s *Carmina Sacra* replaced *Tara’s Harp*. Mason’s book, although it had first been published in 1841, came out in a revised version in 1855, and it is undoubtedly the later version that is referred to in the 1860 Academy Catalog. According to the Publisher’s Notice, by 1851 *Carmina Sacra* had already sold 400,000 copies, and had “done more for congregational singing than any other instrumentality...”<sup>315</sup> It was thus intended for church use, as well as for Singing Schools, especially after Mason added the

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<sup>313</sup> “Home! Sweet Home” was originally written by Bishop for the opera *Clari, or the Maid of Milan*, in 1823. It became an international favorite and appeared in multiple versions—both vocal and instrumental—throughout the nineteenth century.

<sup>314</sup> Getze, *Tara’s Harp*, 76.

<sup>315</sup> Lowell Mason, *The New Carmina Sacra, or Boston Collection of Church Music. Comprising the most popular psalm and hymn tunes in general use, together with a great variety of new tunes, chants, sentences, motetts, and anthems; principally by distinguished European composers: the whole being one of the most complete collections of music for choirs, congregations, singing schools and societies, extant* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1855), 2.

“Guide to Musical Notation” found near the beginning of the book. Here many of the same elements are discussed as those introduced in *The Singing Bird* and *Tara’s Harp*, but they are introduced more rapidly, with little explanation, so that by page seven four different voice parts have been introduced and four-part harmony begins to appear. Mason then discusses intervals, the minor scale, the chromatic scale, and transposition. These explanations are followed by “Practical Exercises,” which progress from eight-bar phrases to longer and more complex, though regularly structured, hymns. Following the introduction of ornaments, dynamics, and articulation, a few more songs lead to the musical dictionary on page thirty-six, which ends Mason’s “Guide to Musical Notation” and is followed by the main body of the *Carmina Sacra*.

The section that follows is a large collection of hymn tunes by Mason and many others, and even includes a Palestrina arrangement on page 105. These songs are generally classified according to their poetic meter, which is abbreviated as “L.M.” for Long Meter and “C. M.” for Common Meter. Although these classifications date back to the early Psalters, the format of the hymns included in *Carmina Sacra* is much more complex than in earlier collections, with four staves in open score and a multitude of keys and time signatures. An especially interesting example may be found on page 225, where mixed meter is used in an arrangement of a tune by J. A. Naumann. Here the time signature is 4/4—3/4, and every two measures the signature change is indicated by double bar lines. The mixed meter is further complicated by dotted rhythms and voice pairing. It gives some indication of the musical training of the girls at the Academy, for undertaking such a complicated piece was surely no small task.

*Carmina Sacra* also served to ingrain many of the same values and principles as *The Singing Bird* and *Tara's Harp*. While the majority of the work is a compendium of hymns, the melodies included in Mason's "Guide to Musical Notation" feature songs such as "Diligence," which encourages the student to "Cheerfully toil," and from labor "never to recoil." "Friendship and Union" addresses loyalty, songs about the beauty of nature and springtime call for thankfulness on the part of the students, and "Whom We Love Most" praises family bonds. Thus many of the themes evident in vocal instruction during the first two years are found in the junior year as well, and the Academy's students continued to be prepared for their futures as Southern Ladies in a society that would not long continue to exist as it was in 1860.<sup>316</sup>

In the senior year, the level of instruction was further raised, with students using *Songs of Zion* along with Elam Ives' *The Operatic Album*. This book, which, according to the introduction, was intended to provide "[m]usic of an elevated character, concerted for Female voices, admitting of several voices on each part," was structured for women's chorus. Many of the pieces are selections from operas, and the editor notes that if the original text of the piece is too difficult to understand apart from the plot, new words are added.<sup>317</sup> This modification is evident in various selections, including the song "Soft Fades the Glow of Even," which is based on music from Donizetti's opera *Parisina*, but features text adapted from J. G. Percival's poem of the same name.<sup>318</sup> The text is romantic and sentimental, praising the beauty of a fading evening and the visions of the

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<sup>316</sup> "Diligence" is number 21 in the "Guide to Musical Notation"; "Friendship and Union" is 31, and "Whom We Love Most" is 33. Mason, *The New Carmina Sacra*, 12-18.

<sup>317</sup> Elam Ives, *The Operatic Album: A Collection of Music in Parts, for Ladies Voices. Intended Particularly for Seminaries, High Schools, Musical Classes, and the Social Circle* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1857), 3.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-43.

day flitting away, and could easily have inspired a tear in the eye of several of the young women who sang it at the Nashville Female Academy.

Following the Introduction, the book itself comprises eighteen selections, taken from famous composers and operas. These songs and choruses, which include operatic works by Mozart, Donizetti, Weber, Bellini, and others, are written in a different style than the books consulted thus far. Here, a notated piano accompaniment appears under the vocal parts, as in much modern choral music. The pieces are written in two- and three-part harmony, with some four-part sections appearing throughout. Some pieces, such as “From Distant Regions Flying”—taken from Rossini’s *La Cenerentola*—include solo parts accompanied by chorus. The solo in this particular selection is quite difficult, including several runs, large intervals, and embellishments. One can imagine several girls auditioning for this coveted part, with the winner proudly performing it at public examinations or recitals. The piano accompaniments are quite intricate, featuring complex rhythms, dotted figures, and fast tremolo passages, and cause one to wonder if a student or a faculty member performed them during classes and concerts. In this book, the ideals found in many of the other song books are not to be found, for there is no mention of home, family, country, or God, yet the Piano Girl of the mid-nineteenth century would still have been quite comfortable performing these selections. Although pieces by notable composers may be found, they are presented in a virtuosic, flashy manner akin to much of the salon piano music of the day, and would have provided perfect vehicles for social interaction in an intimate setting. The introduction to the manual also highlights the idea of a genteel performer, for it notes that most women

would “possess too much of commendable delicacy to render themselves ridiculous by attempting to perform alone.”<sup>319</sup>

After consulting the music curriculum of the Nashville Female Academy in 1860, it seems that its focus was to produce pious young ladies who loved their home, their family, and their studies. The level of musical complexity in the vocal courses grew harder each year, with the senior year culminating in arrangements of works by the great masters. According to Judith Tick, this type of vocal instruction was quite common at female schools in the mid-nineteenth century. Vocal training was a standard part of music curriculum, and standards from Italian Opera and famous composers were usually included in more advanced study. This was a marked improvement over female music education around the turn of the nineteenth century, and the level of music education paralleled a rise in the status of women’s education in general.<sup>320</sup> Thus, the young women studying music at the Nashville Female Academy under Collins D. Elliott were beneficiaries not only of his desire for a successful school, but also of the strides women had made in American society, especially in the field of education.

Although lists of required books and materials for applied music study at the Academy are not included in this catalog, records of contemporary performances give an idea of the repertoire studied. For instance, in June of 1856, the *Nashville Daily Patriot* recorded the pieces performed at the Academy’s Fortieth Annual Exhibition, and the program is reproduced below:

“Cavatina” (Hunter).....Misses Watson and Rogers  
Song. “Gypsy Countess”[sic].....Miss  
Owen

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<sup>319</sup> Ives, *The Operatic Album*, 3.

<sup>320</sup> Tick, *American Women Composers Before 1870*, 36-7.

“Diana Polka” (F. C. Unger).....Miss Lowe  
 Song. “I’ll Follow Thee”.....Miss Elliott  
 “Monastery Bells”.....Miss Pointer  
 Song. “I’m a Merry, Laughing Girl”.....Miss M. Cockrill  
 “The Banjo” (Gottschalk).....Miss Dupree  
 Song. “Star of Home”.....Miss \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Song. “The Vale of Home”.....Miss Douglas  
 “Schulhoff’s Grand Waltz,” Var. (duet).....Misses Watson and Roger  
 Song. “Mary of the Glenn”.....Miss De Launay  
 Song. “Down the Burn, Davy Love”.....Miss \_\_\_\_\_.  
 “Impromptu Polka” (Schulhoff) duett.....Misses Owen and Pointer  
 Song. “There’s a Sigh in the Heart” (duet).....Misses Douglas and Cockrill  
 “Last Rose of Summer” Var. (Herz).....Miss Kierolff  
 Song. “Our Way Across the Sea”.....Misses De Launay and Southall  
 Song. “O Luce di Quest Anima”.....Miss De Launay  
 “Ben Bolt” (Var.) (Wallace).....Miss Anna M. Pyles  
 Song. “Gently Sighs the Breeze”.....Misses Owen and Elliott  
 “Lucia de Lammermoor” (Strakosch).....Miss Pyles  
 “Gold Fever Gallop” (Schulhoff).....Miss Pattie Pointer  
 Song. “Green Hills of Tyrol”.....Miss De Launay  
 Song. “How Sleep the Brave”.....Misses Watson and \_\_\_\_\_.  
 Song. “Ernani Involami”.....Miss Owen  
 Song. “Love’s Approach”.....Misses Southall and Depree

“Musical Rockets” (Strakosch).....Miss Kierolff  
 Song. “Ah Meie Prieghi” .....Miss Douglass  
 “Brilliant Variations on ‘Ah, Don’t Mingle’” (Herz).....Miss A. Cockrill  
 Song. “The Tie is Rent that Bound Our Hearts”.....Misses De Launay,  
 Dupree, and Southall<sup>321</sup>

The pieces performed by these young women, many of whom were also participating in the graduation exercises, range from light vocal works to virtuosic piano compositions and operatic arias. Similar fare was to be found on graduation programs across the country, as Candace Bailey notes in *Music and the Southern Belle*, where she includes programs from commencement concerts at the Georgia Female College in 1852. These performances feature variation pieces, opera excerpts, and songs much like those included on the program at the Nashville Female Academy. Functions such as these served to occupy a place somewhere between public concerts and private music-making, for although attendees included those not related to the students, they were not open to the public, as all guests had to be invited. The graduation recitals were largely intended to allow parents to hear their daughters perform in a safe environment, as well as to serve as year-end examinations for students.<sup>322</sup>

Many of the vocal pieces on the Nashville Female Academy program are parlor songs and folk pieces, although several opera excerpts also appear. The first aria included is “O Luce di Quest Anima,” from Donizetti’s *Linda di Chamounix*, which had premiered in 1842. This piece, although not exceedingly high, includes numerous large leaps in the vocal line as well as florid passages and coloratura writing. Another opera excerpt, taken

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<sup>321</sup> “Nashville Union and American, June 13, 1856 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86053516/1856-06-13/ed-1/seq-2.pdf>, accessed January 13, 2013.

<sup>322</sup> Bailey, *Music and The Southern Belle*, 75-77.

from Verdi's *Ernani* (1844), stands out near the end of the program. "Ernani Involami" is a vocally challenging coloratura aria written for the part of Elvira in the opera, and like the Donizetti work, was relatively new in 1856—having been premiered in Venice only twelve years before.

Among the other vocal selections are some ensemble pieces, including the duet, "There's a Sigh in the Heart," which was first published by Anne Fricker in 1831. This relatively simple piece, in the key of the E-flat major, is accompanied by repeated chords in the piano. The two voices trade off solo verses, with the top part soaring all the way to a high F, while the lower voice rises to a high E-flat during its solo. The rhythms are fairly simple, progressing in a lilting 6/8 time with standard dotted-quarter-note patterns and a few short eighth-note melismas. While Fricker's work does not represent any great vocal challenges, the poetic text provides much fodder for the romantic imagination with their mention of "sighs for the land far away" and pining over fading flowers that have lost their glory.<sup>323</sup> This piece typifies much of the sentimental and nostalgic music played on parlor pianos across the antebellum South, and provides quite a contrast with the operatic arias that also appear on the program. The inclusion of such disparate vocal works demonstrates that the young women of the Nashville Female Academy, while being groomed as Southern Belles, also had somewhat diverse musical experiences and were familiar with a variety of musical styles.

The piano works featured on the program demonstrate the types of keyboard works that were popular in nineteenth-century parlors. Four dances were performed by the students—two polkas, a waltz, and a gallop—as well as several variation sets, operatic transcriptions, and salon pieces. The first piano piece to appear is the *Diana*

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<sup>323</sup> Anne Fricker, "There's a Sigh in the Heart, Duet" (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1853).

*Polka*, which is listed as being composed by F. C. Unger. It is a light dance for piano, and would have been suitable to play in the home. The next piano piece on the program gives some idea of the level of technique possessed by the Academy's students, for Louis Moreau Gottschalk's "The Banjo" is a virtuosic and flashy piece including leaps spanning several octaves, large chords, fast repeated-note passages, and numerous arpeggio passages.<sup>324</sup> Gottschalk is hardly an unexpected name to appear on a concert program in the American South during this era, for his works were well known and much loved throughout the country. Candace Bailey notes how often they were included in sheet music collections belonging to Southern Belles, to the point that Gottschalk compositions were considered "requisite pieces" for any pianist.<sup>325</sup> The composer himself noted how often he was requested to perform certain pieces he had written, because every girl in the audience was playing it herself.<sup>326</sup>

A duet version of *Schulhoff's Grand Waltz* by William Dressler, another nineteenth-century composer of light dance music and variations for piano, is the next keyboard work on the program. Duets were a popular form of piano repertoire in the nineteenth century, for they would prevent a single performer from appearing too virtuosic and accomplished, and they also allowed musicians to collaborate with one another within the parlor environment. Duets and small ensemble pieces were frequently included on programs at various schools, such as the Moravian Seminary in Bethlehem, and many composers, including Gottschalk, arranged various works for piano duet.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Gottschalk (1826-69) was an American pianist and composer who traveled to Europe for study in the 1840s and returned to tour the United States in the 1850s, when he became a hero to young women across the country. Many of his salon pieces sold by the thousands in sheet music format, and *The Banjo* was one of the most popular.

<sup>325</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 12.

<sup>326</sup> Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2006), 239.

<sup>327</sup> Smith, *Music, Women, and Pianos in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, 92.

*Schulhoff's Grand Waltz* is a light dance with a simple form and predictable tonality, and the duet format presents an added challenge to musicians as they work to maintain a satisfactory ensemble.

Later on the program is another flashy piano piece, Henri Herz's *Variations Brilliantes on "The Last Rose of Summer,"* Op. 59. This work, published in 1848, sets a popular nineteenth-century melody in a virtuosic format. It features numerous technical challenges ranging from fast, filigreed runs to rapid repeated notes and numerous ornamented passages. The eight-page work takes about six minutes to perform, thus requiring a good bit of endurance and concentration on the part of the pianist. Herz's work, along with Gottschalk's *The Banjo*, points to a high level of musical instruction at the Academy, verifying Elliott's repeated claims and advertisements. It is also interesting to consider the programming of this work, just a few years after Herz had visited Nashville during a tour of the United States.<sup>328</sup> Surely some of the audience members, and perhaps the faculty of the Academy, had met the famous pianist. Four years later, in 1860, Elliott even hired two new piano faculty members who had studied with Herz himself.<sup>329</sup>

Another piece included on the program was the *Impromptu Polka*, a duet by the Bohemian composer and pianist Julius Schulhoff (1825-1898), who studied in Prague before spending much of his life in Paris and touring throughout Europe and Russia. The *Impromptu Polka*, first published in 1852, is a lively duple-meter polka, centering on the

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<sup>328</sup> *The Last Rose of Summer* was perhaps the most popular piece on Herz's concert programs during his American tours, and was undoubtedly performed by the pianist himself in Nashville. (See R. Allen Lott, *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland* (New York, Oxford UP, 2003), 82.

<sup>329</sup> Herz visited Nashville with the violinist Camille Savori in June of 1847, giving three concert with great success and acclaim. (Rose, *Pioneer Nashville*, Vol. II, 90-91).

key of A-flat major with a sixteen-bar change to B major during the middle section of the ternary form. The triplet figure that appears in the introduction is repeated in the middle and near the end of the work, and many of the rhythmic figures are typical of early nineteenth-century polka repertoire. The technical level of the piece is not extremely challenging, yet there are several fast passages and large chords, and if played at a lively tempo it would be rather difficult to play with a satisfactory ensemble between primo and secondo parts.<sup>330</sup>

The other two piano composers to appear on the program are William Vincent Wallace (1812-1865) and Maurice Strakosch (1825-1887). Wallace was an Irish composer and performer who spent several years in Australia and subsequently toured Europe and the United States, becoming an American citizen in 1854. During the antebellum era, he composed many songs and parlor pieces which were played and included on concert programs at schools across the country, such as the Moravian Female Seminary, where Wallace pieces were popular fare.<sup>331</sup> Thus, the inclusion of Wallace's *Grande Fantasia de Concert sur la Ballade Americaine* on a program such as this was no extraordinary feat of programming, although the level of technical agility required by the performer is rather high.

Maurice Strakosch was another native European, who had immigrated to the United States from Czechoslovakia in 1848. Here he developed a successful career as a touring impresario, or concert manager, taking opera troupes and solo performers across the country and throughout Central and South America. He was also a pianist and the composer of several salon piano works. Although Strakosch's variations on *Lucia de*

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<sup>330</sup> Julius Schulhoff, *Impromptu Polka* (Cincinnati, OH: C. W. Peters & Sons, 1853).

<sup>331</sup> Smith, *Music, Women, and Pianos in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, 98-100.

*Lammermoor* is difficult to locate today, it followed the popular tradition of operatic transcriptions for the piano, which were written in the mid-nineteenth century by many piano virtuosi, including Liszt, Thalberg, and Gottschalk. *Musical Rockets*, the other Strakosch piece performed, is a challenging 12-page work full of octave passages, quick runs, and cadenza-like portions. Some of the sections are reminiscent of Liszt, with cascading octaves in the left hand offset by chromatic passagework in the right hand. Although not a set of variations, *Musical Rockets* is written in a sectional format, with varying styles and figurations between sections. While remaining very tonal, in the keys of A-flat and then D-flat major, the harmonic language is quite chromatic, with diminished and seventh chords in abundance. Strakosch's work epitomizes the "brilliant" style so popular among antebellum Southern women.<sup>332</sup>

After examining both the vocal music curriculum and the type of repertoire performed at the Academy, it is evident that the music program was geared toward accepted standards of parlor music and popular taste. The level of technique, however, must have been quite high, for several of the vocal and instrumental selections included on the 1856 program require a high level of proficiency. In addition, the vocal music classes trained students to sing in a variety of keys, meters, and number of parts, while many of the arrangements they sang promoted ideas of family, home, and loyalty. These simple pieces progressed to operatic excerpts and more complex songs, which presented the choirs with an opportunity to display their newly-learned skills. Thus the students of the Nashville Female Academy were trained to be excellent, yet ladylike, musicians, who could perform brilliantly, yet still uphold Elliott's mantra: "The Lady first, the Scholar next."

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<sup>332</sup> Maurice Strakosch, *Musical Rockets; Brilliant Capriccio for the Piano* (Boston: Oliver & Ditson, 1853).

## Dancing

Among the many improvements and innovations Elliott contributed during his years at the Nashville Female Academy was the addition of dance instruction, which raised quite a stir among the Methodist establishment. According to Blandin, under Elliott's direction, the Academy included 45 minutes of dance as a form of physical education every day. In this context, dance was seen as an antidote to contemporary concerns about female health and fitness, and was recommended alongside calisthenics and other physical activities. She notes that "he [Elliott] deemed dancing among the girls—not promiscuous dancing—one of the best forms of physical culture, and well suited for a school exercise."<sup>333</sup> Elliott's inclusion of dance occurred at a time when structured exercise was increasingly considered to be important for young women, and concern about the effects of academic studies upon the female body and the tendency for young women to fall into fits of "hysteria and melancholy" created a desire to counteract these potential physical and psychological difficulties with physical recreation. Numerous nineteenth-century publications, including the *Godey's Ladies Book*, demonstrate such ideas. In one article from the September, 1834, issue of the *Ladies Book*, the author recommends that young women should not be condemned "to sit eight listless hours of the day over their books, their work, their maps, and their music..." but rather should be allowed the freedom to "partake of every active exercise not absolutely unfeminine, and trust to their being able to get into or out of a carriage with a light and graceful step..." in order to ward off the "demons of hysteria and melancholy."<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> Blandin, *History of Higher Education of Women in the South*, 278.

<sup>334</sup> "Female Education," excerpt from the "Foreign Quarterly Review," *Godey's Ladies Book*, *Godey's Ladies Book*, (September 1834), *Accessible Archives*, <http://www.accessible.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/accessible/print?AADocList=16&AADocStyle=STYLED&A>

Educational reformers such as Catherine Beecher also helped to popularize physical recreation as a subject for female education, and Beecher was an avid supporter of “healthful exercises” for women.<sup>335</sup> As a result, numerous female schools included some form of physical education in the curriculum. For instance, at Mary Lyon’s Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, opened in 1837, students took part in domestic duties partly because “young ladies engaged in study suffer much in vigor of body and mind and in their future health, for the want of exercise.”<sup>336</sup> Partaking in vigorous domestic work at the school was thought to help remedy this situation. Thomas Woody notes that in the first half of the nineteenth century, “[t]he best seminaries...were leaders in this effort to promote health education.”<sup>337</sup> Farnham also discusses physical education for young women, noting that long walks were required for students at nearly all-female schools in the antebellum South, and that some institutions mandated various types of calisthenics.<sup>338</sup> Thus Elliott’s idea of including exercise or recreation in the regular curriculum was not out of the ordinary, although his use of dance for such purposes may have been more novel.

Despite the salubrious intentions of the dance classes at the Academy, the promiscuous stereotypes associated with dance led a leading religious journal to launch editorial attacks on Elliott’s introduction of dance as a subject at the Nashville Female Academy. He defended his actions by saying: “I found them [students] going out into the city, and taught Dancing as a fashionable accomplishment, to fit them for the Ball Room

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AStyleFile=&AABeanName=toc1&AANextPage=/printFullDocFromXML.jsp&AACheck=3.1182.16.0.16, accessed February 7, 2013.

<sup>335</sup> Woody, *A History of Women’s Education in the United States*, 320.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 358-60.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 358-60; 415.

<sup>338</sup> Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*, 126.

and similar places of sinful amusement. I took the Dancing to the Academy, divested it of its characteristics as an accomplishment, and had it taught and practiced only as a recreation, for the sake of Health and Cheerfulness, and in a manner consistent with Piety and Devotion.”<sup>339</sup> Elliott believed this decision had positive results on the character of the Academy’s pupils, and was ready to defend his stance against any who might oppose him. It is interesting to note that in the very same newspaper in which he was defending dance as a legitimate part of female education, just a few paragraphs down is an advertisement for a “Fashionable Dancing Academy” conducted by Monsieur Pingsley, who taught his students the “new and fashionable” dances from Paris.<sup>340</sup> It is thus obvious that dancing was not completely censured by the Nashville populace, as Davenport notes in “Cultural Life in Nashville On the Eve of the Civil War.” Here he writes that dancing was actually one of the most popular forms of entertainment in the city during the antebellum era, and was part of every holiday and party. In addition, it was viewed as one of the most important social graces to be developed. Any opposition to dancing came from the conservative religious community, who viewed it as a source of evil and unacceptable sexual behavior, and this is where the attacks on Elliott and the Nashville Female Academy also arose.<sup>341</sup>

Antebellum ideas and beliefs about dancing can be found in the writings of period authors, including Sigourney’s *Letters To Young Ladies*. Here she states that dancing, which has been a desirable accomplishment since ancient times, has “on

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<sup>339</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, October 20, 1857 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1857-10-20/ed-1/seq-3/?words=danced+DANCING+Academy+Nashville+Dancing+Dances+dancing+Female?date1=1836&date2=1922&searchType=advanced&language=&proxdistance=5&state=Tennessee&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&phrasertext=&andtext=dancing&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=0>, accessed February 5, 2013.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>341</sup> Davenport, “Cultural Life in Nashville,” 336-37.

occasion fallen into disrepute, for the late hours, and display in dress, with which it is too often associated.”<sup>342</sup> She goes on to propose that dancing be separated from such unnecessary connections, removed from “mixed company,” and taught to young women in school.<sup>343</sup> She then quotes “the polished Addison,” who says that the main purpose of dancing is to teach ladies “how to sit still gracefully.” Dancing should thus be used in the domestic sphere, where it can be healthful and serve to promote cheerful spirits. However, as it existed in its common sphere, fraught with vanity and other dangers, Sigourney could not recommend it as an accomplishment to be desired.<sup>344</sup> In *The Fireside Friend*, Mrs. Lincoln Phelps expresses similar views: “While I would rescue this exercise [single-sex dancing for physical exercise] from the reproach, which, I think, has been improperly attached to it, I would condemn, in the most decided manner, those evils which have been suffered to connect themselves with it.”<sup>345</sup> These sentiments align directly with those expressed by Elliott in his defense of dancing at the Academy in his 1857 newspaper rebuttal.

The dancing scandal at the Academy, however, had begun several years before, in 1844, the same year Elliott became joint superintendent of the school and proprietor of the boarding house. At that time, Elliott began to allow dance instruction to take place at the boarding facility, and this activity was discovered by the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, J. B. McFerrin. When McFerrin visited Elliott in person and threatened withdrawal of the journal’s support of the Academy unless the dance lessons were stopped, Elliott refused to make any changes. Thus, on November 15, McFerrin wrote an

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<sup>342</sup> Sigourney, *Letters to Young Ladies*, 113-14.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Sigourney, *Letters to Young Ladies*, 113-14.

<sup>345</sup> Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, *The Fireside Friend*, 268.

editorial condemning the Academy's inclusion of dance and suggesting that the institution, which had once been a favorite of the *Advocate* editors, should no longer be supported by the journal or its readers. Elliott then defended himself in a letter to the editor published a few days later. Here he diplomatically stated his opposition to dancing and all the evils attached to it, but asserted that he allowed dance instruction to take place at the Academy in order to prevent pupils leaving the institution to seek dance instruction in other parts of the city.<sup>346</sup> The controversy led Dr. Lapsley, Elliott's co-superintendent, to resign, but Elliott retained his post and the issue gradually died down. In 1856, however, another *Christian Advocate* article accused Elliott of running a dancing school at the Academy, and this claim raised a stir among readers and Methodist clergymen who were upset to think of many of their upstanding female parishioners having been taught to dance while they were students at the Academy. It was this controversy that inspired Elliott's 1857 publication, noted above, in which he stated his belief that dancing was an excellent tool for physical recreation and moral training. While the scandal did not directly affect the functioning of the Academy, it led to Elliott's withdrawal from the Methodist church and demonstrates the conservative moral values that held sway in Nashville, and perhaps across much of the antebellum South.<sup>347</sup> The dance issue also provides further insight into the musical program at the Nashville Female Academy under Elliott's leadership. While many of the songs and aesthetics the students learned were in line with a conservative, religious lifestyle, the Academy was also on the cutting edge of female education. At the school, dance was taught not simply as an "accomplishment" to further aid young ladies in gracing society, but it was also heralded as an important form

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<sup>346</sup> Windrow, "Collins D. Elliott," 82-83.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-86.

of recreation that provided young women with the opportunity to “improve” themselves through discipline and exercise without leaving the safe walls of the Academy. Although no specific information exists regarding the types of dances taught or the music used for instruction, the inclusion of dance lessons not only catered to antebellum ideas regarding female training and place in society, but also followed the lead of educational reformers by training the whole body, rather than just the mind. While the addition of another “social grace” to the curriculum harmonized with every aspect of education at the Nashville Female Academy that was geared to producing Southern Belles, the idea of physical exercise and training was more in line with modern concepts shown in the advanced musical training and scholastic subjects Elliott supported.

#### The Nashville Female Academy and the Civil War

As the Civil War approached, change became evident at the Nashville Female Academy. First of all, in 1860 Collins D. Elliott took a sabbatical from his position as president and superintendent of the school, citing his extreme fatigue and the great effort he had expended on the school over the years, and stating that he no longer felt equal to the task of carrying out his duties. He was replaced by Rev. George M. Everhart, who had previously presided over Huntsville College.<sup>348</sup> At the time of his return in January 1861, the Civil War loomed on the horizon, and the Academy saw its lowest attendance and enrollment, even in the ornamental department, since the 1830s.<sup>349</sup> The school, however, continued to function until Federal troops occupied Nashville in February 1862, when Elliott ordered that it be evacuated, and it was subsequently closed. According to Blandin, “Dr. Elliott and four prominent citizens were arrested and thrown in the city prison, and

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<sup>348</sup> Collins D. Elliot, “NFA: To Our Patrons,” n.d., “Collins D. Elliott Papers,” Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>349</sup> See Windrow, “Collins D. Elliott,” 82.

later sent to Camp Chase; the Academy was stripped of its furniture, and the fine pianos were shipped North.”<sup>350</sup> Although some of these accounts are hard to substantiate, it is documented that the Academy was converted into a Union Hospital during the occupation, and it was never again to fully function as an active institution.

The reasons for the harsh treatment received by Elliott and the Academy during the War are numerous, most notably the nature of the conflict and Northern attitudes toward occupied cities. However, comments made by Elliott near the beginning of the war surely served to fire Union resentment:

We desire to let you know that the Academy occupies no middle ground between the North and South. We recognize the [existence] of war between the North and South, and we are with the South. In the Teachers we employ—in the tears we shed in the hour of defeat—in the songs we sing, the hope of victory—in the use of these means and all others at our command—we hope to inspire our pupils not only with proper sympathy for their own country, but also with a strong antipathy for the North. We hope thus to render them fit to become the companions of the brave boys who stand in battle, array[ed against the] Fanatics and Infidelitests [at] our Northern border.

[...] It is our solemn duty—from our pulpits and family altars—in all our schools and colleges—to baptize our children in *Southern fire*—then, when we are in our graves, they will become worthy citizens of the freest, the richest and the most heaven-favored land beneath the shining sun.<sup>351</sup>

In addition to these staunch Southern sentiments, the Nashville Female Academy took part in a “Grand Demonstration for Southern Independence” on May 29, 1861, just before Tennessee formally seceded from the Union. The Academy’s full participation in this “Mass Meeting of all those who oppose the usurpation of the Tyrants from the North”

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<sup>350</sup> Blandin, *History of Higher Education of Women in the South*, 278.

<sup>351</sup> “Circular” (Nashville Female Academy), July, 1861, “Collins D. Elliott Papers,” Tennessee State Library and Archives.

surely did little to make Union troops sympathetic to Elliott's cause, and at the close of the war he lost both the Academy and his private estate outside of Nashville.<sup>352</sup>

After the war, Elliott made some attempt to reorganize the Nashville Female Academy, stating in a notice in the *Nashville Daily Union* from 1866 that he intended to re-dedicate the school on July 11 of that year.<sup>353</sup> However, a month later, on May 24, the *Daily Union* wrote that the trustees of the Academy intended to sell the grounds and rebuild elsewhere, but that Elliott might not be involved in the endeavor.<sup>354</sup> Following a lengthy legal battle, Elliott lost all his rights to the school and the investments he had made in it, and was left a bitter old man re-living the War throughout the rest of his life.<sup>355</sup> All attempts at re-opening the Academy were soon aborted, and the Nashville Female Academy, "the *alma mater* of hundreds of the most elegant and refined ladies in the Southern States," ceased to exist after the Civil War.<sup>356</sup>

In its forty-five years of existence, the school had trained generations of students in the genteel manners and graces necessary for their future roles in society. Every

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<sup>352</sup> "Rally! Rally! Grand Demonstration for Southern Independence," *Nashville Union and American*, May 29, 1861 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038518/1861-05-29/ed-1/seq-3/;words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1860&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=16&x=23&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=9&index=12>, accessed January 27, 2013. Also see Windrow, "Collins D. Elliott," 99-102.

<sup>353</sup> "Nashville Female Academy," *Nashville Daily Union*, April 25, 1866 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025718/1866-04-25/ed-1/seq-3/;words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1866&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=13&x=8&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=0>, accessed January 28, 2013.

<sup>354</sup> *Nashville Daily Union and American*, May 24, 1866 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038519/1866-05-24/ed-1/seq-3/;words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1861&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=11&x=10&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3&index=18>, accessed January 28, 2013.

<sup>355</sup> Windrow, "Collins D. Elliott," 101-102.

<sup>356</sup> "Nashville Female Academy," *Nashville Daily Patriot*, July 10, 1860 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025725/1860-07-10/ed-1/seq-1/;words=Academy+Nashville+Female?date1=1860&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=Tennessee&rows=20&proxtext=%22Nashville+Female+Academy%22&y=11&x=21&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3&index=8>, accessed January 27, 2013.

department provided instruction geared towards the “lady” more than the “scholar.” The music department demonstrated the values of the antebellum South by teaching vocal skills through songs of religious and moral quality; employing an experienced and prestigious faculty of music instructors who were able to provide quality instruction to middle and upper-class young women; and the choice of repertoire for the Academy’s private performances and graduation recitals. Although the girls of the Nashville Female Academy were taught excellent technique, and some obviously achieved a certain level of virtuosity, they were not preparing for careers in music education or performance, but rather for lives as homemakers, wives, and mothers who would be able to beautify their environments through music. With the end of the Civil War and the beginning of reconstruction and a New South, new modes of education emerged to create a new generation of Southern Ladies. Although many of the old traditions and ideals continued into the later nineteenth century, the ladies who emerged from Ward’s Seminary and the Ward-Belmont School looked forward to a future full of possibilities undreamed-of by graduates of the Nashville Female Academy. A new day was dawning in the American South, and Nashville’s Female Schools were preparing to face the challenge.

## Chapter Five: W. E. Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies

After the Civil War the United States, and especially the American South, entered a time of confusion, reconstruction, and search for identity. The social networks of many communities in the North were greatly altered by industrialism and urbanization, and white citizens across the South struggled to recover from the social, political and economic decimation of the war. In this region, many were attempting to re-establish their entire way of life and to adjust their antebellum outlook to the realities of Northern progressivism and modernization.<sup>357</sup> At the same time, rising immigration rates further changed post-bellum society, as both North and South were flooded with new waves of German, Irish, and Scandinavian immigrants who often interacted with Southern women as domestic servants and hired help. In this already unsettled environment, many Southern women were forced to grapple with an unexpected new independence and responsibility brought on by the war. This often produced internal conflict along with the external upheaval of the post-bellum period, when old ideals collided with current pragmatism.

Perspective on the issue of women's changing roles in the post-bellum South may be found in Nora Dooley's writing, which examines female authors in the American South during the Civil War and reconstruction periods. She notes that "during the war, most [Southern women] were forced into an independence they never imagined" as they ran plantations and small farms, worked in Federal offices, took over education, and

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<sup>357</sup> Mary McPherson, "Organizing Women: Women's Clubs and Education in Georgia, 1890-1920" (Ph.D. Diss., Georgia State University, 2009), 1-2.

served as nurses in makeshift hospitals.<sup>358</sup> After the war, white Southern women of the upper classes “were facing a crisis of identity since the war was lost, their men defeated, the slaves gone, the economy in turmoil and the status of their class and race eroded.” Dooley posits that many were eager to relinquish their war-time independence in favor of a return to the ideal of the “Southern Lady,” bringing an end to the short-lived changes in gender relations.<sup>359</sup> Thus, as Anne Firor Scott has noted, the image of the Southern Lady [...] survived the Civil War relatively unchanged.”<sup>360</sup> As a result, these women were forced to seek ways to reconcile antebellum ideals and expectations with contemporary realities and responsibilities.

In contrast to those who desired to return to traditional—and secure—roles, other Southern women were eager, or forced, to seek ways to support themselves and their families even after the war ended. The Civil War left “a generation of women without men” among the white population of the American South, with 80,000 widows in Alabama alone and an average of over 20,000 more women than men in many Southeastern states.<sup>361</sup> Other men left home to venture west or to seek careers in medicine, law, and politics in the larger cities while the women stayed home and kept plantations, farms, and families running. These women used whatever means they could to earn a living, whether that be by farming, running a boardinghouse, or teaching. The latter option, already a respected occupation, became the career of choice for many women of

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<sup>358</sup> Nora Ann Dooley, “The Beginning of Feminism in the South: An Examination of Southern Women Writing Civil War and Reconstruction Novels, Augusta Jane Evans to Ellen Glasgow” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Buffalo, 2009), 33.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, 34, 36.

<sup>360</sup> Anne Firor Scott, “After Suffrage: Southern Women in the Twenties,” *The Journal of Southern History* 30, no. 2 (August 1964), 300.

<sup>361</sup> Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 92, 106.

the middle and upper-class who found themselves in need of an income.<sup>362</sup> In the years following the War, the South demonstrated a new interest in education, and public schools were opened in many areas.<sup>363</sup> The creation of more schools also created a demand for more teachers, which in turn provided opportunities for women to support themselves. Teacher-training programs sprang up across the region, with schools such as Nashville's Peabody Normal School providing in-depth training and education for female educators.<sup>364</sup>

In addition to women's expanding career opportunities, Southern women both black and white began to form clubs and associations that focused on everything from social movements to artistic and literary pursuits. The earliest of these organizations were women's missionary societies, which allowed women to transfer their maternal instincts and roles from the private sphere to the public. Scott notes that many missionary societies had existed before the Civil War; as early as 1823 several white women's mission groups were in place across Alabama. However, it was not until the 1870s before women's missionary societies were officially recognized by established churches, granting women the freedom to support worthy causes independent of their husbands and fathers.<sup>365</sup> These societies quickly burgeoned into a network of female members across the country, paving the way for newly empowered women to embrace other social and political challenges.

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<sup>362</sup> Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 111-12.

<sup>363</sup> The interest in education was often fostered by women themselves, and many Women's Clubs studied and promoted education and educational reforms in the late nineteenth-century. For information about women's clubs and education in the south, see Mary Jane Smith, "Constructing Womanhood in Public: Progressive White Women in the New South" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 2002), 45-6.

<sup>364</sup> Peabody Normal School became known throughout the region as a leading teachers' college. Various sources contain information on this topic. For instance, see Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 111-115. Also see Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, chapter 10.

<sup>365</sup> Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 137-9.

Southern women were just as active in these social movements as their Northern counterparts, calling themselves “municipal housekeepers” for society. Organizations sprang up across the region to promote home missions, aid orphans and widows, and tackle controversial issues such as temperance and abolition.<sup>366</sup> The Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) emerged as the leading female organization in the United States when Frances Willard became the Union’s president in 1879. Willard embarked on a campaign to “widen the outlook and develop the mental aspirations” of women across the country by giving lectures and speeches to inspire women to action. Women considered alcohol to be at the root of many problems in Southern life, “threatening social instability” and bringing hardship to numerous families.<sup>367</sup> Besides the role it played in implementing prohibition, the WCTU provided Southern women with a venue for seeking personal development and social action without completely forsaking the ideal of the Southern Lady. It also served as a gateway for women to venture into the realm of politics and helped to open doors for the suffrage movement.<sup>368</sup>

The WCTU, in fact, supported suffrage by promoting the vote as a “weapon for home protection,” when male voters and legislators failed to support bills sponsored by women’s groups. Many Southern suffragettes were “the quintessential New Women of the New South,” and often possessed four-year college degrees, had traveled widely, and belonged to the rising urban middle class of merchants and professionals rather than the landed gentry of the Old South. In addition, many of these women worked as clerks and

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<sup>366</sup> Jean Gould Bryant, “From the Margins to Center: Southern Women’s Activism, 1870-1920,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (Spring, 1999), 406-7.

<sup>367</sup> Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 145, 47.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, 147-8.

journalists, thus demonstrating a new level of feminine independence.<sup>369</sup> Despite the success of various women's organizations and the growth of the women's movement throughout the South, suffrage was slow to be accepted in the region. The movement nearly died out in 1900, and even when it was slowly revived around 1910 many Southern women took an opposing view. These anti-suffragists sought to preserve the ideals of the antebellum South, and were often "daughters of the Old South, whose father, husbands, brothers and friends were members of the planter elite or new industrial and professional elite that was deeply linked with the plantation economy and social structure."<sup>370</sup>

As Southern society moved through Reconstruction and entered the Progressive Era, there was great conflict over the issue of women's rights, and the region often lagged behind national political trends. In this climate, young women beginning their lives were faced with challenges and opportunities not available to their predecessors. They were able, for the first time, to consider higher education and a career as viable options, as well as to function as individuals in society, with "the liberty 'to do, to say, to go, and to be what one pleases...'"<sup>371</sup> However, they also still faced conservative opposition to women's education and independence. Southern schools reflected these struggles, with advanced curriculum and college preparatory studies being offered alongside training in the "ornamental subjects" so popular during the antebellum period. One of these schools, W. E. Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies, was perhaps the most far-reaching and influential of Nashville's female schools in the post-Civil War era. Students at Ward's

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<sup>369</sup> Bryant, "From the Margins to Center," 417-18.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid., 419-20.

<sup>371</sup> *The Woman's Century Calendar* (National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1900); quoted in Jean V. Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: The Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003), 4.

Seminary came from both sides of the debate over women's newfound independence and power. Anne Dallas Dudley (1876-1955), a native of Tennessee and a graduate of Ward's Seminary, supported women's rights and emerged as a leader in the national suffrage movement. She asserted newfound female empowerment by becoming the first female delegate to the national Democratic convention in 1920, and helped to win the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in the same year.<sup>372</sup> Other Ward graduates, however, used their education to help them marry well and become genteel Southern Ladies, just as their predecessors at the Nashville Female Academy had. Essays presented at Commencement exercises provide a vivid depiction of the conflicting views held by Seminary students. In 1872, for example, papers entitled "The Influence of Women" and "What Shall Be Our Destiny" were given alongside presentations on more traditional subjects such as "The Standard of Taste" and "Flowers by the Wayside."<sup>373</sup>

Such evidence points to a diverse student population at Ward's Seminary. Some students were surely pursuing their studies—whether they be musical or general—to fulfill the traditional role of a Southern Belle. Others, such as Anne Dallas Dudley, obviously perceived their education as preparation for much more. These students pursued careers in numerous fields, and many of them who studied music were able to use this education in their future career as music teachers (many at the Seminary itself) or as performers.

Although the students at Ward's Seminary had varying views on women's place in society, they all faced the same struggles over women's roles, career options, and

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<sup>372</sup>Carolyn Stanford Busy, "Anne D. Dudley," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=406>, accessed May 26, 2013.

<sup>373</sup>*Nashville Union and American*, June 12, 1872 (Chronicling America), [www.chroniclingamerica.loc.gov](http://www.chroniclingamerica.loc.gov), accessed February 28, 2013.

burgeoning political power, and were forced to reconcile the image of the Southern Lady with the new freedom and independence accorded women. Likewise, the Seminary itself dealt with these issues. The courses offered, available ensembles, and stated values of the institution mirrored the times, for while academic courses became more important, ornamental studies were still embraced. By studying the recital programs, advertisements, and curriculum of Ward's Seminary, which often placed equal emphasis on women's higher education and the importance of "ornamental" instruction in genteel subjects, it is possible to gain a new perspective on the role of the Southern Lady in the post-bellum and Reconstruction South.

#### Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies

The story of Ward's Seminary dates back to the antebellum era, when plans were laid to found a new school for young women in Nashville alongside the Nashville Female Academy. During the Civil War, however, much of Nashville's educational life came to a halt, and after the war's end, some of its most prominent institutions ceased to exist. One of these wartime casualties was the Female Academy, which left a void in women's education in the South when it failed to reorganize at the war's end. Dr. William E. Ward, a local Presbyterian Minister and graduate of Cumberland University, was quick to seize upon the opportunity left by the Academy's demise, and at the suggestion of his wife, Eliza Hudson Ward, he founded Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies in 1865.<sup>374</sup>

Although Ward was a minister, the Seminary followed the example of the Nashville Female Academy in being non-sectarian. A school bulleting from 1877 details this,

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<sup>374</sup> See "Ward's Seminary For Young Ladies, between 1865 and 1884," *Nashville Public Library Digital Collections*, [http://contentdm.atiba.com:8080/cdm4/item\\_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/ndc&CISOPTR=2256&CISOBX=1&REC=1](http://contentdm.atiba.com:8080/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/ndc&CISOPTR=2256&CISOBX=1&REC=1), accessed October 7, 2012; also see Hoss, *History of Nashville, Tennessee*, 435.

stating that Seminary students were trained by “[d]aily recitation of the Bible, singing, and prayer before all the school .” In addition, students were required to attend “public worship in the churches on the Sabbath, each young lady going where her parents direct, but always with an attendant.”<sup>375</sup> In its first year of existence, Ward’s Seminary boasted forty “day students” and six boarders at its location on the corner of Sumner and Cedar Streets. By February 1869 it had an enrollment of 260 students, with 70-80 full-time boarders.<sup>376</sup> In 1870 the Education Bureau in Washington, D.C., ranked it as one of the top three female schools in the country. For twenty-two years, until his death in 1887, Ward himself led the school, which, according to the 1898 yearbook, stood against the “durm and drang” [sic] of the post-war era in the South. In addition to maintaining excellent facilities and giving “personal attention” to the “moral, intellectual, and physical development of each pupil,” Ward had a deep obvious desire to prepare young women to serve as teachers in the antebellum South.<sup>377</sup> The school’s stated aims reveal a continued adherence to many antebellum ideals about proper female education while still addressing changing social conditions. These dual aims are indicative of the ambiguity young women faced as they sought to negotiate their way after the war. Although many white Southern girls were still provided with a thorough education that included both

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<sup>375</sup> W. E. Ward’s Seminary for Young Ladies, Bulletin, 1877-78 (Nashville, TN: Ward’s Seminary, 1878). “Ward’s Seminary Collection,” Belmont University Special Collections.

<sup>376</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, February 5, 1869 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1869-02-05/ed-1/seq-4/?words=music+Ward+Music+Seminary+musical?date1=1836&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=advanced&language=&proxdistance=5&state=&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=music&phrasertext=Ward%27s+Seminary&andtext=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3&page=5&page=7&page=8&page=9&index=11>, accessed February 14, 2013.

<sup>377</sup> *The Iris*, 1898, yearbook of the Ward Seminary (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1898), 11; *Ibid.*, 12; “History and Archives, 1865-1890,” *Harpeth Hall*, <http://www.harpethhall.org/podium/default.aspx?t=151770>, accessed October 8, 2012; also see Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee*, 254.

academic and aesthetic studies, these same young women were often forced to make their own way in a society that had lost its direction and identity during the war.

At the school's first commencement exercises in June, 1866, Rev. Ward addressed this situation in a speech which states his educational philosophies for the Seminary and his understanding of its place within Southern reconstruction and the evolving social landscape. After acknowledging the "changed state of society" and detailing the sorrow and loss suffered by the South during the war, Ward declared that post-war education must include more thorough curriculum than what was offered during the antebellum period. Women must also learn more than just the ornamental arts, he believed, and must cultivate the *intellectual* as well as the *physical*. Ward's Seminary thus offered Latin instruction free of charge along with other scholastic subjects designed to prepare young ladies to be teachers and writers.<sup>378</sup> The Seminary featured "a full and thorough course of instruction, embracing academic and collegiate work, yet it did not neglect the "ornamental" arts."<sup>379</sup> Numerous advertisements refer to the music program and the fine pianos possessed by the school, and a new addition added to the facilities for the fall of 1866 included "an entire floor" devoted to the "[t]he Music and Practising [sic] Department."<sup>380</sup> A notice from 1868 states "[t]he Music, French, Classic and English Departments [are] unsurpassed."<sup>381</sup> Even early on in the history of the Seminary, the

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<sup>378</sup> *Daily Union and American*, June 19, 1866 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>, accessed February 14, 2013.

<sup>379</sup> "Celebrating Milestones: The Life and Legacy of Harpeth Hall School," (Nashville, TN: Favorite Recipe Press, 2001), 10-11.

<sup>380</sup> *Nashville Daily Union and American*, July 31, 1866 (Chronicling America), accessed April 25, 2013

<sup>381</sup> *Memphis Daily Appeal*, June 16, 1868 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045160/1868-06-16/ed-1/seq-3/;words=WARD+SEMINARY?date1=1867&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&sequence=&lccn=&state=&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&year=&phrasertext=&andtext=&proxValue=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=6&index=9>, accessed February 12, 2013.

conflict between the desire to professionalize women's education and the desire to remain true to old ideals of the Southern Lady is evident.

The Seminary's inclusion of both serious and ornamental studies continued into the next decade, when Dr. Ward summarized the results of the school's first thirteen years in the Seminary Catalog for 1877-78. Here he stated: "In thirteen years past, about two thousand young ladies have studied under my direction. Four hundred and seventy-one have graduated. Many of these have become teachers [...] A school for our daughters has been built up which outnumbers any in the South or in the North, with four exceptions."<sup>382</sup> It is obvious from this address that one of Ward's primary goals was to prepare young women for a future as teachers, thus providing them with the means of supporting themselves. The course listings included in the bulletin further demonstrate this emphasis on scholastic pursuits, with several semesters of Latin being required and other subjects ranging from United States and World History to composition, philosophy, and trigonometry. In addition, music, languages (French, German, Italian, and Spanish), and art appear as "Electives" every semester, and these subjects were not neglected despite their status as optional studies.<sup>383</sup> All of them required substantial extra tuition—nearly as much as the total fee for general subjects, and under the "General Remarks" near the end of the bulletin, the pianos are described as "superior to the instruments commonly used in schools, and seven octave[s]."<sup>384</sup> On these instruments, "[g]ratuitous exercise is given to the entire school in sacred music every morning."<sup>385</sup> The French department, too, is highlighted here, with special pride taken in the "French table" at

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<sup>382</sup> W. E. Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies, Bulletin, 1877-78.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid.

which only the French language was spoken at dinner.<sup>386</sup> The elective studies prepared the students for the regular Saturday evening “levées” held at the Seminary, at which each music student performed for the entire student body and the students took turns reading aloud for one another.<sup>387</sup> Such gatherings gave the girls a chance to exercise their social and public speaking skills, which would be necessary regardless of their future vocation—teacher, professor, or housewife. The 1877 bulletin, and the overall purpose of Ward’s Seminary, shows the great affect of post-war changes in society—both in the South and throughout the United States as a whole—that influenced the types of courses offered and the degrees earned at the Seminary as young women began to seek ways of supporting themselves in an uncertain economy. These changes are evident from the beginning of the school’s history in Ward’s desire to train teachers and scholars as well as Southern Belles.

#### Musical Studies at Ward’s Seminary

Along with its mission to prepare future teachers, Ward’s Seminary also carried on the tradition of genteel Southern womanhood. The school placed an understandably high priority on artistic and musical pursuits and “was committed primarily to preparing teachers and to cultivating literary taste and the fine arts.”<sup>388</sup> Sharp notes an emphasis on music in his discussion of post-bellum music in the Nashville era. He quotes a contemporary source, stating that “The Ward Conservatory affords superior advantages for the study of Music in all its branches. Instruction is given in Piano, Organ, Violin, Mandolin, Guitar, Banjo, Zither, Cornet, Flute, ‘Cello, Harp, Voice Culture, Sight

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<sup>386</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1877-78.

<sup>387</sup> The term “levée” in this context refers to a formal reception. Its usage had originated with the French royalty and had achieved general usage by the mid nineteenth century.

<sup>388</sup> Kreyling, *Classical Nashville*, 12.

Singing, Chorus Singing, Harmony, Theory, and Musical History.”<sup>389</sup> An advertisement from the Nashville *Daily Union and American* in July, 1866, describes the facilities planned for “ornamental” subjects as part of a new addition to the Seminary. They are projected to be the finest in the State and to “compare favorably” with Northern schools. In the new building, “The Music and Practicing department will embrace an entire floor,” and there will be “no worn-out pianos, calculated only to degrade music in the eye of the learner, but all [will be] new and beautiful.”<sup>390</sup> An 1869 advertisement provides further information about the music program, praising its “very superior” faculty and mentioning that new pianos were recently purchased for the school.<sup>391</sup> Numerous other advertisements discuss the student practice facilities, which were constantly being improved. This alone demonstrates the importance placed on music at Ward’s Seminary, for only with adequate practice opportunities were the students able to hone their skills to a high level.

Although specific details regarding curriculum and training methods used during the Seminary’s early years have not been found, several programs and reviews of early recitals do exist. The earliest record is found in a review of the commencement exercises at the Seminary in June 1866. An account in the June 16 edition of the *Nashville Daily Union* follows a brief description of the Seminary with a list of the graduation essays and

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<sup>389</sup> Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country*, 87.

<sup>390</sup> “W. E. Ward’s Seminary,” *Nashville Union and American*, July 31, 1866 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038519/1866-07-31/ed-1/seq-3/#date1=1836&sort=date&date2=1883&searchType=advanced&language=&sequence=0&index=0&word=s=Guitar+Seminary+Ward&proxdistance=5&state=Tennessee&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=guitar&phasetext=&andtext=%22Ward%27s%2BSeminary%22&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>, accessed April 25, 2013.

<sup>391</sup> *Memphis Daily Appeal*, May 25, 1869 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045160/1869-05-25/ed-1/seq-4/#date1=1869&sort=date&rows=20&words=Seminary+Ward&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=4&state=&date2=1922&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=12&x=21&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2>, accessed February 14, 2013.

musical pieces performed at the exercises. Among the works listed is a choral version of the “Soldier’s Chorus” from Gounod’s *Faust*, a rather new work which had just premiered in Paris in 1859 and became widely popular in America. The piece must have been performed by a choir, thus showing that music ensembles were a part of instruction at Ward’s Seminary from the very beginning. The inclusion of this piece also demonstrates the progressive nature of music instruction at the school, for Gounod was a contemporary composer in the 1860s rather than an established member of the classical canon. In addition, the performance by a female ensemble of a soldier’s piece originally written for male chorus raises interesting questions about musical programming at the Seminary. Was this repertoire perhaps a subtle message about the new independence and perseverance of women after surviving the war? Several vocal solos and smaller ensembles are also on the program, including both older standards and pieces that were relatively new in 1866. One of these, James Ernest Perring’s cavatina, “Beware, Beware” (1864), is a triple-meter soprano solo that features a range of an octave and a fifth and reaches up to ‘a’ above the treble staff. Its musical lines are rather simple, without any brilliant coloratura passagework or rapid embellishments.<sup>392</sup> Other, more standard, works on the program include operatic excerpts such as the contralto aria “Una voce poco fa” from Rossini’s *Barber of Seville (Il Barbiere di Siviglia)*. This particular aria, a popular solo selection, features an extended range (nearly two octaves above Middle C), numerous runs and ornaments, and changing tempos and emotions in its cantabile and

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<sup>392</sup> James Ernest Perring, *Beware, Beware!* Libretto by H. W. Longfellow (New York: William A. Pond & Co., 1864), *John Hopkins Scholarship*, <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/15660>, accessed September 1, 2013. Perring (1822-1889) was a British vocalist and composer who emigrated to the United States in 1859.

cabaletta.<sup>393</sup> Although not the most virtuosic piece in the operatic repertoire, it would have presented substantial challenges for a student at the Seminary and was surely performed by a young woman who had been studying for several years.

The 1866 commencement program also featured many contemporary piano pieces, with several solos similar to those performed at the Nashville Female Academy a decade earlier. Composers such as William Mason (1829-1908), Charles Grobe (1817-1879), and Carl Sack are represented, and the piano pieces fall into the category of virtuosic parlor music performed in the antebellum period. Louis Moreau Gottschalk is another featured composer, and his *The Last Hope* (1853) represents yet another link between antebellum ladies and the young women who studied at Ward's Seminary after the war. This work, a romantic tear-jerker which was widely popular before the Civil War, was a favorite at female schools across the country. Gottschalk himself noted its popularity in December 1862, when he wrote that

Invariably at every concert a small, scribbled, note requests me to play *Last Hope*. The other day I received one composed as follows: "Would Mr. G. kindly please 36 young girls by playing *The Last Hope*, which they all play."<sup>394</sup>

Gottschalk's piece was thus a standard choice a program such as this.

Other Ward's Seminary commencement programs from the same era include similar sentimental and romantic pieces. For instance, the 1871 commencement concert featured a harp soloist, Miss Ella Vaughn, who performed an arrangement of the

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<sup>393</sup> Gioacchino Rossini, "Una voce poco fa" from *Barber of Seville (Il Barbiere di Siviglia)* (Boston, Oliver Ditson, 1876), *Library of Congress, Music for the Nation*, <http://www.loc.gov/item/sm1876.11615>, accessed September 1, 2013.

<sup>394</sup> Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, 96.

nineteenth-century favorite *Home Sweet Home*.<sup>395</sup> The inclusion of pieces such as this one and Gottschalk's *The Last Hope* on seminary programs in the years immediately after the war shows the connection between old and new, between the Southern Belles of the Old South and their post-bellum counterparts, young women who embraced newfound opportunities while holding on to old traditions and social graces. Such were the ambiguities young women faced as they attempted to find their place in a newly restructured Southern society.

In addition to the commencement programs, some accounts of early "musical soirées" held at the Seminary are available. These events occurred weekly, or monthly, on Saturday evenings, and an idea of the atmosphere and repertoire found at the gatherings is available in an account from Saturday evening, March 4, 1871. This "Soirée Musicale" was given by the students of Zitella Cocke, a music instructor at the Seminary, and opened with the overture "Crown Diamonds." Following this were several piano and vocal solos, duets and trios. The second part of the evening's performance began with a chorus from Michael Balfe's opera *Bohemian Girl* (1843), and continued with fare similar to that of the first part.<sup>396</sup> A newspaper review of the event praised the refinement and skill of the performers and noted that the house was full of audience members.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> Commencement Exercises at Ward's Seminary, *Nashville Union and American*, June 14, 1871 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1871-06-14/ed-1/seq-1/;words=Ward+SEMINARY?date1=1870&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=20&x=14&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&page=3&page=4&page=5&index=4>, accessed February 24, 2013.

<sup>396</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, March 4, 1871 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1871-03-04/ed-1/seq-4/;words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1870&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=20&x=14&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&page=3&page=4&index=4>, accessed February 24, 2013.

<sup>397</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, March 5, 1871 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1871-03-05/ed-1/seq-4/;words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1870&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&search>

Another example of the music performed at these events is available for a soirée held on Saturday, February 8, 1873. This program contains, among other selections, a “Solo and Chorus from *Attila*” by Verdi, several other opera excerpts by contemporary composers such as Meyerbeer and Michael William Balfe (1808-1870), and a *Theme and Variations* by Herz.<sup>398</sup> A more detailed description of the Saturday evening events is available in a newspaper article from April 1871:

The Saturday evening exercises at Mr. Ward’s Seminary, to which the patrons of the school and invited friends are admitted, are certainly very entertaining and must be highly improving to the young ladies. They consist mainly of musical performances, instrumental and vocal, by which the pupils are, as it were, examined and tested as to their progress and proficiency, and at the same time it accustoms the young ladies to appearing in public and familiarizes them with the outer world which they must soon enter. We wish that there were a dozen such schools in the city.<sup>399</sup>

Since the patrons of schools such as Ward’s often included some of the wealthiest and most influential men of the area, the crowd at a typical Saturday evening soirée would have included the social elite of Nashville. Another account from the *Nashville Union and American* of December 1872 further describes the atmosphere at these events. It notes that “the families and friends of the pupils and others gather in the pleasant parlors, and the time is occupied with music, dramatic and other similar exercises.”<sup>400</sup>

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Type=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=20&x=14&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&page=3&page=4&index=5, accessed February 24, 2013.

<sup>398</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, February 9, 1873 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1873-02-09/ed-1/seq-4/;words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1872&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=18&x=11&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3&index=14>, accessed March 6, 2013.

<sup>399</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, April 9, 1871 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1871-04-09/ed-1/seq-6/;words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1870&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=20&x=14&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&page=3&page=4&index=7>, accessed February 24, 2013.

<sup>400</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, December 8, 1872 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1872-12-08/ed-1/seq->

According to this notice, the “musical soirees” are only held once very month, with students making “practical use” of the musical skills they have learned.<sup>401</sup> These events, taking place in the Seminary’s parlor, fit into the nineteenth-century image of the ladies’ role of beautifying the home and entertaining family and guests, yet the wide range of attendees and the repeated newspaper coverage took the performances beyond the private sphere and into the public. The soirées thus provided girls with an opportunity not only to play for close friends and relatives, but to perform for extended family, school patrons, and other important visitors.

The exceptional opportunities available to music students at the Seminary, of course, did not come without a price. In 1877-78, when room and board for a session was \$100 and regular tuition ranged from \$20 for younger students to \$40 for students in the Collegiate Department, music lessons added a substantial amount. According to the bulletin for that year, piano and guitar instructions cost \$35 per session, while vocalization cost \$40. Students studying harp paid \$50 per session, with an additional \$5 fee for two hours of harp use or one hour of piano use per day. A \$5 deposit was also collected for sheet music, which was still a somewhat precious commodity in the 1860s, even after a rapid increase in the publication of music sheets during the 1840s and 1850s had made it less expensive. Other extra-curricular studies incurred similar fees, although these cost less than music instruction and ranged from \$15 for foreign languages to \$20-\$30 for drawing lessons.<sup>402</sup> These rates compare to those at other female schools during the era, as discussed earlier in this study, and once again demonstrate the value placed on

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4/;words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1872&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=11&x=20&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&page=3&index=7, accessed March 5, 2013.

<sup>401</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, December 8, 1872.

<sup>402</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1877-78.

music education for females during the nineteenth century. This value is further emphasized when one considers that the \$35 patrons of Ward's Seminary paid for guitar or piano lessons each session in 1877 is equivalent to \$792 today.

Tuition for music instruction at the Seminary remained about the same into the 1890s, mirroring overall tuition, which hardly increased between 1877 and 1895. Changes did occur, however, in the music courses offered and the selection of instruments available for study. In the 1885-86 bulletin, harmony lessons are offered for the first time, with the aim of grounding students in musical principles to enhance their performance skills. The bulletin for that year elaborated on this, stating that “[h]armony thus becomes of great value to the student in subsequent study, a knowledge of it insuring facility in reading at sight, and a true comprehension of music.”<sup>403</sup> Such comprehensive study was an important step toward the professionalization of music for women. The option of violin instruction, which was available at the rate of \$30 per session, was another important addition to the music program during the 1880s.<sup>404</sup> During the antebellum era, the violin was not a generally accepted instrument for young ladies, and only with Camilla Urso and her exceptional career did the instrument begin to be approved for female study. This was yet another step away from the strictures of the antebellum South and toward a more independent, professional future for women across the region.

The 1894-95 bulletin provides new information on music instruction at Ward's Seminary, which now included pipe organ and chorus classes. In this year the music department was first called the “Ward Conservatory of Music,” and the director of the

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<sup>403</sup> W. E. Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies, Bulletin, 1885-86 (Nashville, TN: Ward's Seminary, 1878). “Ward's Seminary Collection,” Belmont University Special Collections

<sup>404</sup> Ibid.

department, Louis Hubbard, was also chair of the piano department and an instructor of harmony and theory. In a lengthy discussion of the department as a whole, the bulletin stated that “[i]t is not the aim of those in charge of this department merely to give the students a showy repertoire, but to make true musicians. This must be achieved by the most thorough technical training, together with extensive theoretical work.” Students thus received advanced instruction in theory—including counterpoint, double counterpoint, and fugue—as well as studying “all the periods of modern musical history, from Bach to Scharwenka, etc.”<sup>405</sup>

In order to facilitate the musical progress of students, the Seminary had recently acquired two new grand pianos, as well as several new practice pianos which offered “a great incentive to good work and contribute[d] immeasurably to the development of an artistic touch and good expression, which never can be acquired on old or inferior instruments.”<sup>406</sup> The artistry and expression students developed on these instruments were then displayed in weekly student recitals held in the chapel, which must have replaced the Saturday evening soirées of earlier years. These events are representative of the growing level of professionalism in music instruction at the school, for they broke away from the antebellum tradition of parlor performance represented in the earlier soirées. Instead, students performed in a formal recital setting that occupied the public sphere, rather than the private. Alongside these student performances, frequent guest artists appeared in concert at the Seminary’s chapel.<sup>407</sup> Music performance at Ward’s

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<sup>405</sup> W. E. Ward’s Seminary for Young Ladies, Bulletin, 1894-95 (Nashville, TN: Ward’s Seminary, 1878). “Ward’s Seminary Collection,” Belmont University Special Collections.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

Seminary thus continued to be quite active, with students functioning as both participants and audience members.

After the general introduction to the Conservatory, the 1894-95 bulletin goes on to describe the instructors and curriculum for each instrument. It is obvious throughout that the aim of the department is to produce complete musicians with thorough training and a high level of skill, and classical instruction is upheld as the ideal. European standards are used to measure the success of each student, whether in voice, where the “best in German and Italian schools” is combined, or in piano, where European composers from Bach, to Mozart, to Chopin and Leopold Godowsky, are taught. The importance of learning music fundamentals is also highlighted, with a special emphasis placed on sight-singing and theoretical knowledge. Students were taught that “to learn to read music at sight is essential,” and intervals were learned both visually and aurally; harmony, music history, and theory were also worthy of “special attention,” and students were required to pass exams in these subjects before receiving a certificate or diploma.<sup>408</sup> These statements paint a picture of Ward Seminary and Conservatory graduates in the 1890s as well-rounded, thoroughly trained musicians who were conversant with both the technical and artistic aspects of music.

Despite the new emphasis on the music department as a “Conservatory” and the growing professionalization of music at Ward’s, tuition rates for instrumental lessons had only been raised a few dollars since 1877. Piano, for example, was \$40—up from \$35 seventeen years before—although students studying with Mr. Hubbard were required to pay an additional \$10 for lessons. Harp lessons remained at \$50, and the new option of organ lessons was also \$50 per session. In addition to lesson fees, class harmony was \$10

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<sup>408</sup> W. E. Ward’s Seminary for Young Ladies, Bulletin, 1894-95.

per session, and private harmony lessons ranged from \$40 to \$50 when taken with Mr. Hubbard. One interesting addition to the music fees listed is that of \$45 for “Vocalization to non-school students.”<sup>409</sup> As mentioned above in connection with the Nashville Female Academy, Ward’s Seminary also offered lessons to the women of Nashville, who were drawn by the qualifications of the school’s faculty. This was how the school was able to achieve such high numbers of music students—in 1892, the school boasted 98 piano students, 30 vocal students, and smaller numbers of mandolin, guitar, and violin pupils at a time when the total student body was 303.<sup>410</sup> The practice of enrolling music students who did not otherwise attend the school was later adopted by Ward-Belmont, where several married women were listed in class rolls and orchestra sections, and male players also appeared in the orchestra.

The music offerings at Ward’s Seminary remained nearly the same after 1894, although there was a large jump in tuition rates in 1896-97. In the same year, perhaps in conjunction with the Tennessee Centennial Exposition of 1897, overall tuition nearly doubled. Music lessons doubled as well, with piano instruction shooting up to \$80, and piano lessons with Hubbard now costing \$100 per academic session. All other extra tuition was also practically doubled, although perhaps this radical jump was partially making up for the fact that tuition rates had remained stagnant for such a long time.<sup>411</sup>

In 1898, the next year a bulletin for the Seminary is available, the information about the School of Music has been slightly altered. Along with a slight overhaul of the piano curriculum, the “Theoretical Studies” curriculum has been modified. The 1898

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<sup>409</sup> W. E. Ward’s Seminary for Young Ladies, Bulletin, 1894-95, 59-60.

<sup>410</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1892-93, “Ward’s Seminary Collection,” Belmont University Special Collections.

<sup>411</sup> W. E. Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1896-97 (Nashville, TN: Ward’s Seminary, 1878). “Ward’s Seminary Collection,” 47-48; Belmont University Special Collections.

catalog states that harmony and composition are “indispensable adjuncts to the study of music, both for the vocalist and for the pianist.” Students are promised comprehensive studies to develop “accuracy and foresight” into the theory and history of music, and the textbook list includes a volume on Canon and Fugue, demonstrating the advanced level of instruction.<sup>412</sup> In the next year, 1899-1900, the last year for which a Ward’s Seminary bulletin is available, very few changes were made in the music curriculum.

The Music Department continued to progress, however, as is obvious from lists of visiting artists, music ensembles, and activities found in class yearbooks. Ward’s Seminary was understandably proud of the impressive list of vocalists and instrumentalists who visited campus or performed in Nashville, just a few blocks away. Numerous concert pianists appeared on campus or nearby over the years, such as Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler (1863-1927), who visited in 1896. Bloomfield-Zeisler was an Austrian-born American pianist who achieved worldwide acclaim as a soloist. Other famous artists who stopped in Nashville included Victor Herbert and his orchestra, who appeared more than once; the groundbreaking Theodore Thomas Orchestra, who visited Nashville many times, including during the Centennial Exposition of 1898; and several vocalists every year. These events exposed students to a wide array of musical repertoire and introduced them to some of the leading vocal and instrumental performers of the time. Many of the guest artists were female musicians who no doubt inspired countless Ward Seminary girls with dreams of a future career as a traveling performer, a career path that had only recently become acceptable for women.

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<sup>412</sup> W. E. Ward’s Seminary for Young Ladies, Bulletin, 1898-99 (Nashville, TN: Ward’s Seminary, 1878). “Ward’s Seminary Collection,” 33-36; Belmont University Special Collections.

Several new student organizations, some of them geared toward performance, appeared in the early 1900s. Among these was a Chorus Class, led by Charles W. Starr, which is first listed in the 1902 *Iris*, a student yearbook. The Chorus was a sizeable organization, comprised of 30 sopranos, 22 altos, 5 basses, and 6 tenors. It is unclear exactly where the male members came from—later on, Ward-Belmont combined with the Vanderbilt Glee Club for performances, which may have been the case here—but from an examination of a group photograph included in the yearbook it seems the men were quite a bit older than the girls in the choir, causing one to believe they were simply area residents.<sup>413</sup> The tradition of having local male musicians participate in ensembles at Ward’s Seminary became the norm, and was later continued at Ward-Belmont, where Kenneth Rose built a sizeable orchestra constituted of students and local musicians.

The 1902 *Iris* also provides the first mention of a “St. Cecilia Club” being active at Ward’s Seminary. This organization, one of several across the country, was formed in honor of St. Cecilia, the patron saint of music. The 1902 club had 21 members, each of whom is identified in the yearbook with a specific musical form such as a dance or sonata. Later yearbooks show that the “St. Cecilia Club” continued to be an important part of musical life at the Seminary, and the next year’s *Iris* even contains a program and ode from the Club’s “St. Cecilia Day” on November 22.<sup>414</sup> This event included performances of several piano transcriptions of operatic scores, a musical game focusing on operas, refreshments served by club members dressed up as characters from popular operas, and the presentation of prizes, which took the form of a picture of St. Cecilia.<sup>415</sup> Subsequent yearbooks feature more information about the activities of the Club, including a list of

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<sup>413</sup> *Iris*, 1902 (Nashville, TN: Ward Seminary, 1902), 70.

<sup>414</sup> *Iris*, 1903 (Nashville: Ward’s Seminary), 178-180.

<sup>415</sup> *Iris*, 1903, 178.

study topics for the school year of 1903-1904. In that year, the group met fifteen times and discussed topics such as the life and works of famous composers, the development of musical forms, American music, and “current events” in music.<sup>416</sup> A similar club was also active at the Belmont School for Young women. After 1905, the St. Cecilia Club no longer appears in the Ward Seminary yearbooks, although perhaps it continued to be active, but for whatever reason was no longer listed among the student clubs.

Even if the St. Cecilia Club did cease to function, other organizations replaced it, such as the Glee Club, which first appeared in 1905 under the direction of Mr. Starr. Unlike the Chorus Class, which continued to appear intermittently in school yearbooks, the Glee Club used a student pianist, Hallie Hopkins, who was a Certificate graduate in music in 1905.<sup>417</sup> Hopkins thus received valuable musical experience that equipped her for a future as a music instructor or pianist.

Succeeding yearbooks do not provide much additional information about the music department, and some of them fail to list any student organizations related to music. Perhaps this was because the Music Department gradual became its own entity. By 1911, the music faculty was listed separately from the rest of the faculty in the yearbook under the heading “School of Music.”<sup>418</sup> The Ward Conservatory of Music, as it sometimes called itself, also published collections of programs and other publicity material, which list orchestra and chorus concerts by Seminary students in addition to regular student and

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<sup>416</sup> *Iris*, 1904 (Nashville: Ward’s Seminary), 147. The complete list of topics follows: October 30—Bach: His life and Influence; November 20—Bach: His Works; December 4—Handel: The Development of Oratorio; December 18—Haydn: The Development of the Sonata; January 1—Mozart: The Development of the Opera; January 15—Beethoven, His Life; January 29—Beethoven: His Works, Particularly the Symphonies; February 13—Current Events, and Valentine party; February 26—The Romantic School: Schubert, Schumann; March 4—The Romantic School: Mendelssohn, Chopin; March 18—Richard Wagner: His Life and Influence; April 1—Wagner’s Works, especially “The Nibelungen Cycle;” April 15—Some composers of the day, Current Events; April 29—Music in America; May 6—Reports for the Year.

<sup>417</sup> *Iris*, 1905 (Nashville, TN: Ward Seminary), 172.

<sup>418</sup> *Iris*, 1911 (Nashville, TN: Ward Seminary), 15.

faculty recitals. A program from May, 1909, for example, chronicles a performance by the Ward Conservatory Orchestra. This ensemble included thirty-three members, eighteen of which were men who mainly played the less “feminine” instruments such as cello, bass, and winds. Although the Chorus Class also included male members, this could be simply explained by the fact that the young women were physically unable to sing the bass and tenor parts in many four-part choral works. However, the inclusion of so many male orchestra members tells a different story, for women were physically capable of playing the instruments the men were brought in to play, yet they were not allowed to because it was still socially unacceptable. This is a vivid depiction of the limited opportunities that continued to be given females—both in music and in other pursuits—throughout the South. Although the young women at Ward’s Seminary were encouraged to study music theory and performance in appropriate mediums, and were even given the freedom to compose their own pieces and perform in new venues, they were still not allowed to play instruments that might make them appear “unladylike.” While women were now allowed to play the violin (fifteen of seventeen violinists in the Ward orchestra were students), little else had changed since the antebellum era. Females were still confined to specific stereotyped instruments that were acceptably ladylike for ladies to play. The makeup of the Ward Seminary Orchestra makes it obvious that equality for women had by no means been fully attained in the first decade of the twentieth century.

#### Music Faculty at Ward’s Seminary

The music faculty at Ward’s Seminary was an important part of the institution from the very beginning. Early accounts mention the distinguished music faculty and the

high level of music instruction at the school, and as the years passed the music faculty continued to be singled out for special attention. It grew to as many as ten and eleven members by the turn of the nineteenth century, which demonstrates the importance of music at the school since the music department comprised over one-third of the Seminary's total faculty. While it is hard to trace the faculty in the school's early years, newspaper accounts refer to various music instructors at the Seminary. Among these was a Mrs. Wilcox, whose students presented "another of those very agreeable musical entertainments" at the Seminary on March 18, 1871.<sup>419</sup> Little other information is provided about this instructor, but research shows she was Mary Elizabeth Donelson Wilcox, a daughter of President Andrew Jackson's nephew. After her early childhood in the White House, she studied at the Nashville Female Academy, lived for a time in Prussia while her father served as Minister to Prussia, and married John A. Wilcox, Secretary of State in Mississippi. After his death in 1864, she returned to Nashville with no money and no means of support, and chose to use her considerable musical and educational background as an instructor of music at Ward's Seminary.<sup>420</sup> Mrs. Wilcox is listed as a Nashville resident in the City Directory of 1871, where she is described as a Music Teacher at Ward's Seminary. A *Ladies Home Journal* article of 1893 verifies this, when it states that Mrs. Wilcox served as a music instructor in a Nashville High School.<sup>421</sup> Although none of these descriptions detail Mrs. Wilcox's musical background,

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<sup>419</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, March 18, 1871 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1871-03-18/ed-1/seq-4/?words=Seminary+Wards?date1=1870&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=20&x=14&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&page=3&page=4&index=6>, accessed February

<sup>420</sup> "Mary Emily Donelson Wilcox." *Find a Grave*, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=46290531>, accessed February 24, 2013.

<sup>421</sup> *Nashville City Directory*, 1871. Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce, Pub., 1871, 109; *Ladies Home Journal*, 11, no. 2 ( Christmas, 1893), 7.

they demonstrate that she possessed an excellent education, ties to the Southern aristocracy, and social graces, which were all desirable traits for an instructor of young ladies and would have served the Seminary well by attracting patrons who might have been previously associated with Mrs. Wilcox.

Another early music instructor at Ward's Seminary was Miss Zitella Cocke, whose pupils gave a musical soiree at the school on March 4, 1871. A review describes Miss Cocke as "a lady of rare musical ability, whether as a pianist or as a vocalist." She possessed "a high order of talent, refined by culture," and was able to use her enthusiasm to inspire the same in her pupils. The musical entertainment, several hours in length, consisted of "a pleasing variety of solo, duo, trio, vocal, piano, and chorus" that captured the attention of the audience. The event took place in a hall decked out with flowers and specimens of work from the School's art department, and serves as a prime example of the Saturday evening levées mentioned above.<sup>422</sup> Although no other newspaper accounts refer specifically to a Zitella Cocke teaching at Ward's Seminary, the Nashville City Directory of 1871 lists a "Zetella Cocke" who taught at the school, and a few years later a "Miss Z. Cocke" is listed as an instructor of conversational French and Music at Wesleyan Female College in Macon, Georgia, thus causing one to believe Miss Cocke left the Seminary after a few years.<sup>423</sup> It also seems probable that this is the same Zitella Cocke who became a modestly successful author of poetry and essays for women's magazines later in the century. If that is the case, she was born and raised in Marion,

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<sup>422</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, March 5, 1871 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1871-03-05/ed-1/seq-4/?words=Ward+Seminaty?date1=1870&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminaty%22&y=20&x=14&dateFilterType=yearchange&page=2&page=3&page=4&index=5>, accessed February 24, 2013.

<sup>423</sup> *Nashville City Directory*, 1871. Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce, Pub., 1871, 109; John Butler, *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia* (Macon, GA: J. W. Burke & Co., 1879, 367).

Georgia, and graduated from the Judson Female Institute at the age of sixteen before leaving to study music in Europe in 1856. She returned the United States and began teaching at her alma mater, where she became head of the music department in 1868. No further details of her career are found until 1890, when she moved to Boston and began teaching music to Harvard University students and translating works for the Boston Public Library.<sup>424</sup> It is very probable that during the interim period Miss Cocke did indeed move to Nashville, a leading Southern city, for a time, and possibly relocated from there to Wesleyan in the later 1870s.

Other early faculty members include a “Miss Akeroyd,” who was mentioned in concert reviews in both 1867 and 1869. In the former article, she is introduced as a vocal teacher at the Seminary whose illness prevented her from attending the commencement recital in which her pupils, through their excellent performance, “told the audience how well they had been trained.”<sup>425</sup> In 1869, she was mentioned along with Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Auchinlock, and Miss Reece in a review of the Seminary’s commencement concert. Mrs. Akeroyd and Mrs. Robertson, especially, are praised here as “old residents” of Nashville who “have made their impress on the musical taste of our city.”<sup>426</sup> No other evidence of these teachers can be found, except for Miss Reece, who had recently come to Nashville from Georgia in 1868 when she appeared with Miss Priestly, a Kentucky

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<sup>424</sup> “Alabama’s Literary Landscape,” <http://alabamaliterarymap.lib.ua.edu/author?AuthorID=88>, accessed February 26, 2013.

<sup>425</sup> *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, June 28, 1867 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038521/1867-06-28/ed-1/seq-1/;words=Akeroyd+Miss?date1=1836&rows=20&searchType=basic&state=&date2=1922&proxtext=Miss+Akeroyd&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&index=2>, accessed February 16, 2013.

<sup>426</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, June 17, 1869 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1869-06-17/ed-1/seq-4/;words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1869&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=20&x=14&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=3&page=2&index=10>, accessed February 16, 2013.

native, in a Musical Soiree at Ward's. Both of these women are described as new instructors at the Seminary and excellent pianists; in addition, Miss Reece is praised for the poetic associations she brings to her lute playing.<sup>427</sup> A notice two years later indicates the Miss Reece was replaced by a new lady with "great ability and experience" on the Seminary faculty upon her departure in 1870.<sup>428</sup>

An advertisement for a piano raffle in March, 1868, lists Henry Weber, Wm. Herz, Mrs. H. Priestly, A. E. Reece, J. W. Von Strontz, Emil Krutch, J. M. Thatcher, Dr. J. C. Minor, and Miss L. A. Fitzhugh as Faculty members of Ward's Seminary, presumably teaching music.<sup>429</sup> Of these names, Henry Weber is familiar as, presumably, the same prominent player in Nashville's musical scene who was discussed in chapter two. This "Henri Weber" was a German immigrant who taught at the Music Academy in the 1850s, and it seems likely that the "Henry Weber" mentioned in 1868 is the same man. If so, he would have been an established and well-known addition to Ward's music faculty. Emil Krutch seems to have been an itinerant music teacher, for an "Emil Krutch" is listed in a Richmond Virginia paper as an instructor of German and voice at Ashland Female Seminary in 1860, while he shows up the year after the Ward advertisement as an

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<sup>427</sup> *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, February 1, 1868 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038521/1868-02-01/ed-1/seq-3/;words=seminary+Ward+Seminary?date1=1867&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&sequence=&lccn=&state=&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&year=&phrasertext=&andtext=&proxValue=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=7&page=5&index=18>, accessed February 12, 2013

<sup>428</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, August 28, 1870 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1870-08-28/ed-1/seq-4/;words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1870&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=11&x=9&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&index=16>, accessed February 21, 2013.

<sup>429</sup> *Nashville Union and Dispatch*, March 12, 1868 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038521/1868-03-12/ed-1/seq-2/;words=Seminary+Ward?date1=1867&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&sequence=&lccn=&state=&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&year=&phrasertext=&andtext=&proxValue=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=7&page=5&index=19>, accessed February 12, 2013

instructor of music at Pulaski Female College.<sup>430</sup> William Herz, likewise, had not been at Ward's Seminary very long at the time of the piano raffle. He appears in a series of advertisements run in the *Nashville Union and American* in September, 1867 as a "Professor of Music on Piano, Organ, Harp and Guitar, and Vocal Music" at Shelby Female Institute."<sup>431</sup> Herz was thus a multi-talented musician, and composing was another skill he possessed, for in 1872 his *Twin Flowers Polka* is included in a list of new music by Nashville composers.<sup>432</sup>

By 1872, Ward's Seminary advertised itself as having eighteen faculty members, and an article from December of the same year lists six instructors of piano and one instructor of vocalization.<sup>433</sup> Thus, a full one-third of the faculty was devoted to piano instruction, and a larger percentage yet was connected with the Music Department, which again shows the popularity of musical studies at the Seminary. Of these teachers, it is likely that many only stayed at Ward's Seminary a year or two, and none of the names listed in 1872 are the same ones that appeared in the 1868 advertisement. The vocal instructor, Mrs. Cauthorne, is referenced again in a review of the 1874 commencement exercises, where she is said to have "been engaged for several years in giving vocal instruction at this institution," and an article from June of 1875 states that she has been instructing voice at Ward's Seminary for the past eight years.<sup>434</sup> Most of the musical

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<sup>430</sup> *The Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), August 6, 1860; *The Pulaski Citizen*, March 26, 1860, *Chronicling America*, accessed July 6, 2013.

<sup>431</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, September 3, 1867 (Chronicling America), accessed July 6, 2013.

<sup>432</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, April 21, 1872 (Chronicling America), accessed July 6, 2013.

<sup>433</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, December 8, 1872 (Chronicling America), <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85033699/1872-12-08/ed-1/seq-4/?words=Ward+Seminary?date1=1872&sort=date&sort=date&sort=date&date2=1922&searchType=basic&state=&rows=20&proxtext=%22Ward%27s+Seminary%22&y=11&x=20&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=2&page=3&index=7>, accessed March 5, 2013.

<sup>434</sup> *Nashville Union and American*, June 11, 1874 (Chronicling America); *Nashville Union and American*, June 10, 1875 (Chronicling America), accessed March 21, 2013.

professors, however, fail to show up with further research and probably spent little time at the school.

As the years passed and Ward's Seminary continued to grow, the music faculty grew as well. By 1892-93, when the bulletin began to list faculty members, eight instructors are listed in connection with the Music Department. This was the Seminary's second year under the leadership of the Presbyterian Cooperative Association of Nashville, which represented the first link with a particular denomination in the school's history. The Association chose Rev. B. H. Charles, a man who possessed considerable experience in the leadership of girl's schools, to serve as President.<sup>435</sup> Under this new management, the school strove to become one of the "new most thorough institutions of learning in the South," and sought to employ the best teachers, who would drill students until genuine knowledge was acquired.<sup>436</sup> These high standards extended to the school's prestigious and talented music faculty, which paved the way for the many excellent music instructors who would follow at Ward's Seminary and Ward-Belmont over the years. The 1892-93 music faculty included:

George H. Farwell, Teacher of Instrumental Music  
Miss Cornelia Thompson (Boston and NY)—Vocal and Instrumental Music  
Miss Roberta Seawell (College of Music, Cincinnati)—Music, Piano  
Miss.....  
Miss Farley—Instrumental Music, Guitar  
Miss Mamie Geary (Boston Conservatory)—Violin  
Mrs. Clements—Banjo and Harp  
Mr. William Allen—Guitar, Mandolin, etc.<sup>437</sup>

The director of the department, George H. Farwell, had earlier been employed by McKendree University in Lebanon, Illinois, as a professor of instrumental and vocal

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<sup>435</sup> Merriam, *Circular of Information, United States Office of Education*, "Higher Education in Tennessee," 20, no. 5 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 310.

<sup>436</sup> Ward's Seminary Bulletin, 1892-1893.

<sup>437</sup> Ibid.

music.<sup>438</sup> Although it is uncertain how long he served at Ward's, Farwell had disappeared from the faculty by 1894. Of the seven remaining music instructors, Mr. William Allen is the only other male, which is indicative of the prevalence of female teachers in music as well as other subjects in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Other music faculty members listed above remained for several years, such as Roberta Seawell, an instructor of Piano who stayed at Ward's until 1895. She was still in Nashville as late as 1903, when she appeared in *Tennessee and Tennesseans*, a record of famous Tennessee natives.<sup>439</sup>

The faculty list also provides information about the range of instruments taught at the Seminary by 1892. At this time, several string instruments—violin, banjo, harp, guitar, and mandolin—have been added to the list of course offerings. Mandolin and guitar were popular instruments for females to study during this era, for they were considered “feminine instruments” that would not require a lady to contort her face or body while playing. The mandolin, in particular, was termed “effeminate” by some, such as Carl Whitmer, a professor at the Pennsylvania College for Women, who denigrated mandolin clubs for males and insisted that they were less desirable than glee clubs and other musical organizations.<sup>440</sup> The inclusion of banjo instruction is especially intriguing, for the banjo was closely associated with minstrelsy and popular music throughout the nineteenth century, and would have connected the young women of Ward's Seminary

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<sup>438</sup> *McKendree University Yearbook, Class of 1928* (Lebanon, IL: McKendree University, 1929), 273, e-yearbook.com.

<sup>439</sup> Bethenia McLemore Oldham, *Tennessee and Tennesseans* (Clarksville, TN: W. P. Titus, 1903), 116. The entry includes the following information: “*Brandau, Roberta Seawell*. A Nashville musical artist. Studied at Cincinnati, Chicago, New York and Berlin. Prominent in musical club affairs. Writer and critic. Married, in 1902, Adolphus Brandau. Home, Nashville.”

<sup>440</sup> T. Carl Whitmer ["A Study" only], "Significant Papers from the M.T.N.A. A Study of the College Glee Club," *MSJ* 2, no. 3 (January 1916): 22; in Julia Eklund Koza, “The ‘Missing Males’ and Other Gender Issues in Music Education: Evidence from the *Music Supervisor's Journal*, 1914-1924,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 41, no. 3 (1993), 220.

with an entirely different type of music than the genteel parlor and classical music usually performed.<sup>441</sup>

The next year, 1894-95, Louis M. Hubbard replaced Farwell as Music Department Director. According to the 1894-95 Seminary bulletin, Hubbard, an instructor of piano, harmony, and theory, had spent four years studying “under the best teachers in Europe,” including Abbe Franz Liszt, who introduced him to royalty as a “pianist par excellence.” The bulletin goes on to describe him as a “musician of the very highest attainment” and a well-known teacher.<sup>442</sup> Hubbard remained at the school at least through the 1896-97 school year, but left before 1898. Another new music faculty member, Fraulein Liska Brachvogel, instructed voice culture and chorus. Brachvogel had graduated with honors from the Leipzig Conservatory, where she studied vocal culture and vocal physiology.<sup>443</sup> She also remained at the Seminary through 1896-97, and in the summer of 1896 she and Mr. Hubbard were married, becoming the first of several married couples teaching at the school.

In 1898, the Seminary employed Frederick Emerson Farrar, an instructor of composition and harmony who stayed at the school until 1906. Mr. Farrar had studied in Boston, Germany, and Italy before returning to Nashville to open a School of Voice and Piano along with his wife Mary, the daughter of famed Nashville musician Henri Weber, who had taught at the Seminary in the 1860s. In addition to theory, Farrar instructed voice culture, and he was also highly regarded as a composer.<sup>444</sup> One of Emerson’s compositions, the *Heart’s Delight Two-Step*, appears in the Seminary’s yearbook for

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<sup>441</sup> Despite its lower-class associations, the banjo was an extremely popular instrument during the nineteenth century, with numerous piano pieces even attempting to emulate the instrument.

<sup>442</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1894-95.

<sup>443</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1894-95.

<sup>444</sup> Bethenia Oldham, *Tennessee and Tennesseans*, 169.

1900. This four-page piano composition, dedicated to the senior class, features a bouncy 6/8 meter and would be a challenge for an intermediate pianist. It is written in a three-part da capo form, and provides an excellent example of the popular parlor piano dance music that flourished in the Victorian era.<sup>445</sup> With his numerous skills, Farrar was a multifaceted contributor to the Seminary's music department, carrying on the tradition of Henri Weber and other early Nashville musicians.

Another music faculty member who came to the Seminary in 1898 was Charles Wanzer Starr, an instructor of "Voice Culture" and choral singing who remained until 1910. In addition to his vocal skills, Starr had studied organ with James Haydn Waud, an organist and composer from London. Little information is available about Starr's career, but he is listed in *The Musical Blue Book of America, Vol. 4* (1919) as "tenor; teacher of singing; assistant organist and choir director at St. Ann's P. E. Church" in Nashville.<sup>446</sup> Along with his duties as a teacher, then, Starr was active in the Nashville musical community, both after he left Ward's and during his time there. *The Churchman* magazine of April 28, 1906, further highlights Starr's musical involvement in the community, for it lists him as director of the "vested choir" at Christ Church in Nashville.<sup>447</sup> Starr's activities are only one example of the many ways Ward's Seminary, and later Ward-Belmont, contributed to the musical atmosphere of the city as a whole.

As the Seminary moved into the twentieth century, its music faculty continued to occupy a prominent role within the institution. The 1902 yearbook lists eight music

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<sup>445</sup> *Iris*, 1900 (Nashville, TN: Ward's Seminary, 1900), 45-49.

<sup>446</sup> *The Musical Blue Book of America, Season 1919-1920* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Publishing Co., 1919), 336.

<sup>447</sup> *The Churchman, an Illustrated Weekly News-Magazine, New York* (April 28, 1906), 35. *Google Books*, [http://books.google.com/books?id=RAkjAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA667&lpg=PA667&dq=%22Charles+Wanzer+Starr%22&source=bl&ots=nOYhATIBIL&sig=ZgfJGj7Z27GZi7DiYDSL\\_NP8XcM&hl=en&sa=X&ei=vbrtUeqwOO66yAHQ14CADw&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=%22Charles%20Wanzer%20Starr%22&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=RAkjAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA667&lpg=PA667&dq=%22Charles+Wanzer+Starr%22&source=bl&ots=nOYhATIBIL&sig=ZgfJGj7Z27GZi7DiYDSL_NP8XcM&hl=en&sa=X&ei=vbrtUeqwOO66yAHQ14CADw&ved=0CD8Q6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=%22Charles%20Wanzer%20Starr%22&f=false), accessed July 22, 2013.

instructors, including a female harp teacher, Henrietta Wessel, and a new instructor of violin, Charles Roland Flick.<sup>448</sup> Flick (1875-1940) was a native of Texas who studied music at the Cincinnati Conservatory and in Europe before moving to Nashville around 1899. He spent a large portion of his life in that city, although he later taught at Agnes Scott College in Georgia. Flick was associated with the Jesse French Piano Firm and also made a name for himself as a composer, writing several songs and instrumental pieces for parlor performance.<sup>449</sup>

Much more detailed information is available about the Seminary faculty in later years. As the music department grew into a full-fledged Conservatory, it started to publish small circulars containing information about faculty members and course offerings. A publication describing the Conservatory was issued before the 1910-1911 school year, and separate biographical publicity brochures are available for several faculty members from that year. In 1910, the music faculty consisted of Emil Winkler—piano, organ, and harmony; Frances E. Deverell, piano; Eva Massey, piano; Estelle Roy Schmitz, piano; Mary Falconer Winkler, piano and harmony; Adelaide Crump, piano—primary department; Archibald M. Campbell (Signor Campobello), voice; Mabelle Tennant, voice; Fritz Schmitz, violin and harmony; and Katherine Hill, practice superintendent. The Conservatory publication describes the music faculty as follows:

The faculty is large, and not only strong, but, as now constituted, an unusually brilliant one. Eight of the teachers employed have had from two to ten years of European study, either in some institution of highest standing or with artist teachers of first rank. All of the teachers have been

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<sup>448</sup> *Iris*, 1902, 8.

<sup>449</sup> “C. Roland Flick,” *Geoff Grainger’s Web Page*, <http://www.grainger.de/index.html>, accessed July 22, 2013.

chosen, not only with reference to training, but with regard to successful teaching experience and actual results with pupils of all classes.<sup>450</sup>

The Catalog goes on to discuss the training and careers of nine of the ten faculty members—only Katherine Hill, the practice superintendent, is omitted. As mentioned in the above quote, all of these instructors had studied in Europe except for one, Miss Adelaide Crump, who was a former student of Emil Winkler with a special focus on pedagogy. Mary Falconer Winkler also studied under Emil for ten years, and became “thoroughly conversant with his methods and theories.”<sup>451</sup> Before coming to Ward’s Seminary, she had also married her former teacher.

Another married couple was also part of the music faculty in 1910-1911. Fritz Schmitz, a native of Germany, and his wife Estelle, who had considerable experience in both America and Europe, entered the Seminary faculty in 1908. Mr. Schmitz had served as concertmaster of the Dusseldorf Symphony Orchestra before traveling to America in 1891 and joining the Theodore Thomas Orchestra and then the New York Symphony Orchestra under Walter Damrosch. After this impressive career, Schmitz devoted himself to teaching and solo and ensemble work, which he continued to do during his time at Ward’s.<sup>452</sup> Throughout their years at the Seminary, the Schmitz’s gave both duo and solo recitals and served in many capacities, such as ensemble leaders and collaborative artists. They both remained at Ward’s until Fritz’s death on November 29, 1917, after which time Estelle stayed at the school, which had by then merged with Belmont College to become Ward-Belmont, through the 1933-34 school year, a tenure of twenty-five years.

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<sup>450</sup> “Ward Conservatory of Music;” publicity brochure, 1910-1911 (Nashville, TN: Ward’s Seminary, 1910), Belmont University Special Collections.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid.

<sup>452</sup> “Ward Conservatory of Music; Department of Music—Ward Seminary: Fritz Schmitz, School of Violin, Teacher” (Nashville, TN: Ward’s Seminary, 1911), Belmont University Special Collections.

All of the other music instructors at Ward's Seminary in 1910 also had impressive educational backgrounds. Emil Winkler was a native of Leipzig, Germany, and had received much of his musical education in his home city. In addition to his career as a pianist, Winkler had studied psychology and pedagogy, which were both rather new fields in the early twentieth century, and is described as "one of the most thoroughly equipped piano teachers ever located in the South."<sup>453</sup> Winkler spent thirteen years as a piano instructor in Nashville (1904-1917), first at Ward's Seminary and later at Ward-Belmont, and many of his protégés—such as Adelaide Crump—went on to be teachers in the school, as well.

Eva Massey and Mabelle Tennant had both graduated from American conservatories (the New England Conservatory and the Detroit Conservatory, respectively), before undertaking several years of study in Paris. Along with brief biographies of the women, the publicity brochures include numerous recommendations from former teachers and employers. Among those praising Eva Massey are testimonials from the Royal High School of Music in Berlin and the Paris Conservatory. Before coming to Ward's Seminary, Massey had also taught at Converse College and Wesleyan Female College, and the presidents of those schools offered additional praise of her efficient teaching and artistic pianism.<sup>454</sup>

The final biographical pamphlet from 1910-1911 describes Archibald Montgomery Campbell, whose career was perhaps the most impressive of all the faculty members. In addition to his long list of former teachers, Campbell had sung before the

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<sup>453</sup> "Ward Conservatory of Music; Department of Music—Ward Seminary: Emil Winkler, Director and Teacher of Piano" (Nashville, TN: Ward's Seminary, 1911), Belmont University Special Collections.

<sup>454</sup> "Ward Conservatory of Music; Department of Music—Ward Seminary: Eva Massey, Teacher of Piano" (Nashville, TN: Ward's Seminary, 1911), Belmont University Special Collections.

royalty of Europe prior to his days in Nashville, and is described as “an especial favorite of King Humbert of Italy.” Queen Victoria was also said to have favored him, and he was decorated by the Queen of Spain. Campbell thus brought a higher level of prestige to the vocal department of Ward’s Seminary than it had previously attained, as the brochure boasts: “The Voice Department is now on the same high plane that has been established in the other departments, and provides the highest type of vocal instruction based upon the recognized and traditional methods of the artistic world.”<sup>455</sup>

This brief overview of the music faculty of Ward’s Seminary demonstrates the continually high level of instruction at the school. From the Seminary’s earliest days, qualified and talented instructors were employed, and the faculty continued to improve as the years passed. By the time Ward’s Seminary merged with Belmont College in 1913, the music faculty of the former school was large and prestigious and would help lay the foundation for even greater musical achievements at Ward-Belmont.

#### Music Curriculum at Ward’s Seminary

Detailed information about music curriculum and instruction at the seminary began to be included in the Seminary bulletins in the 1890s. The 1894-95 bulletin contains a listing of all the materials used in the piano department, and an examination of the books and methods employed yields insight into what music students at the Seminary were learning. In this period, music and piano instruction occupied an important place in the curriculum, not only at Ward’s Seminary, but throughout the United States and Europe. During the nineteenth century, although “the vast majority of beginners” were mainly female, and would not have the option of a performing career because of their

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<sup>455</sup> “Ward Conservatory of Music; Department of Music—Ward Seminary: Archibald Montgomery Campbell (Signor Campobello), Teacher of Voice” (Nashville, TN: Ward’s Seminary, 1911), Belmont University Special Collection

gender, they still desired to become “domestic virtuosos.” As the century continued, more and more young women took piano lessons and devoted countless hours to practice, making it “a way of life.”<sup>456</sup> The piano was ubiquitous in both academic and domestic settings, and even much female literature of the time emphasized its importance in society. Popular female authors including Jane Austen and George Eliot continually included references to the piano in their novels, and the *Godey’s Ladies Book* featured extensive editorials and articles on music and the piano. Its pages highlighted the values of music education, which would contribute to excellent moral character, benefit female health, and improve the disposition.<sup>457</sup> While these sentiments are noble, they demonstrate the continuing stigma of women’s place in the home, and the popular nineteenth-century conception that female music was intended solely for the domestic sphere.

However, at the same time these antebellum values were being perpetuated, female music education was becoming more standardized and serious across the country. According to Judith Tick, in the 1840s and 1850s “seminaries widened the options for musical women,” and as early as the 1830s, Music Vale Seminary had featured courses in theory and history.<sup>458</sup> In 1857, the South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute, well-known for its “ornamental” curriculum, included music theory among its course offerings, and more schools added such instruction as the century progressed.<sup>459</sup> Just as Ward’s

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<sup>456</sup> E. Douglas Bomberger, Marth Dennis Burns, James Parakilas, Judith Tick, Marina Tsvetaeva, and Mark Tucker. “The Piano Lesson,” In *Piano Roles*, by James Parakilas and others, 133-80 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 136-37.

<sup>457</sup> For further information, see Mary Burgan, “Heroines at the Piano Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction,” *Victorian Studies* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 1986), 51-76. See also Julia Eklund Koza, “Music Instruction in the Nineteenth Century: Views from Godey’s Lady’s Book, 1830-77,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 38, no. 4 (Winter, 1990): 245-57.

<sup>458</sup> Tick, *American Women Composers Before 1870*, 53, 56.

<sup>459</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 84.

Seminary began to train young women as “complete musicians” with a throughout grounding in harmony and theory in addition to technical training, other female schools endeavored to create similarly well-rounded musicians. At the Pittsburg Female College, for instance, music instruction was becoming professionalized by 1874, when it was no longer “a side-line to English Literature,” but instead was studied as a profession rather than an accomplishment. The catalog for that year promised that “In addition to the lessons given on the instrument selected by the pupil, instruction is given in the theory of Music, harmony, reading at sight and so on, a knowledge of these being essential in training to become a thorough musician.”<sup>460</sup> These sentiments are nearly identical to many described the Ward Seminary catalogs of the same era, and show that other schools across the country were embracing similar ideals for female music education.

One of the fundamental methods used in the first three years of piano instruction was Lebert and Stark’s *Theoretical and Practical Piano-School* (1863-1870). This manual focused heavily on drilling scales and exercises endlessly. Already in its seventeenth American edicaiton by 1884, the Lebert and Stark included four volumes and required the student to practice for hours every day.<sup>461</sup> The manual begins with an introduction detailing aesthetic and technical ideas endorsed in the volume, and then proceeds to a short introduction of basic musical concepts—notes, rhythm, notation, etc. Of special interest is a section discussing the importance of piano technique and offering advice on touch, arm placement, hand position, articulation, and the mechanics of the piano. A collection of five-finger exercises follows the introduction, and the rest of the

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<sup>460</sup> Elizabeth Phillips Hart, *A History of the Pittsburgh Female College, 1854-1896* (Pittsburgh, Pa: Pittsburgh Female College Association, 1946), 18.

<sup>461</sup> Craig H. Roell, *The Piano in America, 1990-1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 8.

book progresses from simple five-finger duets to more complex pieces containing larger intervals, although octaves are still avoided. The entire course is geared for the younger student, whose hands perhaps cannot even span an octave, and who is just beginning to play.<sup>462</sup> Thus, it served as an excellent tool for instructors at schools such as Ward's Seminary, where many of the pupils were young girls who had small hands and short attention spans. It also laid an excellent foundation for instruction in the art of classical piano; the introduction even mentions a related collection of classical pieces by noted masters that have been edited for beginners; perhaps these volumes were included in the instruction at the Seminary. At the same time, the Lebert and Stark shows the importance placed on technical studies and drills during the nineteenth century, preparing young women to perform great technical feats at the keyboard whether in the parlor or on the concert stage.

First-year pianists at the school also used the technical studies of Loeschhorn (Op. 84), Diabelli (Op. 125), and Kohler (Op. 151). These collections, written by minor pianists and composers of the nineteenth century, are mainly easy studies similar to the Lebert and Stark book. One notable difference between the previously discussed method and these is that the latter do not introduce concepts and techniques in a step-by-step progression as the Lebert and Stark did, but rather provide collections of moderately challenging exercises. The Kohler work, for instance, uses more than a full octave in the left hand during the first study, and considerable finger crossing and extended hand positions are in evidence throughout.<sup>463</sup>

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<sup>462</sup>Sigismund Lebert and Louis Stark, *Theoretical and Practical Piano-School for Systematic Instruction in all Branches of Piano-Playing* (New York; Boston: G. Schirmer, 1899).

<sup>463</sup>Louis Kohler, *Twelve Preparatory Lessons, Opus 151* (New York: Edward Schuberth and Co., 1880).

Other technical methods used during the first year of piano study include exercises by Frédéric Burgmüller (1806-1874) and a final collection listed as “Duvernoy’s Exercises.” The Burgmüller work consulted was surely his Op. 100, a collection of 25 études widely used by student pianists in the nineteenth century. The collection includes short pieces with picturesque titles such as “Returning Home” and “Swallow.” Each study focuses on a single technical difficulty, such as hand crossings, rapid left-hand figures, triplets, and repeated notes.<sup>464</sup> Jean-Baptist Duvernoy (1800-1880) was a French pianist and composer who created a *School of Mechanism* (1874), a *School of Velocity* (1874), and a set of *Elementary Studies* (1873). Although it is not specifically stated here which book was consulted, the Seminary course surely used the latter volume that is a collection of studies, geared for the beginning pianist and focusing on one element per exercise. None of the pieces possess astounding difficulties, but the volume covers scales, simple key signatures extending to three flats, and sixteenth-note figurations. Several of the studies remain in a five-finger position, while others include thumb crossings in order to play entire scales. These studies would fit perfectly into a first or second year pianist’s practice regimen, providing sufficient technical challenges while not presenting too difficult a task for the inexperienced student.

Students at the Seminary studied more than technique, however, even at the beginning level of instruction. During the first year, repertoire included “[e]asy pieces and Sonatines by Clementi, Lichner, Lange, Spindler, Krause, Kuhlau, [and] Reinecke.” Although not first-tier “household names” today, they were all active composers and pedagogues during the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most famous, Muzio Clementi

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<sup>464</sup> Frédéric Burgmüller, *Twenty-Five Progressive Études, Op. 100* (Mainz; Schott, 1852). Burgmüller also published two shorter collections of études, but they are considerably more difficult than the earlier opus and do not seem suitable for first-year students.

(1752-1832), was an extremely successful pianist who helped to develop the modern school of piano technique. His most famous work, *Gradus Ad Parnassum*, is a collection of 100 technical studies for piano that set the bar for later similar works by other composers.<sup>465</sup> It was Clementi's Piano Sonatas, however, that were used by the youngest Seminary students. Some of these works, particularly the later ones, are rather large in scope and contain challenging passages for the intermediate pianist. The first-year students at Ward's, however, were studying the "easy pieces and Sonatines" by Clementi, which surely refers to some of his earlier and less complex pieces.

During the second year of piano study, students continued to focus on technical development, with several of the same collections of exercises and studies being used. The bulletin also lists scales and arpeggios as part of the curriculum, which would have helped students prepare for study of classical and romantic piano repertoire. Czerny's *School of Velocity* (1830s) was also introduced at this time. The volume presents a series of exercises designed to enhance the player's speed and dexterity at the keyboard, as the title suggests. Scales, arpeggios, 32nd-note figurations, chromatic passages, and broken octaves are all addressed. Czerny's work, while not extraordinarily difficult, possesses numerous challenges for the student pianist.<sup>466</sup>

Second-year students were also introduced to easier works by the acknowledged masters of composition, including simpler Inventions and Preludes by Bach, Schumann's *Album for the Young*, and selections from Mendelssohn's *Songs Without Words*. Chopin, Schubert, and Beethoven were also encountered in the second year, although no specific pieces by these composers are listed. While any classification of the difficulty of piano

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<sup>465</sup> John Gillespie, *Five Centuries of Keyboard Music; An Historical Survey of Music for Harpsichord and Piano* (New York: Dover Pub., Inc., 1965), 249-50.

<sup>466</sup> Carl Czerny, *The School of Velocity for the Piano, Op. 299* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1893).

music is strictly subjective, the Bach *Inventions* are rather complex pieces, especially the 3-voice works, and are often used to prepare students to perform fugues and other contrapuntal works. Likewise, the Mendelssohn and Schumann collections are also often a gateway to standard piano repertoire, which was probably their role at Ward's Seminary. As second-year students were exposed to these pieces, they gained the skills and knowledge to perform more advanced and demanding repertoire as they continued their studies.

In the third year of piano instruction, Bach's more difficult inventions were introduced, and his Preludes continued to be practiced. Technical study was also advanced, and Johann Cramer's *Sixty Selected Studies* (1875), edited by Hans von Bülow, is listed as one of the methods used. This collection is considerably more difficult than those listed thus far, especially if von Bülow's tempo markings are followed. Technical problems addressed include scales (no. 1), rapid repeated notes (no. 12), multiple voices in one hand (no. 15), left-hand arpeggiations (no. 20), and double thirds and sixths in the right hand (no. 47).<sup>467</sup> Another collection of technical studies used in the third year of instruction was by Stephen Heller (1813-1888), a French pianist and music critic who is best remembered for his sets of piano études. These works are similar in character to those by Czerny and Cramer, with each study examining a particular technical problem. Also in the third year, along with continued study of classical and romantic repertoire, piano students had their first experience with ensemble playing. Although no details are provided in the bulletin, combinations of instruments such as piano duos, violin and piano sonatas, and perhaps voice and piano must have been explored. One can also imagine that piano students were trained to serve as accompanists for classmates, and surely in some

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<sup>467</sup> Johann Baptist Cramer, *Sixty Selected Studies*, edited by Hans von Bülow (Munich: J. Aibl, 1868).

of the student recitals piano pupils, rather than faculty members, accompanied vocal and instrumental soloists. Specific evidence of this practice at Ward's Seminary is available in the *Iris* of 1905, where Hallie Hopkins, a Certificate pupil, is listed as the accompanist for the Glee Club.<sup>468</sup>

Fourth-year students continued various technical drills, including Clementi's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1826), mentioned earlier. The collection's title comes from a Latin phrase referring to climbing the highest part of a major mountain range in Greece, and has been often used to describe training methods of gradually increasing difficulty.<sup>469</sup> Clementi's full collection contains numerous pianistic challenges, including fugue-like exercises, octave studies, and double thirds. The bulletin specifies that Carl Tausig's edition (1865) was used, which included twenty-nine of the original one hundred exercises. This volume, although greatly shortened from Clementi's version, still presents many challenges and ends with a six-page study of double thirds in both hands.<sup>470</sup> In addition to the Clementi volume, students continued the *School of Octave Playing* (1876) by Theodor Kullak (1818-1882). This collection, which was begun in the third year of study, would challenge any pianist's technique, especially a young player's. Its two parts, "Preparatory Exercises" and "Seven Octave Studies" demonstrate the nineteenth-century fascination with technical drills. The preparatory pieces feature octaves scales and arpeggios, while the later volume includes chromatic octaves, various rhythms, and other difficulties.<sup>471</sup> If students at the Seminary played these pieces with anything close to

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<sup>468</sup> *Iris*, 1905, 173.

<sup>469</sup> The first usage of this term for a musical work was by Johann Joseph Fux in his *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725), a volume on theory and pedagogy.

<sup>470</sup> Muzio Clementi, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, edited by Carl Tausig (New York: C. Fischer, 1900).

<sup>471</sup> Theodor Kullak, *Method of Octaves; a Supplement to the Modern Method of Piano Playing, Op. 48*, edited and enlarged by A. R. Parsons (New York: Schirmer; Berlin: Schlesinger, 1876).

artistry, they were maintaining a high level of musicianship and technical skill, and would have been well-trained to take on substantial performance repertoire.

Fourth-year students were able to make use of all the technical skills they were building, for the bulletin lists “Bach’s French and English Suites; Bach’s Album; Chopin’s Preludes, Waltzes, Nocturnes, Impromptus, etc.; Mendelssohn’s Songs without Words; More Difficult Sonatas, by Beethoven; Pieces by Raff, Scharwenka, Paderewski, Rubenstein, Leschetitzky, Moszkowski, [and] Dvorak” as the student’s repertoire. Many of the works on this list are currently accepted as advanced high school or early college level pieces. The Beethoven Sonatas, however, could easily be found on graduate-student piano recitals on a modern campus. When the bulletin lists that Beethoven’s “more difficult” Sonatas were studied, it was surely not referring to some of the later works, but rather to middle-period sonatas such as Op. 27 and Op. 31. When these pieces did appear on Seminary recitals, they were generally performed one movement at a time as the culmination of a semester’s study.<sup>472</sup> While most of the other composers listed in the bulletin are not well-known today, they were all nineteenth-century pianists, composers, and pedagogues who were relatively prestigious at the time. It is interesting to find such a large volume of contemporary or near-contemporary pieces, and it demonstrates that the piano faculty at the Seminary kept abreast of current trends and methods in the musical field.

In the final two years of piano instruction, focus shifted from technical development to building an impressive repertoire. Tausig’s collection of daily exercises

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<sup>472</sup> On May 9, 1929, a student performed Beethoven’s Op. 31, no. 2 in a student recital, and a few days later Leonora Amberg performed the Beethoven C Minor sonata, Op. 13. Extensive program information is not available for earlier years, but these later recitals demonstrate the type of programming surely found a few years before. (Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.)

was continued, and *Gradus ad Parnassum* was used in the fifth year, but these are the only studies on the list. Students had presumably already established a functioning technique, and were now ready to undertake advanced pieces. The study of concertos began in earnest during the final two years of piano study, with concertos by Beethoven and Mozart in the fifth year and works by Liszt, Rubinstein, Chopin, and other romantic composers in the sixth year. The rest of Chopin's oeuvre was also explored, and students were now considered ready to begin playing his *Études*. In the sixth year of study, young women were also studying the "most difficult" pieces of Bach, which is a monumental feat, as well as the "Grand Sonatas" of Beethoven. The impressive list of works causes one to question the level at which they were played. It is hard to imagine even older teenagers performing some of Bach's partitas effectively, and a Liszt concerto is a daunting task for anyone to undertake. However, even if these works were merely studied and never polished, Seminary students were still receiving a thorough training in piano technique and classical performance styles, as well as becoming familiar with a large amount of repertoire. The fact that some students did perform Beethoven sonatas and concertos, along with works such as the Chopin *Études*, confirms that some, if not all, of the students achieved a high level of skill and advanced far beyond the level of an antebellum parlor performer.<sup>473</sup>

It is revealing to consider the difference between the repertoire listed in the 1894-1895 bulletin and that performed on commencement programs twenty years before. While earlier recitals had featured "brilliant" waltzes and song arrangements reminiscent of the antebellum era, the repertoire listed in the later bulletin demonstrates a higher

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<sup>473</sup> Katherine Kean performed Chopin's *Étude, Op. 10, no. 5* at a student recital on March 8, 1929, and Mildred Ann Smith performed Chopin's *Étude, Op. 10, no. 3* at a student recital on March 7, 1930. Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives.

degree of seriousness and professionalization in musical studies. The new sophistication of music instruction at the Seminary is again evidenced in pieces programmed a few years later, in 1909, when the Seminary published a collection of recital programs and department information. At a student recital on February 9 of that year, Katherine Buchanan performed the first movement of Haydn's *Sonata in E Minor*, but more interesting is the performance on the same occasion of Amy Beach's *Scottish Legend* (1903).<sup>474</sup> This work was not only a new piece by a female American composer, but it also contains substantial pianistic challenges and would have been a daring choice for a young Southern lady in 1909. By the turn of the twentieth century, schools such as Ward's Seminary were beginning to challenge convention and tradition and to leave behind old antebellum ideals and gender roles.

The 1894-95 bulletin also details the curriculum used for voice culture, which, much like the piano curriculum, focused mainly on technique in the early years before progressing to more repertoire later on.<sup>475</sup> During the first and second years of study, attention was devoted to breath control, vocal placement, and enunciation, with popular pedagogical methods by Heinrich Panofka (1807-1877) and Giuseppe Concone (1801-1861) being used. Both of these composers were well-known nineteenth-century voice teachers, and the choice of their manuals was a logical one for voice instructors in this era. It also demonstrates the priority placed on European methods of instruction in most American music schools during the Victorian era. This Euro-centrism is further displayed in the bulletin's note that the voice culture department at Ward's Seminary "combined all

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<sup>474</sup> "Concerning the Musical Atmosphere of Ward Seminary" (Nashville, TN: Ward Seminary, 1909), Belmont University Special Collections.

<sup>475</sup> Ward's Seminary Bulletin, 1894-95, 40-41.

that is best in the German and Italian Schools.” No American School of music instruction really existed at this point, thus European methods were still embraced.

During the first years of voice instruction, “simple songs” were interspersed among the exercises, yet the strong emphasis on technique over performance pieces is another hallmark of nineteenth-century instruction. Just as many pianists slaved over technical exercises for hours a day while placing relatively little importance on repertoire, vocalists drilled their skills through vocalises and solfège before they were considered ready to perform many actual songs. Vocal teachers focused on proper breathing exercises first, and then progressed to studies in agility and ornamentation. According to Jennifer Lani, these studies “become blacker and blacker [with notes] whilst more and more notes are crammed into the studies.” Even the opera composer Rossini contributed to such exercises, with a series designed “to render the voice agile and to learn *bel canto*.”<sup>476</sup> This rigorous drilling and technical study was thus commonly accepted as the best method of singing, and helped to perfect the lyrical and coloratura style favored at the time.

In the third and fourth grades, Seminary students began to explore “Special Lessons in Phrasing,” thus expanding their artistry and interpretation skills. Vocal technique was still a major focus, however, and methods by Nicola Vaccai (1790-1848), Mathilde Marchesi (1821-1913), Manuel Garcia II (1805-1906), and Julius Stockhausen (1826-1906) were studied. Like Panofka and Concone, all of these pedagogues were also famous European musicians whose works were widely popular during the nineteenth century. Vaccai and Garcia, in particular, were instrumental in the formation of “*bel canto*,” the style of “beautiful” and lyrical singing so popular during the romantic era. In

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<sup>476</sup> Jennifer Lani, “Bel Canto and the Art of Singing,” *Opera Journal* 36, no. 3-4 (September 2003), 16-17.

the 1830s, Vaccai was actually one of the first to use the term “bel canto” in writing to describe a typical Italian singing style, when he published a collection of songs in the “belcanto italiano” style.<sup>477</sup> Garcia was a former professor of singing at the Paris Conservatory, and through his role in the creation of the laryngoscope and his pedagogical writings, he helped to define the use of various vocal registers and the breath control necessary for “bel canto” singing.<sup>478</sup> This style, so prominent in European and American instruction, was also used at Ward’s Seminary, as demonstrated by the choice of materials and exercises. Department head Fraulein Brachvogel’s European studies had undoubtedly grounded her in that tradition, which she then passed on to her students in Nashville.

The bulletin continues to describe the course of study for voice culture, which also included “Higher English, German, French and Italian Songs.” A few examples of the type of pieces sung by Ward’s voice students are available in a Seminary Commencement program from May 20, 1899. Although the majority of the recital featured instrumental performers, two vocal solos were included: *The Promise of Life* (1893), by Sir Frederic Hyman Cowen (1852-1935); and *The Swabian Maiden* (1863), by Heinrich Proch (1809-1878), both of which fall into the category of parlor song. The Proch song is rather lengthy at eight pages in length and has a range of an octave and a sixth (middle c to a-flat above treble c). The song also features some challenging melismatic passages, especially one section on the last page that becomes very chromatic, with sixteenth-note melismas that span over an octave within one measure on the word

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<sup>477</sup> Margaret Kennedy-Dygas, “Historical Perspectives on the ‘Science’ of Teaching Singing—Part III: Manual Garcia II (1805-1906) and the Science of Singing in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Singing-The Official Journal of the National Association of Teachers of Singing* 56, no. 4 (March 2000), 23.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

“la.”<sup>479</sup> It thus provides the performer with a chance to demonstrate technical training within the context of an English text and sentimental style. Two vocal ensembles also appeared on the same program. The first, the “Soldier’s Chorus” from *Faust* was, by 1899, a well-known piece, and had appeared on a Commencement program in 1866, as mentioned above. The other ensemble piece was the double trio *Down By the Dewey Dell* (1854) by Henry Smart (1813-1879). It is another piece of light poetry describing a peaceful, pastoral scene and featuring a simple melodic line with harmony and a bit of counterpoint in the form of a round.<sup>480</sup> In many ways, these vocal pieces seem closer to antebellum standards than many of the piano pieces featured in the 1894-95 bulletin. However, perhaps this is due in part to the fact that, in terms of faculty members and numbers of students, Ward’s Seminary placed more emphasis on instrumental rather than vocal instruction. Because of this, more instrumental pieces than vocal works generally appear on student programs, and the conservative slant of the pieces featured on this program is not indicative of every piece studied by Ward’s vocal students.

In the final two years of voice study, even less detailed information is provided, but it seems that students continued to receive classical training, with “Trills; Embellishments; Extension of Repertoire; [and] Studies in Opera and Oratorio” rounding out their education. No composers, collection titles, or specific methods are provided, but from recital programs both before and after this period, it seems that arias by composers such as Mozart, Rossini, and Verdi were popular. A good example of such works being

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<sup>479</sup> Heinrich Proch, *The Swabian Maiden* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1882), *The Library of Congress Performing Arts Encyclopedia*, <http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/ihis/loc.music.sm1882.22900/default.html>, accessed August 5, 2013.

<sup>480</sup> Henry Smart, composer; Alfred Waymark, lyricist, adapted; *The Dewy Dell* in *The Fourth Music Reader*, edited by James M. McLaughlin and W. W. Gilchrist (Boston; New York; Chicago; London: Ginn & Co., 1905, 1906), 5.

performed at Ward's may be found in a series of programs from the Commencement Exercises of 1878. On June 3 of that year, a "Scena and Prayer," from *Der Freischutz* (1821), and a song, "La Mandolinata" (1869) by Emile Paladilhe, a contemporary French composer, were performed.<sup>481</sup> On the next day's program, "Robert toi que j'aime," from Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* (1831); "Al fin son tua," from Donizetti's *Lucia de Lammermoor* (1835); a duet from Auber's *Fra Diavolo* (1830); and the chorus "Voga, Voga," presumably from Bellini's *La Straniera* (1828) were all sung. On June 5, excerpts from Bellini's *Norma* (1831) and Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (1836) were featured.<sup>482</sup> Such pieces demonstrate the European, classical style of singing that was taught at the Seminary, and provided girls with a chance to display the bel canto lyricism and agility acquired through tedious technical work.

One final note on the voice culture department states that girls were required to take two years of piano study as well as additional theory work in order to complete the vocal program. This requirement anticipates those of modern college music departments, in which vocal and instrumental students undertake similar theoretical studies and learn functional piano skills. Ward's voice students were thus well-grounded in the field of music as a whole, which would have prepared them well for further musical studies or for a career in music education of some sort, which many undertook upon graduation. One such student was Elizabeth Elliott, an instructor in the Seminary's piano department in 1913. Elliott had studied with Emil Winkler and graduated as a Music Certificate student

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<sup>481</sup> Paladilhe (1844-1926) was a French composer of operas and vocal pieces. He had some success with his *Patrie!*, but after that his career was rather obscure (Lesley A. Wright. "Paladilhe, Emile." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 7, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.uky.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20731>).

<sup>482</sup> "Thirteenth Annual Commencement, W. E. Ward's Seminary June 3, 4, and 5, 1878," programs.

in 1905, before pursuing further studies and then returning to teach in Nashville.<sup>483</sup> Other former music students also returned to teach at the school, or later at Ward-Belmont, over the years. Kathryn Kirkham came to the later school as an assistant in “Musical Science” in 1919. Kirkham is an interesting case, for she came immediately after graduation from the school, and thus had not undertaken additional studies between graduation and teaching. Her exact role as a faculty member is also not specified, but as a student she was quite active, playing the flute in the orchestra and serving as President of the YMCA Cabinet and the Choral Society.<sup>484</sup> Other former students who joined the Music Faculty included Mary Douthitt and Clemence Thuss, both pianists whom joined in 1929 after studying at the school with Lawrence Goodman and Estelle Roy-Schmitz, respectively.<sup>485</sup> Given the school’s general focus on teacher education as well as the Conservatory’s high standards and thorough theoretical and artistic training, it is fitting that several students later returned to teach at their alma mater.

Another important aspect of the school’s strong musical grounding was its Sight-Singing and Choral program. The 1894-95 bulletin states that “Education in music is thinking in sounds, and any interval may be learned and brought to mind by name, as children are taught to know any article by its name.” Although no specific materials or methods are described, it seems that the focus was on sight-reading and choral singing, and a “Chorus Class” was available free of charge to all vocal students.<sup>486</sup> The bulletin also mentions the Pipe Organ program, which prepared students for “Practice Church Concert Work” and familiarized the performer with “the musical service and various

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<sup>483</sup> *Iris*, 1905, 176.

<sup>484</sup> *Milestones, 1918*, Yearbook of the Ward-Belmont School (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1918).

<sup>485</sup> *Ward-Belmont School Conservatory of Music Catalog, 1919-1920* (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1929).

<sup>486</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1894-95, 41.

forms of Public Worship.” A similar short statement is made about the Violin department, which was led by Mamie Geary, a “celebrated artist” who had graduated from the New England Conservatory and studied with Carmilla Urso. This is an interesting connection with Nashville in the 1850s, when Urso had briefly lived in the city and appeared at the Nashville Female Academy. The connection with Urso was also quite prestigious, for Geary’s studies with the first recognized female violin virtuoso established her as a reputable musician and earned the respect of patrons and students. Other string instruments offered at the Seminary were banjo, mandolin, and guitar, which Mr. W. F. Allen taught. According to the course description, music from both Classical and Romantic eras was taught on these instruments, and the school had an active “Banjo, Mandolin, and Guitar club” which was “enthusiastically received” by audiences.<sup>487</sup> Harp is also mentioned later in the bulletin, and this completes the list of performance areas available for study at the Seminary, a list that includes all of the commonly accepted “feminine” instruments of the antebellum era, with the addition of the violin, a relatively new instrument for female performance.

After the instrumental descriptions, the bulletin goes on to describe the department of “Theoretical Studies.” Both the history and theory of music fall into this category, and a list of textbooks included in the curriculum is provided: Emery’s *Elements of Harmony*, Richter’s *Manual of Harmony*, Palmer’s *Theory of Music*, and Fillmore’s *History of Music*. All of these books were fairly new in 1894. Stephen A. Emery’s *Elements of Harmony* was first published in 1879 with a “revised and enlarged” edition in 1890; Ernst Friedrich Richter’s *Manual of Harmony* was published in an English translation by J. P. Morgan in 1867, with numerous later editions; Horatio

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<sup>487</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1894-95, 42-43.

Palmer's *Theory of Music* was published in 1876, and the famous musicologist John Comfort Fillmore published his *Lessons in Musical History* in 1888. It is also interesting to note that three music theory texts are used, while only one music history title appears. This is indicative of the climate in music education at the time, for music history was more slowly embraced as an important subject than music theory had been. According to Aaron Girard, until the rise of musicology as an academic discipline—which did not take place until the early twentieth century—music educators placed much more emphasis on theoretical studies than historical. He also notes that the rise of nationalism in the United States and the rising anti-German sentiments around the turn of the twentieth century helped to make music history less attractive, since so much musicology at the time was geared toward German musicians and their compositions.<sup>488</sup> In addition, music theory was considered practical for study because of its usefulness in the analysis and performance of pieces. Historical studies, on the other hand, had not yet been acknowledged as valuable for performance, since historically accurate performance practice and period instruments had not yet become a topic of study. Thus the emphasis Ward's faculty placed on music theory over music history is merely a representation of the time, and not evidence of a lack of depth in the music program.

Although the bulletin does not specifically state that the textbooks were used in the order in which they are listed, further inspection of the manuals leads one to believe this was in fact the order in which they were introduced. Emery begins his book with a preface in which he states that his intent is to “provide a course of study as would best prepare the student to analyze and understand any harmonies that occur in standard music,

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<sup>488</sup> Aaron Robert Girard, “Music Theory in the American Academy” (Ph. D. Diss., Harvard University, 2007), 49-50.

and also to harmonize melodies of a simple, non-contrapuntal texture.”<sup>489</sup> In the following note to students and teachers, Emery further elaborates on his goals, stating that every principle taught should be applied to other musical studies, “making the whole study of Harmony *practical* to the last degree.”<sup>490</sup> The book then proceeds to briefly introduce intervals, scales, triads and inversions, transposition and modulation, and various forms and treatments of seventh and augmented-sixth chords. The breadth of topics and concepts discussed further demonstrates the advanced level of instruction available for music students at the Seminary. By the end of the book, students have learned about suspensions, non-chord-tones, cadences, and figured bass. This leads to several pages of exercises in harmonizing melodies with figured bass and roman numerals. In all, it seems comparable to textbooks used in many freshman—or even sophomore—college music theory courses today.

The next book listed is the *Manual of Harmony* by Ernst Friedrich Richter (1808-1879), a German theorist and composer. This book, first published in German in 1853, was then translated into English a few years later. According to Richter’s preface, his goal was to introduce “the most essential, fundamental part of the musical theory expressed in a manner brief, but as complete as possible.” Just as Emery had stressed the practical use of his book, so Richter sought a “*practical object*” in his writing, which was to enable students to understand basic principles in order to use them to inform other musical endeavors.<sup>491</sup> His manual discusses many of the concepts covered in Emery’s text, with the addition of ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth chords, as well as an entire

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<sup>489</sup> Stephen A. Emery, *Elements of Harmony, Revised and Enlarged* (Boston; New York: The Arthur P. Schmidt Co., 1890), 3.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>491</sup> Ernst Friedrich Richter, preface to *Manual of Harmony; A Practical Guide to its Study* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1867, 1899).

section devoted to the “practical application” of the principles learned. Richter includes not only four-part harmony, but also exercises with six, seven, and even eight voices. By the end of the book, the student is thus familiar with basic theory principles, but is also able to apply those principles to real composition and harmonization, and if students at the Seminary truly finished the manual, then their training was quite thorough. However, it is probable that only sections of the book were studied at Ward’s Seminary, for in the list of requirements for certificates and diplomas, examinations on the Emery and Palmer volumes are mandatory for graduation, but no mention is made of the Richter. Perhaps parts of the book were used, but the entire course was not completed; or perhaps the most difficult exercises were reserved for advanced students who sought to further prepare themselves for future musical studies.

The final theory text specified in the 1894-95 bulletin was Horatio Palmer’s *Theory of Music*. Palmer (1834-1907), unlike Richter, was an American musician who had a long career as a teacher and composer of hymns. His textbook is divided into two smaller “books” which are organized in a unique way. The first book (58 pages), is described as “Catechetical,” and is written in the form of 730 questions about music theory. These questions are then divided into four sections, and each question is answered in a concise sentence or two. The first section begins with questions such as “What is sound?” and “What is key?” but quickly progresses to musical articulations and other concepts. The second section addresses figured bass, and the third section discusses harmony and composition. The final section deals with musical structure, including various dances, compositional forms, and standard operatic forms. Palmer’s second “book” consists of illustrations of the principles defined previously. The illustrations, like

the questions, are divided into four sections, which provide musical examples of the terms discussed.<sup>492</sup> Unlike the other books listed here, Palmer's does not include exercises for the student to perform, but rather serves as an excellent dictionary of theoretical terminology, and its format makes it handy for quick reference. This book, along with those by Emery and Richter, provides an excellent demonstration of the level of theoretical studies available to students at Ward's Conservatory of Music. Although no specific details are provided about which text was used for each year or about the age of the students being taught, it is obvious from examining these texts that the Seminary's Conservatory sought a high level of musicianship and a thorough grounding in music for all of its students.

The only book listed for Music History is Fillmore's *Lessons in Musical History*, a concise attempt to cover all of music history in 244 pages. In his preface, Fillmore states that the book "is the author's own effort to interest his pupils in the History of Music and to give them an outline of that history, presenting its salient facts..." He goes on to bemoan the dearth of good music history texts available in English, and hopes that soon a substantial text will be written to fill in the 'outline' provided here.<sup>493</sup> After an introduction which discusses the "nature of music" and covers expression, instrumentation, harmony, melody, and other basic concepts, Fillmore begins the text itself. The nineteen chapters cover "Oriental and Ancient Music;" the rise of opera, oratorio, and early instrumental music; German opera and Wagner; and recent

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<sup>492</sup> Horatio Palmer, *Theory of Music: Being a Practical Guide to the Study of Thorough-bass, Harmony, Composition, and Form, For Those Who Wish to Acquire a Knowledge of the Fundamental Principles of the Science, In a Short Time, Either With or Without the Aide of a Teacher: Including 730 Questions Which Are Illustrated by 582 Examples, Selected from the Works of the Best Writers on Musical Science* (Cincinnati: John Church & Co., 1876).

<sup>493</sup> John Comfort Fillmore, *Lessons in Musical History: A Comprehensive Outline of Music History From the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1882), iii.

instrumental music. A “comparative chronology” which places musical events in the context of academic, religious, and political happenings of the same time is provided, along with a detailed chronology of musicians and pertinent musical events from 1380 to the time of writing. Although the text makes no attempt to provide thorough discussions of all aspects of Music History, Fillmore did manage to gather an amazing amount of information into one brief volume. As such, it would have provided an excellent textbook for a Music Appreciation “flyover” course, which is perhaps how it was used at Ward’s Seminary. Despite the rather shallow depth of the information found here, the fact that Music History was even a topic of study shows, once again, the professionalization of music at Ward’s Seminary in the 1890s. Historical studies would only be valuable to musicians who were seeking to become well-rounded artists and teachers, and not for those who merely sought to be proficient parlor performers.

All of these courses contributed to either a “Special Music Certificate” or a diploma in the School of Music. In order to earn the former, a student had to complete the fifth grade in piano, or the fourth grade in voice, as well as a year of harmony and other general studies. The diploma required the student to complete the course in any department, thus taking six years of study in piano or voice, as well as completing the theory classes and receiving a “good English Education.”<sup>494</sup> Such stipulations bring to mind the concept of a “liberal arts” education that is prevalent today in many colleges and universities. Students at Ward’s Seminary were being introduced to a wide range of subjects, both in their field and across disciplines, and were thus being prepared for a variety of future careers as well as to fulfill their role as young Southern Ladies.

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<sup>494</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1894-95, 36.

These requirements for certificates and diplomas conclude the list of materials used at the Ward Seminary Conservatory of Music in 1894. It is interesting to compare the music curriculum here with that used at the Nashville Female Academy during the antebellum era. At that time, music was still considered one of the “ornamental” subjects, and training in the history and theory of music was practically non-existent. By 1894, students at Ward’s Seminary were receiving theoretical training on par with that available at many colleges, as well as artistic training—due to the prestige of the faculty—above that given in many college music departments.

Subsequent school bulletins show relatively little change in the music curriculum, although in the 1898 bulletin two new methods are listed in the first and second years of piano study. These include the *Standard Graded Course* (1892) by W. S. B. Mathews, and the *National Graded Course* (1897) published by the Hatch Music Company. Mathews’ complete course went through ten different grades, but the Seminary used only Grade I in the first year of study, and Grade II in the second year of study. The first grade begins with a short dictionary of basic musical terms such as tempo and dynamic markings and a brief preface on the importance of proper technique, scale study, and ear training. After the introductory material, the book proceeds from simple five-finger scales in C position to a page presenting all of the major and minor one-octave scales near the end of the volume. Mathews attempts to include both repertoire and technical exercises in his course, so technical work is interspersed throughout the progressively more difficult pieces. The second volume continues these studies, and by the end of it the student is playing double thirds and triplet-sixteenths.<sup>495</sup> From these books, it is obvious that many

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<sup>495</sup> W. S. B. Mathews, *Standard Graded Course of Studies for the Piano Forte, In Ten Volumes*, volumes I and II (Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1892).

first-year piano students at the Seminary were either beginners, or near-beginners, but they must also have been required to practice regularly, for the books advance at a more rapid pace than many piano methods today.

The *National Graded Course* was another new method in 1898, having been published the year before. According to an advertisement in the *Etude* magazine discussing the course a few years later, it was the “new” *Gradus ad Parnassum* of piano methods and would save teachers the trouble of searching for suitable pieces.<sup>496</sup> The books include repertoire by composers ranging from Bach and Chopin to more obscure names such as E. Grenzback and Charles Mayer, and at Ward’s Seminary, the *National Graded Course* seems to have taken the place of some of the technical manuals listed in the 1894 bulletin. The list of required materials hints that less emphasis may have been placed on technical achievements in 1898 than a few years before, since less technical studies and more repertoire pieces are included. However, these lists give little indication of how much various books were consulted or how practice and lesson time was divided.

The rest of the piano materials listed in 1898 remain basically as they were in 1894, with a few minor additions and adjustments. Such changes are understandable in light of an almost entirely new piano faculty—only Lulie Randall remains from the 1894-95 school year—for every applied music instructor has unique ideas about proper repertoire and technical materials for study. One final addition to the piano program in

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<sup>496</sup> “National Graded Course,” *Etude* 24, no. 9 (September 1906), 546, Google Books, [http://books.google.com/books?id=CVhTAAAAyAAJ&pg=PA546&lpg=PA546&dq=%22National+Graded+Course%22+piano&source=bl&ots=u8b6Qbnxx\\_&sig=Bw0OuB2CjAZ0-YpKHB-Auhe1OuY&hl=en&sa=X&ei=RMEGUvyGGYWd2gW7hYHIAQ&ved=0CDQQ6AEwAzgK#v=onepage&q=%22National%20Graded%20Course%22%20piano&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=CVhTAAAAyAAJ&pg=PA546&lpg=PA546&dq=%22National+Graded+Course%22+piano&source=bl&ots=u8b6Qbnxx_&sig=Bw0OuB2CjAZ0-YpKHB-Auhe1OuY&hl=en&sa=X&ei=RMEGUvyGGYWd2gW7hYHIAQ&ved=0CDQQ6AEwAzgK#v=onepage&q=%22National%20Graded%20Course%22%20piano&f=false), accessed August 10, 2013.

the 1898 bulletin is the requirement that students take at least two years of Harmony and Composition to complete the course.<sup>497</sup>

Similar small changes are evident in the 1898 description of the voice culture department, for Charles Wanzer Starr has replaced Ms. Brachvogel as head of the department. Starr places emphasis upon “carefully study [...] in the physiology of the voice,” which helps students achieve “an intelligent mastery of breath-control and the proper use of voice muscles.” His goal is “to develop the voice to its highest cultivation,” which will be attained by “ease and naturalness of manner,” with proper enunciation and beautiful tone. Starr also seems to have made sight-singing a part of voice lessons rather than having a separate course, for “Sight Reading” is listed under the topics addressed in lessons during the first four years of study. In contrast to the piano department, where perhaps less emphasis was placed upon technical studies in 1898 than in 1894, it seems that Starr placed more priority upon technique than had been the case previously. The 1898 bulletin mentions no repertoire in the list of study material during the first two grades, but instead notation, sight-reading, and vocal exercises comprise the entire course of study. Exercises continue into the next two grades, but the student is allowed to study “Ballads, Songs, and Arias of moderate difficulty” along with ensemble work, and in the last two grades the repertoire is extended to include opera and oratorio excerpts.<sup>498</sup> No other information is given about what types of ensembles were performed, but numerous duets and trios can be found on extant concert programs, as well as several choir performances. In the early twentieth-century, vocal students at Ward’s Seminary, and later at Ward-Belmont, also had the chance to participate in musical and operatic

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<sup>497</sup> Ward’s Seminary Bulletin, 1898-99, 33-34.

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-35.

performances, and choral concerts began to appear in addition to standard recitals and Commencement programs.

The 1898 bulletin also lists a “Theoretical Studies” department, although it does not include historical studies, as it had in the past. Instead, harmony and composition are the only subjects mentioned in connection with this department, and only theory books are listed as part of the curriculum. The course of study for music theory is similar to that listed in 1894, although Richter’s *Manual of Harmony* has been replaced by two of his other theory books: *Additional Exercises* (1867), and *Canon and Fugue* (1878). The volume of exercises contains supplementary material for Richter’s *Manual*, and perhaps it was used in conjunction with Emery’s *Elements of Harmony*.<sup>499</sup> Richter’s *Canon and Fugue* is a collection of chapters addressing various aspects of contrapuntal practice. Topics range from two-part canons, to the parts of a fugue, to double-counterpoint in numerous voices.<sup>500</sup> This text provides a very strong grounding in counterpoint, and could easily serve as a college textbook in a modern music theory course today.

Just as in 1894, theoretical studies are listed as a requirement for graduation, although history is no longer included on the list of necessary courses. Although no specific course requirements and textbooks lists are available after 1898, the curriculum did not change considerably. The Conservatory continued to employ faculty members who specialized in the same areas, and advertisements continue to refer to theoretical and performance studies. The 1902 *Iris* provides additional clues about the importance of music theory studies at the Seminary. This yearbook includes three new compositions: a

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<sup>499</sup> Ernst Friedrich Richter and Alfred Richter, *Additional Exercises*, translated by John P. Morgan (New York: G. Schirmer, 1867).

<sup>500</sup> *Treatise on Canon and Fugue*, translated and adapted by Franklin Taylor (London: J. B. Cramer, 1878).

three-verse solo titled *He Giveth His Beloved Sleep* by faculty member Lulie Randall; a “Senior Class Song” by senior Fedora Jonar; and a *Sigma Omega Two-Step* by senior Alice Coons.

The *Senior Class Song*, (figure 1) by senior Fedora Jonar, is an anthem in common time with a simple harmonic structure comprised mainly of I, V<sup>7</sup> and IV chords. The fourteen-bar song consists of a two-measure introduction followed by three four-bar phrases. Because of its regular structure and predictable harmonies—complete with a carefully-planned tonicization of V in measures 9-10—it is probable that this was a harmony assignment which drew special attention and was deemed worthy of publication.

The *Sigma Omega Two-Step*, by senior Alice Coons, is a more complex piece, and takes the form of a piano solo rather than a vocal song. Its four pages are laid out in four-bar phrases in the key of F major, although brief excursions to related keys, such as g minor and a minor, are apparent throughout. Although this work does contain more interest and depth than the *Senior Class Song*, it could also have been a harmony exercise, and it is a good example of evenly structured phrases and modulations to closely-related keys.<sup>501</sup> Student compositions such as these show the continually developing music curriculum available at Ward’s Seminary.’

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<sup>501</sup> Alice Coons, *Sigma Omega Two-Step*, in the *Iris*, 1902, 75-78.

# SENIOR CLASS SONG.

Words by AGNES O'BRYAN.

Music by FEDORA JONAS.

Moderato.

1. We're soon to leave this  
2. And as our way thro'  
3. And though the world from

dear old place, In ma - ny ways the world to face, Wher - e'er we are, what -  
life we wend, When - e'er we meet an old school friend, We'll strike on sweet, fa -  
us may take Some things that hap - pi - ness will make, Our grat - i - tude to

e'er we see, We'll ev - er, Ward's, re - mem - ber thee, Wher -  
mil - iar chords, And sing of all thy glo - ries, Ward's, We'll  
thee, dear friend, We will pre - serve till life doth end, Our

e'er we are, what - e'er we see, We'll ev - er, Ward's, re - mem - ber thee.  
strike on sweet, fa - mil - iar chords, And sing of all thy glo - ries, Ward's.  
grat - i - tude to thee, dear friend, We will pre - serve till life doth end.

THE  
IRIS  
- 79 -

Figure 1. *Senior Class Song*, Fedora Jonas; *Iris*, 1902, 79.

What is most striking about the inclusion of all three of these compositions in the 1902 *Iris* is that they were all written by female composers. Prior to the Civil War, the very idea of a female composer was nearly unheard-of in the American South, and many

women who did compose published their work under another name or left their music in manuscript format. According to Candace Bailey, “Music composition [...] was apparently *not* a desired skill for Southern belles of the antebellum period,” and only one Southern female school in that era offered composition lessons.<sup>502</sup> Only with Amy Beach in the late nineteenth century were female American composers truly accepted as credible, and the conservative Southern aristocracy was slow to follow any social trend that caused changes in traditional roles and ways of life. By including student compositions in the 1902 yearbook, Ward’s Seminary demonstrated that it recognized young women as capable of both theoretical studies and creative composition. This simple admission speaks volumes about the changing views of the school’s President, patrons, and faculty members regarding women’s role in music, and in society as whole, as well as mirroring similar changes in Southern society itself.

These changes had begun with the first days of Ward’s Seminary, when students were first beginning to find new roles after the demolition of the society and structure of the Old South, and continued throughout the history of the school. Just as society changed, the school itself was changing, with “ornamental subjects” giving way to academic studies in the arts, and parlor music being joined by the works of revered composers. By 1913, when the Seminary merged with the Belmont School for Young Ladies to become Ward-Belmont, some of its students were still studying music merely as an accomplishment to add to their charms and attract a husband, but an increasing number of their colleagues desired more. These young women were seriously training to become teachers, performers, and music conisseurs throughout their life. Every year, the school produced several certificate and diploma graduates in music, with thirteen piano

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<sup>502</sup> Bailey, *Music and the Southern Belle*, 137-39.

graduates and two vocal graduates in the final year of Ward's existence.<sup>503</sup> The country was on the brink of a huge change in women's status with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, and the students of Ward's Seminary and Ward-Belmont were about to enter a pivotal time, and to live in a pivotal location, in the nation's history.

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<sup>503</sup> *Iris*, 1913, 77.

## Chapter Six: Ward-Belmont

The Ward-Belmont School for Young Women was officially formed in 1913 when Ward's Seminary and Belmont College united to become a four-year preparatory school with a two-year junior college.<sup>504</sup> Throughout the next thirty-eight years, the school would grow in prestige, draw students from across the country, and employ well-known and talented instructors in its Conservatory of Music as well as other departments. During the first decades of the twentieth-century, as women gained more rights in society and opportunities arose for female education and employment, Ward-Belmont prepared numerous girls for their futures in both professional employment and domestic life. Many of the school's graduates became loyal alumnae, meeting to celebrate their time at the school and contributing to the College's continued operation, and its successor, the Harpeth Hall School, still carries on Ward-Belmont's tradition of providing a well-rounded education for young Southern women.

At the time the Ward-Belmont School for Young Women was formed, women's status in society was perhaps more contested than ever before, and many women were torn between their desire to be autonomous citizens and their desire to maintain the "separate spheres" and domestic roles of earlier times. The students of Ward-Belmont and its predecessors came from both sides of the debate over women's newfound independence and power. In addition to Anne Dallas Dudley, the suffrage leader discussed in the previous chapter, other students of the schools discussed here supported the cause of suffrage. The Belmont School for Young Ladies even had an "Equal Suffrage League," which is first listed in the 1913 yearbook and demonstrates quite

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<sup>504</sup> "History and Archives, 1891-1922," *Harpeth Hall School*, <http://www.harpethhall.org/podium/default.aspx?t=151771>, accessed October 13, 2012.

liberal political views. This organization boasted a membership of 46 students and nine faculty members, and upheld the club motto of “Wider Service” by supporting the cause of women’s rights.<sup>505</sup> Graduates of Ward-Belmont also displayed support of women’s independence by serving as pilots in the military, acting as members of congress, and entering other professional fields just becoming open to women.<sup>506</sup> At the same time, some students of these schools opposed women’s suffrage, as a newspaper article from 1913 demonstrates. It relays the story of 125 Belmont College students visiting New York after a trip to Washington D.C., who encountered a group of suffragettes. The Belmont girls reportedly “drowned the speeches of the suffragists with songs until the porters and other train hands had forced the suffragist orators out of the car that was assigned to the students.”<sup>507</sup> Such a reaction to feminist ideas shows the traditional slant of the Southern upper-class, even during the heyday of the Progressive era.

These same opposing opinions about women’s rights are evident in school publications of the era. For instance, the 1914-1915 Catalog of Ward-Belmont describes the “Spirit and Aim” of the school, which seeks the “refinement and cultivation” and “wholesome naturalness” of each students’ personality. After discussing the need for true nobility of character, which leads to “elegance of manner,” the bulletin states that “[i]n a word, Ward-Belmont stands for all that is womanly in character and conduct in order that its students may be capable of undertaking all that is womanly in life and leisure and

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<sup>505</sup> *Milady in Brown, 1913*, Yearbook of the Belmont School for Girls (Nashville, TN: Belmont College, 1913), 161. The College Equal Suffrage League had been formed by Maud Wood Park and Inez Haynes at Radcliffe University to promote suffrage among young women. By 1912, it had become a National League, and numerous campuses had chapters such as that at Belmont College. (See Jane Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman*, 130-31.) The Nashville school was thus on the cutting edge of a growing movement, and by taking part in a new league devoted to women’s rights, Belmont students were taking a strong stance on the question of women’s place in society.

<sup>506</sup> “History and Archives, 1891-1922,” *Harpeth Hall School*, accessed May 26, 2013.

<sup>507</sup> *The Evening Standard (Ogden City, UT)*, March 6, 1913 (Chronicling America), access May 16, 2013.

work.”<sup>508</sup> Statements such as these were intended to cater to the wealthy Southern elite, many of whom still clung to old ideas and traditions. Although the school certainly offered serious academic subjects, administrators were eager to capitalize on the “refined” education it provided to its students. The 1916-1917 catalog also demonstrates this in the section describing the “Music, Art and Expression” department, which was a prestigious part of the school that garnered much individual attention. It states that “[i]n the education of girls and young women, it is important that a proper balance be maintained between Literary subjects and the Fine Arts.” On the next page, the catalog adds that Ward-Belmont has “an enviable reputation as one of the distinct centers for the training of young women in these subjects so important in the development of aesthetic tastes and temperament.”<sup>509</sup> Discussions of education for young men rarely mention the need to develop “taste and temperament,” and one can hardly imagine such a statement being made about the education of men and boys. Thus, clear distinctions still existed between male and female education.

However, the same school that held to these old South ideals about female education also allowed one of its students to play the saxophone in the orchestra just two years later, which was a rather bold move. Not only was the saxophone a wind instrument, which requires the player to contort their face in order to blow properly, but it was also closely associated with jazz, a decidedly unladylike form of music in 1919.<sup>510</sup> In the same year, the Ward-Belmont student newspaper, the *Hyphen*, carried a brief article entitled “The Girl of 1919,” which described the “Perfect Lady” of that year. The author, “H.R.,”

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<sup>508</sup> *Catalog and Announcement of Ward-Belmont School for Young Women, 1914-1915* (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1914), 17.

<sup>509</sup> *Catalog and Announcement of Ward-Belmont School for Young Women, 1916-1917* (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1916), 21-22.

<sup>510</sup> *Milestones 1919* (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1919), 87.

describes a liberated woman, who “laceth not [a corset], nor does she faint. Yet belles of 1830, in all their coquetry and comeliness, were not so fair as she!” The article goes on to depict this “Perfect Lady” rising early in the morning to work, driving a Red Cross ambulance, and not being shy in the presence of a “wooer,” but rather “leading him on with gentle cooings and encouragements.” She was not even afraid to display her use of make-up openly, a rather brazen statement at the time, and yet:

And when her days’ labors are finished, who is THIS that descendeth into the drawing room arrayed as a Christmas fairy, in tulle and ruffles and alluring daintiness and sweet with spikenard and myrrh and scented soap and imported sachet?

Who is THIS that sitteth at the piano and playeth dreamy sonatas or glideth over the ballroom floor as gracefully as thistledown?

Even the “PERFECT LADY” of nineteen-nineteen.

And she hath found nothing pleasanter than flirtation, nothing sweeter than lover, and the HEIGHT of her ambition is still six feet of HUSBAND!<sup>511</sup>

Much of this description fits the image of the “New Woman” of the early twentieth-century, made popular by the “Gibson Girl” created by Charles Dana Gibson. This woman was physically strong, capable of exertions such as basketball, hiking, camping, and bicycling, and was not afraid to demonstrate her skills in public.<sup>512</sup> All of these qualities are captured in the *Hyphen’s* description of the “Perfect Lady” of 1919, yet all of the conflict and ambiguity surrounding the role and character of the Southern lady are also summarized in this quotation. The same “new woman” of the Progressive era who embraced independence and freedom was still donning “tulle and ruffles” and playing piano pieces to “woo” admirers. The author even states that the final goal of the Perfect Lady remains much the same as it had been in the antebellum era: landing a handsome, and surely a wealthy, husband. Obviously the students and faculty of Ward-

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<sup>511</sup> Ward-Belmont *Hyphen*, volume I (1918-1919); in *Milestones 1919*, 216.

<sup>512</sup> See Jean Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman*, 14.

Belmont, while attempting to remain current, also had conservative ideals and restrictions that controlled student behavior as well as the academic side of student life.

These restrictions are chronicled by various former students, some of whom had trouble following the school's guidelines, yet also enjoyed the advantages offered by its music program. One of these students was Grace Moore (1898-1947), an operatic soprano and musical theater actress from Cocke County, Tennessee. Moore came to Ward-Belmont in 1916 at the age of seventeen. While there, she studied vocal performance under Charles C. Washburn, a long-tenured voice instructor at the School. Although Moore had problems adjusting to life at Ward-Belmont, it was here that she received her first taste of serious vocal performance. Of Washburn, she said that "[he] gave me special work in piano, harmony and sight-reading. ... I felt that I could, perhaps, sing myself out of the narrow restrictions of my life into a bigger, more generous world."<sup>513</sup> However, Moore's time at the school was short-lived, for after she sneaked out one night to attend a dance at Vanderbilt University, and was also accused of other offenses, she was quickly required to leave.

Another short-term Ward-Belmont student who became famous as a musical star in the mid-twentieth-century was Mary Martin (1913-1990), best known for her interpretation of "Peter Pan" in 1960. According to Martin, life at Ward-Belmont when she attended around 1930 was carefully restricted, with "strict rules about makeup, [...] limited dating, [restricted] hours on campus, chaperons all over the place [...]" Like Moore, Martin only remained at the school for a brief time, and soon eloped with a high school sweetheart and was subsequently expelled. However, also like Moore, Ward-

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<sup>513</sup> George Zepp, "Grace Moore," *The Tennessean* (April 26, 2006), B. 3; *Proquest*, accessed July 1, 2013.

Belmont gave Mary Martin her first experience with real vocal performance, an experience which whet her appetite for a future on the stage.<sup>514</sup>

The first-hand accounts of Moore and Martin bring to life the strict code of conduct required of students at Ward-Belmont. Such an environment, in which propriety and etiquette were esteemed above academic prowess, was designed to create elegant ladies who would easily take their place in society. Yet the experiences of these future stars also demonstrate the professional side of the school's music department, for both of them noted the impact Ward-Belmont's music faculty had on their future career. With its highly trained instructors, advanced curriculum, and prestigious list of guest artists, the music program at Ward-Belmont was equipped to prepare young ladies to take their place, not only in society, but in the circle of professional musicians and music teachers. As a Progressive Era school in an often reactionary American South, Ward-Belmont and its Conservatory of Music provide unique insights into the complex questions young Southern women faced about their lives, roles, careers, and future during this pivotal time. The rest of this chapter will consider the school, its music program, and its students, in light of these questions.

#### The Creation of Ward-Belmont

Late in the year of 1912, both the W. E. Ward Seminary for Young Ladies and Belmont College for Young Women were purchased by a corporation which planned to merge the two schools in the near future. The Belmont School had been founded in 1890 by two female educators on the grounds of the former Belmont Estate of wealthy Nashville resident Adelia Acklen. Like Ward's Seminary, it had maintained an

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<sup>514</sup> George Zepp, "Broadway Star Attended Ward-Belmont," *The Tennessean* (August 4, 2004), B. 6, *Proquest*, accessed July 1, 2013.

excellent music department with prestigious faculty, student clubs, and numerous recitals and concerts.<sup>515</sup> The merger took place on June 1<sup>st</sup> of the following year, and on September 25, 1913, the Ward-Belmont School for Young Women officially opened. After the merger, in Ward-Belmont's first year of existence, 832 students from 32 different states as well as Panama matriculated at the new school. According to the Catalog for 1913-1914, Ward-Belmont was "much more than the happy sum of Belmont College for Young Women and Ward Seminary for Young Ladies." Instead, the school promised to take the best of both schools and to add to them whatever was necessary to provide a complete education for young ladies that neglected "neither the mind, nor the spirit, nor the social instinct, nor the body."<sup>516</sup> In order to live up to these standards, the school employed the best teachers from both Ward's Seminary and Belmont College, as well as adding additional faculty members based upon their "high character and true culture." Faculty members were expected to exert a wholesome influence on the young students and to develop real relationships with their pupils both inside and outside of the classroom.<sup>517</sup> Comments such as these demonstrate a continued allegiance to antebellum ideas about women's sphere and the difference between male and female education. Surely no male college or preparatory school of the early twentieth-century would

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<sup>515</sup> Because the focus of this paper is to demonstrate how music programs at the schools under consideration changed with the changing status of women, discussion of the program at Belmont College, which paralleled Ward Seminary, would be redundant. Belmont College began with a small yet serious music program, which grew tremendously after the hiring of Edouard Hesselberg, a prestigious European pianist and composer. Examination of existing school yearbooks show a thriving music program, much like that at Ward Seminary, with student clubs bearing such names as the "Clara Schumann Club," the "Euterpiian Club," the "Leschetizky Club," and Belmont's version of the "St. Cecilia Club." For further information, see Richard Shadinger, *Music At Belmont College and Ward-Belmont College*; see also *The Internet Archive*, "Belmont College (Nashville, Tenn.)—Periodicals," <http://archive.org/search.php?query=mediatype%3Atexts%20AND%20collection%3Aharpethhall%20AND%20subject%3A%22Belmont%20College%20%28Nashville%2C%20Tenn.%29%20--%20Periodicals%22>.

<sup>516</sup> *Ward-Belmont School for Young Women Catalog*, 1913-1914 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Women, 1913), 14.

<sup>517</sup> *Ward-Belmont School Catalog*, 1913-14, 15.

emphasize the “powerful and true personality” of its instructors over “mere scholastic degrees.”<sup>518</sup> These sentiments were designed to appeal to the Southern elite, who desired for their daughters to receive academic training within an environment that prepared them to fill their future roles as wealthy heiresses in Southern society.

Yet at the same time Ward-Belmont emphasized social and moral training, the school did not neglect the academic and professional side of women’s education. Although many graduates went on to become housewives and mothers, an increasing number entered the workplace and the academy. The Ward-Belmont faculty also demonstrated this professionalization, and instructors at the school were routinely more highly trained and qualified than teachers at Ward’s Seminary.<sup>519</sup> It offered various levels of study, beginning with a General Course geared toward “the larger number [of students] who do not want to go to college and who yet wish to lay the foundation of a broad and deep culture.” These studies progressed two years beyond the High School level, and included elective topics such as Art and Music in addition to regular classes. The choice of electives available for study reflects the time, for alongside the Greek and Latin courses offered students, the Domestic Science and Home Economy department allowed students to major in the new field of Home Economics. This field had been created as an avenue for women to use scientific knowledge in order “to modernize the administration of the home and family” and to contribute to the “amelioration of the condition of mankind.”<sup>520</sup> Another department of Ward-Belmont was the School of Secretarial Work, which prepared girls “to enter the business or professional world with their own fathers or

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<sup>518</sup> *Ward-Belmont School Catalog*, 1913-14.

<sup>519</sup> See Tammy Allison and Carroll Van West. ““The real college is within us”: The transformation of women’s higher education in Tennessee from 1880 to 1925” (D. of Arts diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 2005), 108-14.

<sup>520</sup> Jean Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman*, 37.

in other capacities...” Such positions would be clerical in nature, and thus the School offered bookkeeping and shorthand courses.<sup>521</sup> While the emphasis on students working with their fathers shows the career woman remaining within the domestic sphere, the inclusion of secretarial studies at Ward-Belmont also mirrors the atmosphere of Progressive Era America. Between 1870 and 1920, the percentage of females in office work rose from 2% to 45%, and by 1920 92% of stenographers were women.<sup>522</sup> By offering instruction in clerical work, Ward-Belmont was accommodating modern developments and acknowledging the changing status of women in society.

In order to accommodate those students who did plan to continue on to college, the school offered a College Preparatory Course which prepared graduates to “be admitted without examination to Wellesley, Smith, Vassar, Randolph-Macon, Goucher, Vanderbilt, and many other colleges and universities.” In addition to this course, Ward-Belmont offered Junior College work, which was equivalent to the freshman and sophomore years of college study, and would prepare a student to enter “the Junior year at a standard college.”<sup>523</sup> Thus even a Southern female school that still devoted much attention to preparing young women to enter society was influenced by the Progressive Era, when women were considered capable of more than parlor music and domestic duties. Many of Ward-Belmont’s students were prepared to pursue further education in their area of study and then to use these skills as career women in their respective fields.

#### Musical Life at Ward-Belmont

Existing records show that a large percentage of Ward-Belmont in the school’s first year specialized in music, or at least took vocal or instrumental lessons. According to

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<sup>521</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1913-1914, 55.

<sup>522</sup> Jean Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman*, 49.

<sup>523</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1913-1914, 27.

the Ward-Belmont President's Report of 1914, in that year, 547 students studied music, with 345 taking piano lessons and 130 enrolled in voice lessons. This compared with only 111 students in the school of Expression, 92 studying Domestic Science, and 79 studying Domestic Art.<sup>524</sup> The music department at Ward-Belmont was also highly valued by the Nashville community, especially as the years passed and the School provided not only extensive musical entertainments, but also a community orchestra. The large number of music students in 1913 necessitated an equally large percentage of faculty members specializing in music, and the catalog boasted that "[o]ur musical faculty is now probably the largest and most expensively maintained one in any school for girls in America."<sup>525</sup> In 1913, fifteen of forty-nine instructors at Ward-Belmont were in the School of Music. This number included six former faculty members at Belmont College and four from Ward's Seminary—Fritz and Estelle Schmitz and Emil and Mary Falconer Winkler, the two couples mentioned in the publicity material for the Ward Conservatory in 1910. By 1919, the faculty had grown to 51, of which 16 were music instructors. In that year, the catalog boasted that Ward-Belmont "spare[d] no expense" in order to employ faculty members with the "highest ideals" who possessed an excellent education and had significant teaching experience. The catalog goes on to note "[t]hat the inspiration from personal touch between teacher and pupil may be kept constantly at the maximum, the school maintains the approximate ratio of one teacher to ten pupils."<sup>526</sup> Such claims show the high level of individual instruction available to pupils at Ward-Belmont. This type of personal attention from the school's carefully scrutinized faculty surely helped to attract

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<sup>524</sup> "President's Report, 1914" (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School, 1914), The Harpeth Hall School Archive. The large percentage of music students is also representative of the many community members who received music instruction at Ward-Belmont without actually enrolling in the school itself.

<sup>525</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1913-1914, 47.

<sup>526</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies, 1919), 17.

students from privileged families who desired a first-class education in a genteel and welcoming environment.

The Conservatory of Music at Ward-Belmont had the same goals as the school in general, and promised advanced theoretical, technical, and artistic development to its pupils, as demonstrated in catalog and yearbook accounts. It offered the “combined virtues of the Belmont School of Music and the Ward Conservatory, both of which have long been the objects of the high praise and the generous patronage of educated musicians both in and out of Nashville,” and promised to train each student to be more than a “mere musician” who possesses talent but lacks general education. This was accomplished by an emphasis on “general mental discipline” in the form of literary and language courses along with music studies. The well-rounded curriculum offered instruction in “Pianoforte, Voice, Violin and other stringed instruments, Pipe Organ, Theory, Harmony, Composition, the History and Literature of Music, Interpretation, Ear Training, Sight Reading and Chorus, Ensemble and Orchestral Work, Repertoire and Memorizing, and Faculty, Student and Artist Recitals...” All of these were an important part of the musical environment at Ward-Belmont.<sup>527</sup>

Along with the focus on extra-musical literary studies for a thorough education, technical performance skills were also highly valued. Six pages of the 1913-1914 catalog are devoted to the requirements for graduation in various instrumental and vocal concentrations, and the school also boasted several performing ensembles. According to the catalog description, numerous Certificates and Diplomas of Graduation in music were available. These included a Teachers Certificate in Piano Technic, as well as Certificates in Piano, Violin, and Voice. These Certificates were available to students who finished

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<sup>527</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1913-1914, 47.

the College Preparatory Course of study, and to earn one pupils had to complete a list of required general courses in Mathematics, Languages, English, and History, along with meeting specific technical standards on their chosen instrument and taking required music courses. Students who desired further study had the option to pursue a course for Graduation in Piano, Voice, Violin, and Pipe Organ. Graduate Diplomas were earned by completing the requirements for a Certificate as well as additional coursework, and Diploma performance requirements were more stringent.<sup>528</sup> *Milestones*, the student yearbook for 1913-1914, provides further information about performance studies at the School. It contains a listing of several recitals held by the music department during the school year, including three studio recitals, an all-department recital, three faculty recitals, and three senior recitals. Although no programs are listed, it is obvious from this listing that music students were active in performance on a regular basis, and these performances were an important, and required, part of their musical education. Ward-Belmont's regular recitals also carried on the tradition of public recitals and performance begun with the Saturday evening soirees at the Ward Seminary. The 1914 *Milestones* also demonstrates the size of the music department at Ward-Belmont. In that year, 58 girls were members of the Choral Class and 30 were enrolled in the Pedagogy and History of Music. The orchestra was 38 players strong, although Ward-Belmont students only played the violin parts, while the rest of the sections were filled by Nashville citizens.<sup>529</sup> Once again the school's continued adherence to old ideas about masculine and feminine instruments is evident, demonstrating that although many gender roles were changing, such changes were slow occur in elite Southern society.

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<sup>528</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1913-1914, 45-52.

<sup>529</sup> *Milestones*, 1913-1914 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies, 1914), 142-49.

By 1919, a Certificate in Pipe Organ had been added to the degrees offered at Ward-Belmont, and more detail about music theory and history courses is provided in the catalog. It is obvious from this catalog that the School of Music operated much like a college music department of the present day, and provisions were even made for incoming students who desired to transfer credits from music theory courses taken at another school. Just as in 1913, the well-rounded education of the music student is emphasized, and all boarding pupils at the school who chose to specialize in music were required to be registered for at least one literary credit hour per semester, in addition to musical studies.<sup>530</sup> Thus, just as in 1913, a liberal arts philosophy remains evident in the curriculum of the School of Music at Ward-Belmont.

However, the 1919 catalog also shows the school's emphasis on musical performance, when it notes that 80 new pianos, including *eight* new Steinway grand pianos, had been purchased by the school in recent years. These pianos replaced the Kimball instruments ordered by Edouard Hesselberg in 1912, and the 1919 purchase vividly demonstrates not only the importance placed on the music program at Ward-Belmont, but also the prestige and wealth associated with the school.<sup>531</sup> Steinway had long been the gold standard of piano manufacturers, and in 1919 the company further strengthened its reputation as the only choice for serious pianists. In that year, Steinway began an advertisement campaign touting its products as the "the Instrument of the Immortals," claiming to be the favored instrument of famous musicians dating as far back

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<sup>530</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 47. This requirement only extended to boarding pupils because, as noted in this document, many Nashville residents took music lessons at Ward-Belmont and its predecessors because of the high level of instruction available. Contemporary class and orchestra rosters even include several married women, although marriage was out of the question for boarding pupils. Thus day students, at least in the School of Music, were considered on a case-by-case basis, and may not have taken part in the everyday life of Ward-Belmont as a whole.

<sup>531</sup> For further information on the Hesselberg purchase, see Richard Shadinger, *Music at Belmont and College and Ward-Belmont*, 3, 7.

as Liszt and Wagner. The Steinway Company thus catered to the general public's desire to associate itself with the elite of society, hoping to convince prospective buyers that by purchasing a Steinway, they could somehow commune with the "immortals" of music.<sup>532</sup> By purchasing eight new Steinway pianos in just a few years, Ward-Belmont showed that it possessed a serious School of Music that desired to provide students with the "instrument of the immortals" on which they could hone their skills. These pianos were also an important status symbol, demonstrating to rival schools and prospective patrons alike that Ward-Belmont was a first-rate institution prepared to do whatever was necessary to provide facilities and curriculum better than that of their competition.

Between 1913 and 1920, Ward-Belmont continued to employ around fifteen music faculty members, with seven of them remaining at the school during the entire period. One of the piano instructors, Eva Massey, had originally been employed at the Ward Seminary, but disappeared from the faculty when the two schools merged. The following year, in the fall of 1914, Massey returned to Ward-Belmont as an instructor of piano, where she stayed until 1923. Other faculty members remained for decades, such as Estelle Roy Schmitz, who stayed at the school for 25 years, as described in the chapter discussing Ward Seminary. Such longevity shows that Ward-Belmont must have maintained a pleasant and rewarding academic and musical environment, and the fact that several female faculty members spent large portions of their lives at the school causes one to believe they received respect as scholars and musicians. In turn, this respect must have been passed on to students, who were guided to reach their full potential as ladies, performers, and possibly career women. The school catalog for 1919-1920 mentions this

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<sup>532</sup> Jim Safley, "Steinway & Sons and the Immortal Campaign: "The Instrument of the Immortals" Advertising Campaign, [http://jimsafley.com/writings\\_archive/steinway.html](http://jimsafley.com/writings_archive/steinway.html), accessed August 21, 2013.

congenial artistic atmosphere in its description of the Music, Art, and Expression departments. It states that “[a]ttractive studios and an inspiring environment make the work of the departments a genuine delight.”<sup>533</sup> Other school advertisements and publicity material show that the facilities and environment were truly an object of great pride and expense, and the purchase of the Steinway pianos described above is only one example of this. According to the 1914-1915 catalog, recent construction of new buildings had created more space for the growing department of Music in the older facilities, and the catalog for the following year mentioned a separate building devoted entirely to practice rooms.<sup>534</sup>

Catalogs and advertisements for Ward-Belmont also praise the location, which, according to the 1913 catalog, offered “every urban advantage of this famed ‘Athens of the South.’” The same catalog goes on to note that “recitals and lectures by faculty and eminent musicians” were frequent, and that students were encouraged to attend concerts in the city, where touring opera companies and “the world’s greatest artists” often appeared.<sup>535</sup> The school itself also brought in prominent musicians and lecturers, as the 1918-1919 catalog notes: “In addition to the several really great concerts and lectures which may be heard in Nashville during the year, Ward-Belmont will present to its students during the session 10 or more entertainments at a cost of \$3,000 to \$5,000, embracing some of the best in Music, Art, Expression, and Literature.” These concerts were partially funded by student fees for the “Star Entertainment Course,” which allowed

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<sup>533</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 20.

<sup>534</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1914-1915, 19; *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1915-1916 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1916), 16.

<sup>535</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1913-1914, 18, 45-46.

students who paid the \$6 fee to receive discounts on tickets to all of these events.<sup>536</sup>

Further information is available in the 1919-1920 catalog about concerts the students attended, both on campus and in Nashville. Here, a list of musicians who had appeared in recent years is provided, and many famous names are included on the list. Along with Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler and the Victor Herbert Orchestra, who were already noted in connection with Ward's Seminary, artists such as the pianists Ignacy Paderewski and Josef Hoffman; the famous tenor Enrico Caruso; the Metropolitan Opera Company; the Boston Grand Opera; the New York Philharmonic; and the Damrosch Orchestra all came to Nashville during the early days of Ward-Belmont.<sup>537</sup> Much like the girls at Ward's Seminary, the students of Ward-Belmont during the 1910s were being exposed to musical performances of the highest level, which surely inspired them to develop their own talents as musicians and performers in both the domestic and the public sphere.

During its first decade of existence, the Music Department at Ward-Belmont offered students numerous opportunities to hone these developing performance skills. These opportunities ranged from May Day skits, to student recitals, to opera and ensemble performances. The choral program flourished tremendously during this era, with a choral class of 58 in 1914 growing to 131 in 1917. By 1919, the Choral Society is no longer mentioned, but instead a Glee Club of 31 members is listed. However, it is unclear whether the Glee Club actually took the place of the Choral Society, or merely served as a more elite ensemble for advanced students. Whatever the case, the choral program was quite active at Ward-Belmont during its first decade of existence.

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<sup>536</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1918-1919, 70.

<sup>537</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 20.

In 1915, the school made Nashville history with a performance of Flowtow's opera *Martha*, which was given in conjunction with the Vanderbilt Glee Club and accompanied by Professor Arthur Henkel on the organ. According to a review included in the 1915 *Milestones*, the Ward-Belmont auditorium was "filled to overflowing by an enthusiastic crowd," and many were turned away. The review continues with details about the performance, indicating that several professors took part and thus raised the level of professionalism.<sup>538</sup> The following year a similar opera was undertaken, with the Ward-Belmont Choral Society and the Vanderbilt Glee Club performing Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl* (1843), although little information is provided about this event.<sup>539</sup> Despite the fact that it seems the leading roles were played by faculty members and professionals, the fact that Ward-Belmont's female students were given a chance to work alongside professional musicians, as well as with college boys, demonstrates a continuing trend toward liberate Southern women from many traditional expectations. Taking part in the public performance of an opera was a far cry from the domestic parlor setting accepted for young women only a few years earlier. By 1915, Nashville's elite were beginning to give young women a little more freedom and respect than had been granted them during the antebellum and reconstruction eras.

At the same time the choral program was developing, Ward-Belmont's Orchestra also flourished. By 1917, the ensemble was 46 members strong, and a sample program printed in the 1917 *Milestones* demonstrates an ambitious repertoire. At the May 15 concert recorded in the yearbook, the orchestra performed Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony, Bizet's *Serenade Espagnole*, and the overture from *Stradella* by Flowtow, alongside

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<sup>538</sup> *Milestones*, 1915 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies, 1915), 105.

<sup>539</sup> *Milestones*, 1916 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies, 1916), 90.

eight other pieces.<sup>540</sup> Such a program would not have been possible for the ensemble unless the girls were able to perform at a high level. Although the wind parts and some of the strings were played by male reinforcements, Ward-Belmont students were obviously able to keep up technically and artistically. Since the girls were the ones who filled most of the violin seats, the choice of a Mozart Symphony, in particular, demonstrates great confidence in their abilities. Classical-era pieces are routinely dominated by the string section, with the violins taking the leading role. Examination of the score of the symphony shows the violins playing almost non-stop, while the wind and percussion instruments come in and out. In the famous fugue of the last movement, the strings carry three of five voices, showing that the Ward-Belmont girls were capable of holding their own against the Nashville residents.

The orchestra remained about the same size for the next few years, with men continuing to play most of the wind parts, although the 1919 *Milestones* lists student saxophone and cornet players, as described above. Perhaps this use of female wind players was an experiment by Kenneth Rose, the violin and orchestra instructor who had come to Ward-Belmont the year before to replace Fritz Schmitz upon the latter's death. In 1920, however, the orchestra returned to using all male wind players, although it continued to be quite large, with 44 members, and had a female concertmistress.<sup>541</sup> Although few orchestra concert programs exist from this particular era, programs from later in the 1920s and 1930s show that the orchestra continued to flourish, and that the

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<sup>540</sup> *Milestones*, 1917 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies, 1917), 109.

<sup>541</sup> *Milestones*, 1920 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies, 1920), 108.

repertoire continued to include sizeable works such as those performed on the program from 1917 described above.<sup>542</sup>

Additional information about performance activities at Ward-Belmont during the 1910s is provided in a student recital program included in a student *Hyphen* printed in the 1920 yearbook. The recital, which occurred on January 22, 1920, was an eclectic event that featured vocal, string, organ, and piano performances. It is obvious from this program as well as from performance requirements for graduation that music students at Ward-Belmont were pursuing an advanced level of classical study on par with that of many college music majors today. The recital in question opened with a Corelli String Quartette performed by four students, so the cello part must have been played by a student as well, which represents a break from traditional ideas about proper feminine instruments. Many deemed the cello inappropriate for ladies to play because it caused the player to sit in an unbecoming manner, and in the early twentieth century it was just beginning to be accepted as a proper female instrument.

The recital continued with more conventional piano and vocal fare, including a Chopin *Nocturne*, a Bach *Prelude and Fugue*, a Grieg *Nocturno*, a vocal duet, and a Verdi aria. A Violin Concerto by De Beriot was also performed, as well a vocal solo and a piano solo by Cecile Chaminade. The final piece was *Organ Sonata in C Minor* by Alexandre Guilmant, a leading French organist of the nineteenth century, which was performed on one of the school's two pipe organs.<sup>543</sup> This program is representative of many similar Ward-Belmont programs during the school's first years of operation, which

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<sup>542</sup> For further information, see the "Ward-Belmont Collection" at the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

<sup>543</sup> *The Ward-Belmont Hyphen, 1919-1920*, printed in *Milestones*, 1920 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies, 1920), 108.

were described as frequent recitals “of the highest order” which served to develop an appreciation for that which is richest in the field.”<sup>544</sup> Public performance was an active and important part of the music program at Ward-Belmont, and these performances gave girls opportunities to demonstrate their skills in a formal recital setting rather than in the domestic parlor environment favored in earlier years.

Yearbook references and extant programs show that students also undertook musical activities and performances outside of the formal recital setting. For instance, the “Twentieth Century Club,” one of numerous student organizations on campus, had meetings at which members discussed various topics, including music. The minutes for 1917-1918 show that one month’s meeting was devoted entirely to music, and the club had a “music group” of five students led by Kathryn Kirkham, a senior who returned to the school in 1919 as an Assistant of Musical Science. The Club continued to be musically active, with two recorded performances—one of which was a vocal recital by “Miss Sloan,” who is presumable Helen Todd Sloan, a new vocal faculty member in 1920. The other program was a student/faculty recital held on February 2, 1920. It is interesting to note that Kathryn Kirkham, one of the newest faculty members, continued to be involved with the Twentieth Century Club, performing a vocal solo at a this recital. The same program featured other classical pieces, including Fritz Kreisler’s *Liebesfreud* (1905), a relatively famous piece Kreisler often used as an encore for performances. The work is rather challenging, with a fast tempo and numerous double-stops. Ceceilia Adickes, a Senior in the Specials Class and first violin in the orchestra, performed it as a “guest soloist,” and her name is not included on the list of Twentieth-Century Club

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<sup>544</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 21.

members found in the 1920 yearbook. Adickes must have been a fairly skilled player in order to execute the double-stops with any success.

The final two works listed on the February 2 program were piano works, one of which was *Sous Bois*, a piece by Victor Staub.<sup>545</sup> This work is a piece of intermediate difficulty, with repeated figurations reminiscent of an étude. It is written in a simple ABA form, with a more lyrical middle section that interrupts the technical machinery of the outer portions.<sup>546</sup> Another Specials student, Lucie Neel Dekle, performed the Staub work. The other piano piece is merely titled “Popular Music,” and was played by Club vice-president Harriet Benalleck. Its inclusion shows Ward-Belmont students enjoying a different type of music than what was programmed at most recital and concerts. These young women of the Progressive Era were indeed connected with modern culture, as demonstrated by this performance as well as by a collection of sheet music belonging Sarah Jeter, a 1923 graduate and a Dance Instructor at the School later in that decade, and various references to jazz found in school yearbooks.<sup>547</sup>

One of the most intriguing references to popular music in the Ward-Belmont yearbooks during its first year of existence is in a 1920 article discussing a Halloween dinner for the students. After an eerie dinner full of dancing ghosts and witches, the students were soothed by electric lights and dinner, but more importantly, by music from the orchestra. The writer notes that “... when that orchestra began playing we were transported from the realms of the supernatural to the very realistic and invigorating

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<sup>545</sup> Victor Staub (1884-1949) was a well-known French pianist, pedagogue, and composer of the early twentieth-century.

<sup>546</sup> Victor Staub, *Sous Bois*, Op. 6 (Paris: Durand & Co., 1902), *International Music Score Library Project*, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Sous\\_bois,\\_Op.6\\_%28Staub,\\_Victor%29](http://imslp.org/wiki/Sous_bois,_Op.6_%28Staub,_Victor%29), accessed September 1, 2013.

<sup>547</sup> “Twentieth Century Club,” The Harpeth Hall School Archive.

world of twentieth century jazz.”<sup>548</sup> Although one can imagine the proper Southern Ladies of Ward-Belmont clandestinely listening to jazz, which was still on the fringes of polite society in 1920, this reference to a jazz orchestra seems to hint that students were performing the music, which would have been highly unorthodox. At this time, the students were still not permitted to play “masculine” instruments in the orchestra, but they were obviously allowed to listen to, and possibly to perform jazz of some sort. Several years later, in the 1930s, Ward-Belmont officially formed a jazz ensemble, but it is quite possible unofficial student bands had been playing jazz at the school for some time. This event provides evidence that at least some freedom was granted Ward-Belmont students by the faculty and administration, for popular music and jazz were surely chosen by students rather than faculty members. Only in an environment where students were treated as independent young women, rather than mere children or sheltered ladies, would the girls have been allowed to indulge in such modern pastimes. By 1920, the students of Ward-Belmont were able to function to some extent as liberated women ready to embrace the newfound opportunities and responsibilities created by the Women’s Rights movement and the Nineteenth Amendment.

#### Music Faculty at Ward-Belmont

The distinguished faculty of Ward-Belmont was one of the school’s greatest assets, with advertisements and other school publications continually promoting the high quality of instruction at the institution. The music program was likewise a source of pride for the school from its first days, and the music faculty was carefully selected and maintained. As previously discussed, a combination of faculty members from both Belmont College and Ward Seminary were joined by additional instructors during the

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<sup>548</sup> “Twentieth Century Club,” The Harpeth Hall School Archive.,” 204.

school's first year. Of the former Belmont instructors, perhaps the most influential was Frederick Arthur Henkel, a professor of organ who first came to Belmont in the fall of 1910. Henkel, a graduate of the Metropolitan Conservatory, remained at the School until 1926, when he left to join the Nashville Conservatory, a new school formed by another former Ward-Belmont faculty member. In addition to teaching at Ward-Belmont, Henkel contributed to the school as a carillon player after the instrument was purchased in 192 and enriched Nashville's musical life as a composer, conductor, and musician. During Ward-Belmont's first decades, Henkel filled many roles, including pipe organ instructor, choir organist, opera accompanist, and orchestra member.<sup>549</sup>

Charles Campbell Washburn, Dean of the Ward-Belmont Voice Department in 1913, had also served at Belmont College, where he arrived in 1906. Washburn had graduated from the Cincinnati Conservatory and pursued graduate studies at Vanderbilt, as well as studying voice in Chicago. While at Belmont, and later at Ward-Belmont, Washburn gave several faculty recitals and conducted vocal ensembles, and served as a vocal instructor. It was Washburn, in fact, whose teaching made such an impression on future opera star Grace Moore during her brief time at the school that she was inspired to seek a career in music. In addition to a performance and teaching career, research shows that Washburn published several hymnals after his departure from Ward-Belmont, including *The New Cokesbury Hymnal* (1928) and *The Abingdon Songbook* (1938). Washburn was thus a prestigious musician who contributed much to the formation of the music department at Ward-Belmont.

Another charter member of the Ward-Belmont faculty who had previously taught at Belmont College was Alice K. Leftwich, an instructor of Piano at Belmont since 1904.

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<sup>549</sup> See Shadinger, "Music at Belmont College and Ward-Belmont," 20-21

According to a biography printed in the Ward-Belmont Conservatory of Music Catalog for 1927-28, Leftwich had graduated from the Beethoven Conservatory in St. Louis before studying with Arthur Foote and B.J. Lang, both prominent American composers of the late nineteenth-century, in Boston. During two years and additional summers of study in Paris, Leftwich worked with Moritz Moszkowski, who recommended her as “a brillante and talented pianist, as well as a thoroughly efficient teacher.” While at Ward-Belmont, she continued to spend most summers furthering her studies, and reviews included in the Conservatory Catalog suggest that she gave public recital frequently throughout her career.<sup>550</sup> Leftwich stayed at Ward-Belmont until 1933, leaving the year before Estelle Roy Schmitz retired.

Piano Instructor Amelie Throne was another former Belmont instructor. Throne was a native of Nashville and had spent several years studying with Mary Weber Farrar, the daughter of Henri Weber, former instructor at Ward’s Seminary and wife of Frederick Emerson Farrar, who taught voice and theory at Ward’s. Throne thus had numerous ties to Ward-Belmont alumni and faculty, and later European studies further developed her credentials as a pianist and teacher. Like Leftwich, Throne continued to pursue musical study during the summers while at Ward-Belmont, and she also appeared in recital throughout her career. A Conservatory biography from the 1920s includes newspaper reviews of Throne’s performances, and a review from Bowling Green, Kentucky, demonstrates that she performed outside of Tennessee as well as on campus and around the city.<sup>551</sup> Like many other music instructors, Throne had an extended tenure at the school, where she taught until Ward-Belmont dissolved in 1952.

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<sup>550</sup> *Ward-Belmont Conservatory of Music Catalog*, 1927-28 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont, 1927), 27-28.

<sup>551</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

Mary Venable Blythe, Sophie Gieske-Berry, and Buda Love Maxwell were also former Belmont music professors who continued to teach at Ward-Belmont. Unlike many of the other faculty, Blythe had not studied in Europe, but had graduated from the Montgomery Institute in Alabama and pursued additional harmony studies with American professors. She came to Belmont College as a “Superintendent of Practice” in 1912, and continued at Ward-Belmont as an instructor of Piano and Sight Singing until 1942.<sup>552</sup> Like Alice Leftwich and Amelie Throne, Blythe remained single throughout her career, and their biographies model the new professional women of the twentieth century, who pursued careers in the field they loved—music and teaching—rather than seeking the traditional path of marriage and family. These women were joined by many other female faculty members at Ward-Belmont over the years, and together they provided a progressive, liberated role model for the students. Although in some ways Ward-Belmont sought to promote antebellum and traditional ideals of the feminine sphere and women’s place in society, the faculty they employed offered the students alternate examples and inspiration. Many Ward-Belmont graduates followed in their teacher’s footsteps, some teaching at Ward-Belmont, and others pursuing musical careers at other schools and in other areas.

Less information is available about Mrs. Sophie Gieske-Berry, another piano instructor who had come to Belmont College by 1905 and only remained until 1915. She was a graduate of the Munich Conservatory of Music, where she had continued to study piano upon graduation.<sup>553</sup> Beyond this, it is evident that she was married and yet pursued a career in music, although it is not clear whether she continued to teach after leaving

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<sup>552</sup> *Ward-Belmont Conservatory of Music Catalog*, 1927-28, 49.

<sup>553</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1913-1914, 10.

Ward-Belmont. Pianist Buda Love Maxwell was also married, as is evident from a mention in the 1912 Belmont College yearbook, which notes that “Mrs. Buda Love Maxwell” directed the MacDowell Club at the school.<sup>554</sup> Maxwell had come to Belmont in 1912, and remained at Ward-Belmont until 1926. Her resume is similar to many of the other instructors; she had graduated from the New England Conservatory and studied with Harold Bauer, among other pianists in America and Paris.<sup>555</sup> Marguerite Palmiter Forrest was another married faculty member who taught voice. She had come to Belmont in 1912, and remained at Ward-Belmont through 1920. Forrest also had European training, having pursued further education in Berlin after studying in New York and Boston, and there is evidence that she continued her teaching career after leaving Ward-Belmont.<sup>556</sup> A 1924 program from the Illinois Women’s College Madrigal Club lists Marguerite Palmiter-Forrest as the director, and this was surely the same instructor who taught voice at Ward-Belmont.<sup>557</sup> No further evidence about Forrest’s career is available.

As married women, Gieske-Berry, Maxwell, and Forrest were pioneers in pursuing both a career and a family. One of the largest complaints about female higher education during the later nineteenth century was the fact that many career women did not get married, or that those who did decide to marry left their jobs upon marriage, perhaps because of concerns about future pregnancy and the complications that might

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<sup>554</sup> *Milady In Brown*, 1912 (Nashville, TN: Belmont College for Young Women, 1912), 146.

<sup>555</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1913-1914, 10. Harold Bauer (1873-1951) was a famous pianist and teacher who born in England but spent most of his career in the United States. In addition to numerous concert tours and close association with French composers of his day, Bauer was the Head of the Piano Department at the Manhattan School of Music.

<sup>556</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>557</sup> “Illinois Women’s College, College of Music” Program, *Illinois Harvests Database*, <http://illinoisharvest.grainger.illinois.edu/moreinfo.asp?recordID=583871&collID=2737&collname=Traveling%2520Culture%253A%2520Circuit%2520Chautauqua%2520in%2520the%2520Twentieth%2520Century&newsearch=1&searchtype=collectioncontent>, accessed September 2, 2013.

cause.<sup>558</sup> Therefore, these Ward-Belmont faculty members served as yet another type of role model for Ward-Belmont students—married women who continued their career path for several years after marriage. More opportunities were opening for women in academic and professional careers, and Ward-Belmont faculty members were quickly embracing many of those new options.

Two additional Ward-Belmont music faculty members who had not taught at either Ward’s Seminary or Belmont College, pianist Bertha Yocum and vocalist Elise Graziani, were employed by the school in 1913. Little information is provided about their careers in the 1913 catalog, although like nearly all of the school’s music faculty members, they had studied in Europe and possessed excellent musical credentials. Further research yields a few details about these women, including a mention of Bertha Yocum in the *Kansas City Journal* of September 24, 1897, where she is listed as a participant in a recital in which she played Carl Bohm’s piano piece *Messengers of Spring*.<sup>559</sup> It is likely that this is the same Yocum who later taught in Nashville, although no proof exists. More evidence of Yocum’s career is found in the *Musical Blue Book of America, Volume 4*, published in 1919. Here “Miss Bertha Yocum” is listed as a concert pianist, and the resume provided matches that given in the 1913 Ward-Belmont catalog. In addition, the *Blue Book* notes that Yocum is a piano and theory teacher as well as a composer and the director of a Summer Normal Course in Piano at Our Lady of the Lake in San Antonio.<sup>560</sup> It seems that Miss Yocum continued her musical career after leaving Nashville, and a Library of Congress listing of recent compositions substantiates the

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<sup>558</sup> See Pamela Roby, “Women and American Higher Education.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 404 (November 1972): 122; Mary Ann Pethel, “Athens of the South,” 97, 140.

<sup>559</sup> *Kansas City Journal*, September 24, 1897 (Chronicling America), [www.chroniclingamerica.com](http://www.chroniclingamerica.com), accessed September 2, 2013.

<sup>560</sup> *Musical Blue Book of America, Vol. 4* (Philadelphia: John C Watson Publishing Co., 1919), 309.

claim that she wrote music. In the Catalog of Musical Copyright entries for 1912, Bertha Yocum is listed as the composer of “My Early Home,” a song with lyrics by John Clare.<sup>561</sup> Little further evidence is available on Graziani’s career, but it seems that she continued to teach after leaving Ward-Belmont, and was probably the same Elise Graziani who served as vocal instructor at the Miami Conservatory in the 1920s and 1930s.

This brief summary shows that all of the faculty members at Ward-Belmont during its first year of existence had received a thorough music education, and most of them studied in Europe with famous teachers and musicians. In addition, many of them pursued active performing and teaching careers throughout their lives, which demonstrates the high level of professionalism sought at the school. Ward-Belmont students, in turn, were encouraged to seek high levels of musical attainment, technically, artistically, and academically, and many of them did both in pedagogical and performance careers.

Throughout the 1910s, Ward-Belmont’s music faculty changed as some instructors left and new ones were hired, although many teachers remained for many years. In the school’s second year, the only new faculty members were Bessie Smith (presumably not the jazz singer), and Florence N. Boyer, a vocal instructor. Smith was a 1909 graduate of Belmont College who had studied piano under Eduoard Hesselberg and served on the Glee Club Council, and was thus another former graduate who went on to teach at her alma mater.<sup>562</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> *Copyright Entries: Part 3: Musical Compositions*, 7, no. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), 727.

<sup>562</sup> *Milady in Brown*, 1909 (Nashville, TN: Belmont College for Young Women, 1909)

Florence Boyer, on the other hand, had graduated from the Cincinnati Conservatory and studied in Italy, Paris, and Munich before coming to Ward-Belmont. According to *The Scroll of Phi Delta Theta*, vol. 30, Boyer had taught voice at Southwestern University in Texas prior to 1906.<sup>563</sup> While in Nashville, it seems that Boyer also helped to conduct the Vanderbilt Glee Club, as the *Vanderbilt University Quarterly* of May 1914, notes. Here, in a review of the Glee Club's final concert at the Vendome Theater, it is recorded that "the Club was under the direction of Miss Florence N. Boyer, of Ward-Belmont, and Mr. Earl McGarvey, of Vanderbilt."<sup>564</sup> No mention is made here of Ward-Belmont girls participating in the event, so perhaps Boyer's aid was solicited upon her merits as a vocalist and teacher. Further evidence of Boyer's continued career in music exists in an obituary found *The Canton Repository* (Canton, Ohio), for February 24, 1969. The newspaper describes "Florence Nightengale Boyer" as a "noted pianist and teacher of voice" who had taught for several years in Canton after stints at Southwestern University and Ward-Belmont. No mention is made of a husband or a married name, so Boyer must have remained single and pursued a career throughout her life, serving as yet another example of a career woman teaching music at Ward-Belmont.<sup>565</sup>

The next year, 1915, saw the addition of Ida Stark Koekler, a piano instructor who had matriculated at the Leipzig Conservatory as well as studying under Leopold Godowsky and Leschetizky. Her tenure at the school was relatively short-lived, for she left the faculty lists in 1918. Browne Martin, an instructor of Theory, Harmony, Ear

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<sup>563</sup> *The Scroll of Phi Delta Theta*, vol. 30 (Manassas, VA: George Bantam Publishing Co., 1906), 70.

<sup>564</sup> *Vanderbilt University Quarterly*, 14, no. 1 (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, 1914), 127.

<sup>565</sup> "Obituary, *Canton Repository*, February 24, 1969, *RootsWeb*, <http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/PAVENANG/2001-09/0999478851>, accessed September 3, 2013.

Training, and History, as well as his wife Helen Yates-Martin, who taught voice, also joined the faculty in 1915. Mr. Martin had studied in Leipzig after graduating from Bucknell, while Mrs. Martin pursued her musical education at the Pennsylvania College of Music.<sup>566</sup>

The next major change to the music faculty at Ward-Belmont came in the fall of 1917, when Emil and Mary Winkler both departed. Mr. Winkler's replacement was Edouard Potjes, a Dutch composer who immigrated to the United States in 1917 to flee World War I. The Ward-Belmont position, which Potjes only held for two years, must have been his first job in the country, and served as a transitional period before he settled in Seattle in 1922. Potjes had studied with Ferdinand Hiller and Franz Liszt at the Cologne Conservatory, and then had a distinguished career as a virtuoso pianist and composer as well as teaching piano, harmony and composition in Europe and the United States.<sup>567</sup> Potjes' credentials make him an important part of Ward-Belmont history, although his stay was quite short. The hiring of an international performer who had studied with and taught the best in Europe demonstrates Ward-Belmont's desire to provide professional first-class instruction to their students.

Another change was made to the Ward-Belmont faculty in January of 1918 when Kenneth Rose, an instructor of violin who contributed both artistic and academic skills to the Ward-Belmont community from 1918-1952, joined the faculty.<sup>568</sup> Before arriving in Nashville, Rose had studied in the United States and Europe with eminent pedagogues

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<sup>566</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1915-1916, 11.

<sup>567</sup> "Preliminary Guide to the Edouard Potjes Papers, circa 1927-1931," *University Libraries, University of Washington*, <http://digital.lib.washington.edu/findingaids/view?docId=PotjesEdouard2753.xml>, accessed September 3, 2013.

<sup>568</sup> A year and a half later, in the fall of 1919, Rose's wife, Hazel Coates Rose, was also employed by Ward-Belmont as an instructor of piano. She also remained at the school until it was dissolved.

such as Arthur Hartman in Paris and Leopold Auer in Chicago. After a stint as a professor and as concertmaster of the Philharmonic in his hometown of Indianapolis, Rose arrived at Ward-Belmont early in 1918 as a replacement for the recently deceased Fritz Schmitz.<sup>569</sup> During his time at the school, Rose greatly increased the scope of the orchestra, which continued to serve as Nashville's pre-eminent ensemble until the formation of the current Nashville Symphony in 1946. Numerous school publications note Rose's contributions to the Ward-Belmont orchestra, such as the 1928 *Milestones*, which provides a description and review of the ensemble. According to the yearbook, by that time the Ward-Belmont orchestra was "one of the best known school ensembles in the country," and included both students and "amateurs and young professionals of Nashville." Rose had "further developed" the ensemble beyond what Schmitz had done, and the group possessed an extensive repertoire ranging from symphonic movements to popular pieces.<sup>570</sup> Extant programs testify to these claims, as discussed above in the section on Musical Life at Ward-Belmont. In addition to teaching violin and leading the orchestra, Rose undertook considerable historical research during his years in Nashville. This work culminated in the manuscript *Pioneer Nashville, Its Songs and Tunes, 1790-1860*, which provides a wealth of information on musical activities in the city during that period. With such an interest in historical research and musicology, Rose was able to enrich the musical experiences of the students he taught and conducted, as well as helping them to more fully understand and perform the music they studied. This thorough grounding in historical topics is yet another indicator of the well-rounded music education offered to Ward-Belmont students.

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<sup>569</sup> *Ward-Belmont School Conservatory of Music Catalog*, 1927-1928, 43.

<sup>570</sup> *Milestones*, 1928 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont College, 1928), 115.

In the fall of 1918, the departure of Charles Washburn and the death of Fritz Schmitz left holes in the Ward-Belmont music faculty, and the replacements hired by the school are quite notable. One of them, Signore Gaetano Salvatore de Luca, an Italian vocalist whose resume was even more impressive than his name, was hired to take over the vocal department at Ward-Belmont. His previous studies included two years under Chevalier Alfred Sermiento, Caruso's coach, and he had trained with many of the leading vocal pedagogues in Italy and New York.<sup>571</sup> While at the school, de Luca worked doggedly to improve the music department, even arranging for Ward-Belmont to air Nashville's first live radio broadcast in 1924, a program which played Caruso recordings narrated by de Luca himself.<sup>572</sup> He also coordinated ground-breaking student performances, such as a fully staged rendition of Mascagni's *Cavallierira Rusticana* in 1927, a production which used eighty different singers and dancers from the school and the city. This event, held at the Ryman Auditorium, far out-stripped any previous operas or musicals presented by the school, with its thirty-member orchestra and a sold out auditorium. Had de Luca and his ambitious dreams remained at Ward-Belmont for long, it is hard to tell how large the music department might have become. The next year, however, de Luca left the school in order to start a new Nashville Conservatory of Music, a grand scheme that succeeded briefly before collapsing with the Great Depression and de Luca's death in 1936.<sup>573</sup> Yet despite his brief tenure at the school and his later affiliation with a rival institution, de Luca left a lasting impression on Ward-Belmont. In addition to his legacy of grand performances and radio programs, many of his students went on to pursue careers in music, including Helen Todd Sloan, who taught voice at

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<sup>571</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1918-1919, 11.

<sup>572</sup> Shadinger, *Music at Belmont College and Ward-Belmont*, 10.

<sup>573</sup> Ingram and Kellogg, *Apollo's Struggle*, 141-47.

Ward-Belmont from 1920-1926. De Luca's affiliation with Caruso and his influence on the international music scene also brought Ward-Belmont's music department much exposure and undoubtedly drew new students to the school, as well as providing excellent opportunities for graduates.

This brief overview of the music faculty employed by Ward-Belmont during its first eight years shows the importance placed on quality instruction by the school administration. The students of Ward-Belmont were not merely being groomed to beautify parlors with "pretty" piano music. Instead, they were trained as complete musicians, able to play technically and artistically challenging pieces as well as to analyze these pieces and understand the history behind them. The prestige and experience of the school's faculty gave students exposure to world-class performance and instruction within a safe and genteel Southern environment, bringing a "New Woman" educational experience to the comfortable realm of Southern society.

#### Music Curriculum at Ward-Belmont

The 1919-1920 catalog for Ward-Belmont provides information about materials used for music courses, as well as lists of technical and artistic requirements for diplomas and certificates in each performance emphasis. In order to obtain either a Certificate or Diploma, students not only had to meet rigorous technical and performance demands, but also to possess a solid background in harmony, music history, sight-singing, and pedagogy. In addition, graduating students had to complete an examination before the faculty, and a two-thirds vote by faculty members was required for the student to pass. These exams included stringent technical requirements; the piano requirements are listed below:

*Technic*—Major scales played with both hands in parallel motion through four octaves (minimum speed, 4 notes to M. M. 112); Thirds, Sixths, and Tenths, and contrary motion (speed, 4 notes to M. M. 100).

2. Minor Scales: Harmonic and Melodic, played with both hands in parallel motion (speed, 4 notes to M. M. 100).

3. Scale of “C,” illustrating varied rhythms and legato, staccato, and portamento touches.

4. Chords: Major, Minor, and Diminished Triads, Dominant and Diminished Sevenths, all with added octaves.

5. Arpeggios in various forms on Major and Minor Triads; Dominant and Diminished Seventh Chords.

6. Double Thirds: Major Scales (each hand alone).

7. Octaves: Diatonic and Chromatic Scales; all Tonic Triads.<sup>574</sup>

These requirements are comparable to college technique and scale exams at many schools today, and the metronome markings for four-octave major and minor scales demonstrate the high degree of technical agility required of Ward-Belmont’s students.<sup>575</sup>

The chord and arpeggio routines are comparable to those found in many technique books of the time, such as the famous method written by Charles-Louise Hanon, and the inclusion of double thirds is particularly notable, for this technique is only required in extremely advanced repertoire. A high level of technical performance was definitely required of students at Ward-Belmont in 1920.

Following the guidelines for technique, information is provided about the repertoire demanded of students for a certificate or diploma in their applied area of study.

For a piano Certificate, an impressive list of pieces must have been studied during the student’s career at Ward-Belmont: “Four complete Sonatas, fifteen Cramer studies, twelve Bach Inventions, at least four of them three-part; twelve Czerny studies; eight

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<sup>574</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 48.

<sup>575</sup> For instance, see the School of Arts “Manual for Undergraduate Studies” at Samford University, 2012 (Samford University: Birmingham, AL, 2012), 13. Here, level 6 of 6 regular levels of technical exams requires students to perform four octaves scales in sixteenth-notes with a metronome marking of quarter note: 104, several clicks under the speed required for Ward-Belmont students. Two additional levels, 6P and 7P, for performance majors only, require students to complete four-octave scales in thirds, sixths, and tenths with a metronome marking of quarter note: 104 and 120, respectively. Arpeggios in octaves are also required for these levels.

Chopin preludes; four selections from Schubert; four of Mendelssohn's "Songs Without Words;" four modern or semi-classical pieces."<sup>576</sup> For the Certificates Examination, which was performed in two parts held in February and May, students had to perform both memorized and un-memorized literature selected from this list. The un-memorized portion consisted of "one complete Sonata; one movement of a Sonata, to have been prepared without any assistance; two polyphonic pieces, one of them a three-part invention; one Cramer study; one Chopin study; one Chopin prelude; one selection from Schumann; one Czerny study; one of Mendelssohn's "Songs Without Words."<sup>577</sup> One can imagine the poor girls of Ward-Belmont furiously practicing for these exams, particular concerned about the Sonata movements prepared with no help from professors or friends. Just as modern college students commiserate during "Jury week," so these young women must have suffered great anxiety as the impending day of the examinations drew near.

For the Certificates Exams, students were required to perform a much smaller program by memory; only one Sonata movement, one Bach invention, and four modern or semi-classical pieces were performed. However, this would still make a rather sizable program, as a Sonata movement might last as long as ten minutes, and altogether students surely performed as much as thirty minutes by memory. This would be equivalent to the half-recital that is required of Music Education majors at many modern Universities, and represents considerably less than what was asked of those seeking a Diploma in an applied performance area.

The final requirement for a Diploma in Piano was sight-reading, which asked the student to sight-read hymns, one part of a Clementi or Diabelli duet Sonatina of

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<sup>576</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 48.

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid*, 49.

“moderate difficulty,” and accompaniment parts for “moderately difficult” vocal or violin solos. This demonstrates the functional skills learned by students at Ward-Belmont, which might be used throughout their lives as musicians. Even those students who did not pursue further musical study or a career in music would surely be called upon to play the piano at church, or to accompany a friend who desired to sing at a small gathering. These practical skills would also come in handy for those who might become music teachers, for choral singing and piano accompaniment are always needed in music departments.

In order to achieve a Diploma in Piano, students were required to perform a larger selection of memorized and un-memorized pieces. For instance, rather than a Sonata movement prepared without assistance, Diploma candidates had to prepare an entire Sonata on their own. The Bach requirement for un-memorized repertoire was a fugue or a difficult movement from a Suite, rather than an invention. Other un-memorized pieces include a Chopin selection, a work by Schumann, a study by Czerny or Gradus, a Moscheles piece, a work by Liszt, and a “modern or semi-classical” piece. Diploma students were then asked to perform, from memory, a concerto movement; an entire Sonata; a Bach Prelude and Fugue or two difficult movements from a Bach Suite; a Chopin work; a piece by Schumann; and *six* “modern or semi-classical” pieces. This demonstrates a very high level of performance, and could last an hour or more, which would make it more than equivalent to an hour-long solo recital. Ward-Belmont students who received a Diploma in an applied area of study thus received musical training comparable to that received by students who earn a Bachelor’s degree in music at many modern Universities. Although the general coursework may not have been the same as

that required by four-year liberal arts colleges, the music department provided extremely advanced and thorough training in performance, technique, and overall musicianship.

The vocal department had its own set of technical, performance, and sight-reading requirements for Certificate and Diploma students. In order to pass the technical portion, each student had to perform “Major and Minor Scales; Major and Minor Arpeggios; scales, crescendo and diminuendo; crescendo and diminuendo on single tones; illustrations of legato and staccato singing; scales in triplets.” To earn a diploma, students had to complete additional technical exercises, including scales in various intervals, series of descending turns, and trills.<sup>578</sup> As with Ward’s Seminary, this emphasis on technical studies is indicative of the importance many nineteenth-century pedagogues placed upon exercises and vocalizes, yet Ward-Belmont voice students did perform large amounts of repertoire as well. The Course of Study for Certificate students included studies by several vocal composers, including Vaccai, as well as “two operas, two oratorios, [and] ten songs from the Italian, French, German, and English schools.” Singers were then judged upon their breathing, diction, and tone. Sight-reading was also part of vocal studies, with hymns and songs without “distant modulations” being used for this purpose. Vocalists even had to sight-read hymns and easy accompaniment parts at the keyboard, and to have completed at least the third grade in piano studies, in order to graduate.<sup>579</sup>

As with pianists, vocal certificate and diploma students were required to perform both memorized and un-memorized repertoire. To earn a Certificate, un-memorized repertoire included several vocal studies, selections from an opera and an oratorio, and

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<sup>578</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 49, 52.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

two songs. The student also had to perform both an opera and an oratorio selection and eight complete songs from memory. For the Diploma Examination, the memorized repertoire included ten songs along with the opera and oratorio selections, which would be equivalent to at least an hour of music performed by memory.

Violin Certificates and Diplomas required the same type of studies and examinations. Students had to complete technical work including the performance of two and three-octave major scales and two-octave minor scales, arpeggios in two and three octaves with various bowings, and scales played with varied articulation and dynamics. Technical methods by Henry Schradieck (1846-1918) and Otakar Sevcik (1852-1934) were also used. Both of these men were influential violinists and pedagogues who taught and performed throughout Europe and the United States. No specific details are given about which of Schradieck's collections of violin studies were used at Ward-Belmont, but the catalog does list Sevcik's *School of Bowing Technique*, Op. 2, vol. II (1905). This brief volume presents a compendium of bowing styles, including simple détaché, staccato, martelé, slurred staccato, and extremely long slurred passages. The studies require the student to possess a fairly high level of bowing proficiency in order to perform them successfully, and serve as an excellent preparation for much of the standard violin repertoire.<sup>580</sup> An impressive list of violin compositions was required by the course of study, including a complete Sonata by Nardini, Tartini, or another classical composer; a main movement of a concerto; four other classical pieces or sonata movements; "ten smaller concert pieces"; and additional technical studies. As with piano and vocal candidates, sight-reading was required for violin students, as well as technical studies by

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<sup>580</sup> Otakar Ševčík, *School of Bowing Technique*, Op. 2, vol. II (London; New York; Paris: 1901).

Kreutzer, Mazas, and Dont.<sup>581</sup> The violin curriculum once again places great emphasis upon technical work to prepare students to perform some of the great repertoire written for the instrument.

The memorized repertoire for Violin Certificate Examinations consisted of a Sonata movement; a Concerto movement; and four “modern or semi-classical pieces.” The un-memorized repertoire included a complete Sonata; a Sonata movement prepared without assistance; two additional “standard pieces”; two studies, and three “smaller pieces of concert grade.” The Diploma Exam called for an additional ten “concert pieces” performed by memory, as well as specifying a Bach Sonata and offering limited choices for the memorized Concerto movement. The un-memorized repertoire for a Diploma Exam was also more difficult, and a complete Sonata was required to be learned without assistance. Sight-reading was another component of both these exams, just as it was with the piano and voice exams, and technical requirements matched those listed under the course of study for violin performance.

Certificates and Diplomas in Pipe Organ were also available, which demonstrates the gradual movement of female musicians out of the domestic sphere and into the public arena. The pipe organ is a decidedly public instrument, with its size and cost rendering it nearly impossible for a private home, and girls who studied the pipe organ were often preparing for future careers as church organists or organ teachers. The course of study and examination guidelines closely resemble those described for the other instruments. The technical requirements for organ studies are the same as those for piano students, although scales and arpeggios are adapted to the range of the organ, and “the minimum speed for special technic is considerably lowered.” Repertoire consisted of Bach Preludes

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<sup>581</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 50.

and Fugues; classical and “modern” sonatas; and selections from Eddy’s *Church and Concert Organist* (1885), which is a collection of baroque and classical repertoire arranged in three volumes. As stated in the title, the pieces in this collection would benefit the church organist, with several wedding standards and preludes appropriate for worship services being included. One further qualification for organ pupils was advanced harmony training, which not only included major and minor modes, but basic understanding of triads and seventh chords and their inversions; the ability to realize a figured bass as well as to modulate between keys; aural training; and transposition. The sheer practicality of this instruction once again shows Ward-Belmont students anticipating a musical career in the public sphere as church or city organists.

The examination for a Pipe Organ Certificate contained considerably less repertoire than those for piano or violin students. Only one memorized composition was required, while two Bach Preludes and Fugues; an individually-prepared Sonata movement; and three standard compositions were to be performed with music. To earn a Diploma, students had to perform an additional memorized composition and to independently prepare an entire Sonata.<sup>582</sup>

All of the Certificates and Diplomas described above also required students to have completed at least one year of Music History, a year of Ear-training and Solfege, and a year of study in Music Pedagogy. These courses were designed to produce educated and well-rounded musicians capable not only of technical performances, but of making informed artistic decisions and possibly serving as music educators. In the section following the description of applied music lessons, the Catalog lists more specific information about Theoretical and Historical coursework.

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<sup>582</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 51, 54.

Two theory courses were offered at Ward-Belmont, simply titled “Theory Course I” and “Theory Course II.” Additional classes in Harmony were also offered, which discussed more advanced theoretical topics. The first Theory course was a remedial introduction to “necessary rudimentary knowledge” of basic theory concepts some students may not have learned before attending Ward-Belmont. Both keyboard and blackboard were used to teach “Notation, Signs, Scale Formation, Keys, Meter, Rhythm, Intervals, Terms, etc.” and the textbook *Tapper’s First Year Theory* was used. This book begins with a definition of tone and tonal ranges, and then continues to discuss keys and scales, reading music, solfege, musical terminology, and the process of notating music.<sup>583</sup> This introductory class only met for two 30-minute periods per week, and was intended for students without previous musical study.

The second theory course continued the subjects begun in the first course and was aimed at “more mature students” who had not yet seriously studied theory. The subject matter extended beyond the basics of the first course and included ornamentation, orchestral instruments, and the elements of musical form. Marvott’s *Essentials of Music* is listed as the textbook for this course, but this seems to have been a mistake, as no evidence exists of such a book. However, it is obvious that this course complimented the rudimentary first course and laid a foundation for more advanced theoretical studies.

Next the Catalog outlines the Ear Training and Solfege curriculum. As with the theory classes, the ear training classes were divided into two courses that meet for 30

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<sup>583</sup> Thomas Tapper, *First Year Musical Theory (Rudiments of Music)* (Boston: A. P. Schmidt, 1912), *HathiTrust Digital Library*, [http://firstsearch.oclc.org.ezproxy.uky.edu/WebZ/FSPage?pagetype=return\\_frameset:sessionid=fsapp2-45756-hlez0yr5-86e211:entitypagenum=4:0:entityframedurl=http%3A%2F%2Fcatalog.hathitrust.org%2Fapi%2Fvolumes%2Foclc%2F1350142.html:entityframedtitle=WorldCat:entityframedtimeout=20:entityopenTitle=:entityopenAuthor=:entityopenNumber=:](http://firstsearch.oclc.org.ezproxy.uky.edu/WebZ/FSPage?pagetype=return_frameset:sessionid=fsapp2-45756-hlez0yr5-86e211:entitypagenum=4:0:entityframedurl=http%3A%2F%2Fcatalog.hathitrust.org%2Fapi%2Fvolumes%2Foclc%2F1350142.html:entityframedtitle=WorldCat:entityframedtimeout=20:entityopenTitle=:entityopenAuthor=:entityopenNumber=:), accessed September 8, 2013.

minutes per week. These courses aimed “to teach the pupil to think in tones” in order to be able to sight-sing fluently and to take musical dictation with ease. The first course began with notation and recognition of intervals, and then continued to dictation studies in various rhythms and keys; transcribing music containing simple modulation; and exercises in one and two parts. The next semester continued on to recognition of major and minor triads; dictation containing chromatics and modulation, compound meters, and complex rhythms; and sight-singing included various sevenths and altered intervals. These courses are fully equal to any Aural Theory classes taught to undergraduate music majors at contemporary universities, and prepared Ward-Belmont students for advanced vocal and instrumental studies, as well as giving them the skills to play by ear and transpose music both at home and in the public sphere.

Eight Harmony courses were offered beyond the introductory theory classes described above. These began with “Beginning Harmony” course for students who had already completed the theory classes. This course, which met for two hours per week and used *Tapper’s First Year Theory*, addressed scales and keys; intervals and chords; ear-training; modulation and transposition; and basic keyboard skills which allowed students to make practical use of theory concepts.

Intermediate Harmony, a three-hour class, was required for all Certificate students in music. It covered chords, intervals, and inversions; dominant and diminished Seventh-chords; cadences; modulation; and four-part harmonic writing. The class, which used George Chadwick’s *Harmony: A Course of Study* (1897) as a text, was especially focused upon harmonizing a melody line, while figured bass, keyboard exercises, and harmonic analysis were also addressed. Chadwick’s book was also consulted in the Advanced

Harmony class, and it covers all of these topics in 72 short chapters complete with numerous musical examples and diagrams.<sup>584</sup> Many first-year college theory courses of the present day still cover these same topics, and this once again demonstrates the advanced level of music instruction at Ward-Belmont.

The Advanced Harmony class, required for all Diploma students, continued beyond the basic harmony courses to include ninth-chords and altered chords, augmented chords, passing tones, form and analysis, and other more advanced topics. According to the catalog, “The work consists of written exercises involving the harmonization of melodies, chorales, figured and un-figured basses; the contrapuntal treatment of a given subject; original work and analysis of material from the great composers.”<sup>585</sup> In addition to consulting Chadwick’s book and several other “treatises” throughout the semester, Advanced Harmony used Arthur Foote and Walter Spalding’s book *Modern Harmony In Its Theory and Practice* as the main text. This manual covered the topics listed in the school Catalog, as well as including numerous musical examples—both excerpts from actual pieces and contrived theory examples—and harmonic exercises for students.<sup>586</sup> Such exercises gave students practical experience with the concepts they were learning, which seems to have been a major focus of the Ward-Belmont music department.

Other Harmony classes included Harmonic Analysis; Counterpoint; Advanced Counterpoint; Elementary Composition; and Canon and Fugue. All of these classes met for two hours per week, and seem to have built upon one another, since the previous

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<sup>584</sup> George W. Chadwick, *Harmony: A Course of Study* (Boston: F. H. Gilson, 1897), *International Musical Score Library Project*, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Harmony:\\_A\\_Course\\_of\\_Study\\_%28Chadwick,\\_George\\_Whitefield%29](http://imslp.org/wiki/Harmony:_A_Course_of_Study_%28Chadwick,_George_Whitefield%29), accessed September 9, 2013.

<sup>585</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 56.

<sup>586</sup> Arthur Foote and Walter Spalding, *Modern Harmony in its Theory and Practice* (Boston; Leipzig; New York: Arthur P. Schmidt, 1905). *Internet Archive*, <http://archive.org/details/modernharmonyini002690mbp>, accessed September 9, 2013.

course is always a prerequisite for advancing to the next course. Students who completed all five of these courses would be familiar with basic harmonic usage; musical forms; species and free counterpoint; complex and modern counterpoint; and compositional techniques. The emphasis upon composition in the last two courses—Elementary Composition and Canon and Fugue—is especially notable for an all-girls school. Both of these course descriptions note that compositions of “sufficient merit” will be performed publicly, offering female students an opportunity to have their works performed that had not been available to women just a few years before. The Canon and Fugue course, in particular, introduced female composers to the “complex forms of instrumental and vocal composition,” thus breaking any old stereotypes of compositions by women being restricted to light and simple forms such as romantic ballads and frivolous dances for piano. Instead, the young women of Ward-Belmont were encouraged to venture into some of the most complex and structured compositional forms found in Western music. These courses are therefore indicative of an educational environment in which women were considered capable of academic and artistic achievement and worthy of their professor’s respect.

The last type of music classes discussed in the 1919-1920 Catalog are Music History courses. Three such courses were offered: Course I and Course II in Music History as well as “Course A,” which was a general Music Appreciation course for non-music students. Although the Music History courses seem paltry compared to the array of applied studies and theory courses, the fact that they were offered at all shows that the music faculty of Ward-Belmont was abreast of current trends. Musicology was just beginning to be accepted as a discipline in the United States in the early twentieth-

century, and the first musicology professors were not employed by American universities until around 1930, so any music history courses were relatively new and undeveloped in 1920. By having the opportunity to study the history and evolution of music, no matter how general the courses were, Ward-Belmont girls were offered knowledge and experience many musicians of the time did not have access to.

The first Music History course for music students was “a general survey of the evolution of music history from earliest times to the end of the nineteenth century,” with a special emphasis placed upon classical-period composers. Lectures, assigned reading, and writing exercises were all part of the course, and it was to cover “Pre-Christian Music; the Christian Era to the Contrapuntal Schools; from Lasso and Palestrina to Handel and Bach; the Contrapuntal, Classical, [and] Romantic schools of Composition.” The main textbook was Clarence Hamilton’s *Outlines of Music History* (1908), which was aimed at both the general public and music students and features musical examples, chapter summaries, and a chronology at the back of the volume. Its nearly 300 pages start with a chapter discussing “Alien Musical Systems,” which was an early term used to refer to various types of world music studies by ethnomusicologists. Everything other than Western tonality is lumped into this section, which covered only 25 short pages. The rest of the book covers the history of Western music, beginning in the medieval period and ending with “recent and contemporary composers.”<sup>587</sup> Comparable introductory courses are offered for freshman music students at many universities today.

The second Music History course was a continuation of the first semester, and was itself divided into two parts. The first part dealt with the great composers of the

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<sup>587</sup> Clarence G. Hamilton, *Outlines of Music History*, revised and enlarged (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1908).

nineteenth century and their music as well as the “tendencies of present-day musical art,” while the second half discussed opera and contemporary composition. In-depth consideration of the musical forms and aesthetics of great composers was offered, and a Victrola and Duo-Art Pianola (a reproducing piano), were used for musical examples.<sup>588</sup> Both of these were rather new technologies, having only been in general use for a few years, and their adoption for academic purposes at Ward-Belmont demonstrates the innovative focus of the school faculty. Ward-Belmont students were exposed to both time-honored musical instruction and modern currents in music technology and composition, thus preparing them for careers in the changing musical landscape of the twentieth century.

The Music Appreciation course was an overview of musical styles from Bach to the twentieth century, and was “designed to enable the general student to understand and enjoy the highest type of musical literature through a knowledge of the aesthetic and psychological principles involved...”<sup>589</sup> The course used Daniel Mason’s *Appreciation of Music*, which offers an overview of music, beginning with a brief discussion of form, and then progressing from folk music to Bach, Beethoven and more “modern” composers in later volumes. Although the course only provided a brief summary of music history, the existence of an Introduction to Music Course for non-music students shows the liberal arts philosophy of Ward-Belmont, as well as the resemblance between the music department at the school in 1920 and the music department of many later colleges and universities. Musical studies at Ward-Belmont were a serious endeavor, with technical, theoretical, historical, and artistic concepts all being taught and practiced.

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<sup>588</sup> *Ward-Belmont Catalog*, 1919-1920, 57-8.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

This thorough training prepared students to function as capable musicians in a changing world. Many Ward-Belmont music students went on to be involved in music either as a career or as amateurs throughout their lives. Students such as Mary Martin and Grace Moore pursued careers in performance, while others such as Kathryn Kirkham and Sarah Jeter, a dance instructor at Ward-Belmont, went on to become music teachers. Other Ward-Belmont graduates became active in Nashville's musical life, such as Margaret Wemyss O'Connor, who attended the school in the 1930s, earned a Music degree from Pine Manor Junior College in Tennessee, and served as a violinist in the Nashville Symphony for several years.<sup>590</sup> Another graduate from the 1930s, Corinne Myers Lewis, participated in the "triad club" as a student, and went on to pursue careers as a singer and a teacher upon graduation.<sup>591</sup> Although information about every music student who graduated from Ward-Belmont is not available, these names and stories give us an idea of the myriad ways in which Ward-Belmont girls used their musical training. Unlike graduates of the Nashville Female Academy, and even those who graduated from Ward's Seminary, Ward-Belmont students were given numerous opportunities to use their training and skills as professional musicians, both as teachers and performers. The education they received at Ward-Belmont prepared them for these careers by giving them training in technique and artistry, music theory, composition, and even music history. The school produced well-rounded musicians who were ready to embrace the role of "New Women" in a continually changing society.

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<sup>590</sup> "Obituary," *The Tennessean*, Nashville, TN, December 9, 2012; *Proquest*, accessed July 1, 2013.

<sup>591</sup> *Milestones*, 1936 (Nashville, TN: Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies, 1936), 129; "Obituary," *The Tennessean*, Nashville, TN, January 30, 2011; *Proquest*, accessed July 1, 2013.

## Chapter Seven: Conclusions

Southern society changed drastically from 1816 until 1920. The Civil War led to the destruction of many family's livelihoods and left many homes without fathers and brothers. After the War, the South's agrarian economy suffered due to the general effects of the conflict and the reluctance of many white Southerners to modify their way of life to keep pace with the changing times. During this era, women's place in society was similarly altered, with females obtaining new rights and responsibilities in the changing culture. Many women were forced to support themselves and possibly their families for the first time, and female education responded to these demands with a new emphasis on teacher education. Female music education changed along with everything else, and the musical training offered at schools for middle and upper-class Southern women evolved from mere "ornamental" programs designed to prepare students for a future as proper Southern Ladies into a professionalized course of study designed to train competent musicians, teachers, and performers for future careers. This professionalization continued in the early twentieth century, when WWI brought even more independence and responsibility to Southern women as their fathers and husbands once again marched off to war.

At the time the Nashville Female Academy was established in 1816, Nashville itself was just leaving behind its frontier status and emerging as a leader in the culture, education, and politics of American South. Throughout the antebellum period, the young women who attended the Female Academy came largely from the upper class Southern gentry and occupied a privileged, yet highly restricted, place in society. These women were expected to learn the "ornamental" arts in order to beautify their homes and to

entertain themselves, their families, and guests, while also being capable of running a large estate smoothly. The education they received mirrored these demands, with “serious” subjects such as mathematics, philosophy, and English being offered alongside needlework, piano, harp, and art. The Nashville Female Academy filled an important place in the South at this time, providing many Southern families with an alternative to a Northern school for their daughters. It also contributed greatly to the cultural life of Nashville, with many musical activities occurring on the school’s grounds that involved students and faculty.

The economic and social restructuring caused by the Civil War greatly altered the needs and demands of young women. Many white women in the post-bellum South had lost fathers, brothers, husbands and homes during the War, and were left to seek ways to support themselves. At the same time, antebellum ideals and expectations for women forced them to navigate between contemporary reality and deeply ingrained ways of life. Female education, likewise, was caught between old and new perspectives. W. E. Ward’s Seminary for Young Ladies provides an excellent example of this ambivalence, since it offered a full classical curriculum with an emphasis on teacher education while still emphasizing music and other accomplishments. Graduates of the school were prepared to function in a rapidly changing society as professional teachers and writers, yet they were also ready to perform more traditional female amateur roles in the domestic sphere. As society continued to evolve in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, women’s education was adapted to meet new demands, and Ward’s Seminary gradually professionalized its music and classical curriculum. Many later graduates were prepared

to take their music out of the parlor and into the public sphere, whether as teachers, church musicians, or possibly even as performers.

By the early twentieth century, female suffrage was in full effect, and women were beginning to enter the professional world in increasing numbers. Music and music education were careers that many women chose to pursue, and according to census records, the percentage of female musicians and music teachers in the United States grew from 36% in 1870 to 66% in 1910.<sup>592</sup> During this era, women also began to be accepted as performers and composers as well as teachers. Although they were still often excluded from mixed ensembles, women's orchestras were formed in larger cities such as Boston and New York, and Julius Eichberg's Boston Conservatory even featured an all-female string quartet by the 1880s. The Ward-Belmont School for Young Ladies responded to female musicians' new need for a professional education that would prepare them for further careers in music. After the school's founding in 1913, its Music Department offered a thorough course of instruction including music theory, history, and aural training in addition to English studies and applied music lessons. This curriculum, along with a faculty that possessed a high level of training and experience, contributed to the professional atmosphere of the Ward-Belmont Music department.

Music education at Nashville's female schools mirrored larger trends in American society as a whole, and examining the curriculum at the schools in this study offers insight into these changes. At the same time that students at Nashville's female schools began to study and perform on instruments previously considered unfeminine, women began to appear more regularly as performers and music teachers in the public sphere.

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<sup>592</sup> See Judith Tick, "Women as Professional Musicians in the United States, 1870-1900, *Anuario Interamericano de Investigacion Musical* 9 (1973), 98.

While pupils at Ward's Seminary and Ward-Belmont were beginning studies in composition and advanced music theory, women across the United States and Europe were starting to be recognized as capable composers. By highlighting the professionalization of music education at these female schools, this dissertation has contributed further information about the gradual acceptance of women as academics and professionals in American society.

This study has also brought to light the fact that many were not as quick to accept women as capable of everything men were able to do. The students of Ward-Belmont in the late 1910s were still not allowed to perform on many wind and brass instruments, and instead male community members were brought in to fill out the orchestra. At the same time, women musicians were still largely excluded from professional orchestras, and although some females played brass and wind instruments, they often did so in the confined sphere of the all-female orchestra.<sup>593</sup> Even with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, the status of female musicians was slow to change. During the 1930s, females who were admitted into orchestras and bands were often met with suspicion and ostracism, and alternate types of participation such as baton-twirling and flag-waving were created to allow girls to join high school bands without actually playing alongside the boys.<sup>594</sup> Students at Nashville's Female Schools were likewise segregated from their male counterparts, and although by the early twentieth-century they received a comprehensive and professionalized education in music and other studies, they were still being prepared to occupy a limited and gender-defined place within society.

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<sup>593</sup> See Tick, "Women as Professional Musicians in the United States, 1870-1900, 100-104.

<sup>594</sup> See Beth Abelson MacLeod, "Whence Comes the Lady Tympanist? Gender and Instrumental Musicians in America, 1853-1990" *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 2 (Winter 1993), 301.

In tracing the line of evolution in the music curriculum and musical programs of the Nashville Female Academy, W. E. Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies, and the Ward-Belmont School for Young Women, numerous lines of continuity and change have become evident. Southern women, as well as their Northern counterparts, were often torn between modernization and independence on one hand, and traditional roles and values on the other. In many ways, women of the present day find themselves in a similar conundrum. While women have arguably attained equal rights with men in many areas of American society, old ideas about ladylike behavior, career choices, dress, and even lingering perceptions regarding masculine and feminine instruments can still be found. Contemporary women continue to negotiate between the role of the lady and that of the empowered woman. This study has revealed how the underlying ambiguities of female identity faced by women today have existed for generations, even as this identity has changed along with the changing status of women in America.

#### Contributions and Suggestions for Further Research

This dissertation has focused on the music programs and musical activities of three female schools in Nashville, Tennessee to better understand the changing status of females in American society between 1816 and 1920. A consideration of the curriculum and academic life of a school offers unique insights into the purpose and motivation of the institution. This, in turn, provides information regarding the society in which the school existed and the student base it was trying to recruit. By examining the music department, this study has been able to better understand the ways women were perceived in one city of the American South during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This raises further possibilities for future study as this type of research is expanded to include

other academic areas. Scholars could investigate other academic departments of the schools considered here, perhaps studying the “Elocution” program, the Mathematics curriculum, or the English courses and assignments. Such research might yield additional information about the professionalization of women’s studies, while also providing unique information about female education in various fields and how each subject contributed to graduate’s career possibilities. Another avenue of study might focus on how these subjects interacted with one another. For instance, did the Elocution and Music departments complement each other? Did students ever pursue cross-disciplinary studies, such as lecture recitals or English papers discussing musical topics? Did music history and general history ever converge in the curriculum? Such a study might fit into the growing area of interdisciplinary studies, while also revealing how the traditional “ornamental” subjects interacted with more “serious” courses.

Another possible avenue of research could deal with similar issues at male institutions and African American schools such as Fisk University. The methodology used in this study might provide a framework for these investigations. Perhaps future scholars could consider the changing form of African American music education as it reflected changes in the status of blacks in America, or the ways in which male students were able to negotiate societal demands and musical studies.

This research has also raised questions about the place occupied by upper class white women within Nashville’s musical scene during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. While the female students at these schools were encouraged to study music, how much were they allowed or encouraged to participate in public performances and events, especially during the antebellum era? While evidence exists of some public performances,

including a choral performance that featured students of the Nashville Female Academy as early as 1822, it is not clear what role the young women played in these events.

Another line of inquiry might investigate the degree to which student preference and opinion influenced music instruction and performance at the schools in this study. While school leadership and faculty undoubtedly had a great degree of control over the music programs, the students surely had a say in the matter as well. Were female pianist allowed to pick out their own repertoire? Were vocalists given a vote in the choice of choir pieces or operettas performed? The answers to such questions would provide insight into the continuing line between independence and submission being negotiated by Southern women.

The question of how many other females were involved in Nashville's musical life is also an interesting topic. Future research might focus on women within the context of music in Nashville during the city's early years, leading to possible connections between early female musicians and contemporary female stars. Other avenues of study could investigate how lower class women were involved in the city's music, or how race influenced women's musical activities. Sources such as those consulted in this dissertation might be utilized, with newspaper accounts, advertisements, concert programs, and institutional records providing valuable information. Historical statistics dealing with the racial makeup and class hierarchy of Nashville's female population could also be useful.

One other important area for possibly research, and certainly for individual reflection, is the degree to which female musicians in the academic setting still face gender stereotypes and expectations on a daily basis. Such stereotypes remain influential

in instrument selection, which is largely determined by the student's gender. Recent research shows that continuing notions about masculine and feminine instruments play a large role in guiding beginning students toward acceptable options.<sup>595</sup> Just as the girls at Ward's Seminary and Ward-Belmont were allowed to play only the "feminine" instruments in their orchestra, while male members were added for the more "masculine" parts, many students today are still steered toward instruments considered proper for their sex. These gender-based decisions then influence student's future careers. The students of the Nashville Female Academy received musical instruction that groomed them to become Southern Ladies, and the students of Ward's Seminary and Ward-Belmont were prepared for a future first as ladies who might become professional musicians in the public sphere. In the same way, contemporary students are often guided toward instruments and repertoire that prepares them for roles largely based on their gender. Future research might investigate how gender-based expectations affect the choice of instruments and career paths for young musicians, and the extent to which teachers and parents have a say in these decisions.

It has become obvious throughout this study that questions about female identity in music and in the workplace have been faced by women across America for over a hundred years. Perhaps the "Lady of 1919" described in the Ward-Belmont Yearbook is an appropriate figure with which to conclude this dissertation. Although she in many ways epitomized the "new woman" of the Progressive era, with her independence and pluck, the same lady was not ashamed to wear "tulle and ruffles" and play "dreamy sonatas" at the piano to entertain her friends and admirers. This woman was ready to

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<sup>595</sup> See John Eros, "Instrument Selection and Gender Stereotypes: A Review of Recent Literature," *Update: Applications of Research in Music Education* 27, no. 1 (November 2008), 57-64.

embrace the identity of a Southern Belle while also enjoying her newfound rights and independence in society. In the nearly one hundred years since this vignette was written, thousands of women have followed in her steps, pursuing careers and ambitions while still facing expectations related to the ideal of being a “lady.” Perhaps this question lies at the heart of female identity, for even today, each woman must decide how to balance the image of the lady with the independence and power available to contemporary women. Regardless of how much society has changed since 1816, women are still challenged by the same questions of gender identity and roles as the young women who attended the Nashville Female Academy and other schools in Nashville. By studying their education and lives, contemporary women are better able to prepare themselves to face these issues with a fresh perspective and to make informed decisions about how to negotiate and balance these roles in their own life and career.

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