

Fanny Hensel Meets the Boys in the Band: the Brass Transcriptions of *Gartenlieder*, op. 3

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As women musicians emerged from the parlors of late nineteenth-century America and began to take up orchestral instruments, various publications warned that there were limits that the gentler sex should not transgress. A writer in *Musical America* in 1906 feared that women might perform on the trombone, the French horn, or the “gigantic” sousaphone, because “seeing a woman get red in the face blowing a brass instrument is . . . an unpleasant shock.”¹ An article in the *Musical Standard* stated that “Women cannot possibly play brass instruments and look pretty, and why should they spoil their looks?”² Helen Ducommun, the only female in her small-town Iowa band, faced violent objections from a visiting director, who roared, “I wouldn’t have any damn girl in the band.”³ While several women cornetists—Louise Shaffer, Anna Berger, Alice Raymond, Nellie Daniels and others—appear to have attempted careers in the late nineteenth century,⁴ the world of brass bands, both professional and amateur, remained almost entirely male. Female composers of the period, often denied conservatory training and access to larger musical ensembles, continued to be associated with genres performed in the domestic sphere, songs and small piano pieces, and practically never produced works for brass.⁵

Given the gender biases of the period, it is remarkable to find that music by a female composer, Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805–47), surfaced in America in the late nineteenth century as part of the available repertoire for bands. Brass band transcriptions of Hensel’s *Gartenlieder*, op. 3, were published in Boston in 1871 by George W. Stratton (see Figure 1).⁶ These transcriptions were a bridge, unusual for their time, between the feminine and masculine musical domains, as well as a part of the larger transmission of German music to American soil.⁷

Hensel’s *Gartenlieder*, consisting of six part-songs, were published in 1847.⁸ The songs are settings of the Romantic poetry of Ludwig Uhland, Joseph von Eichendorff, and Emanuel Geibel; the song *Morgengruß* features a text by the composer’s husband, Wilhelm Hensel. Unlike the international career of her better-known brother, Felix Mendelssohn, Hensel’s musical efforts took place in her Berlin home and found their fruition in a series of salon concerts she hosted there. Thus most of her compositions were intended for semi-private settings. For an upper-class nineteenth-century woman, receiving money for musical activities meant compromising her social position, and as late as 1888, an article in *The Musical Times* found it laudable that for most of her life Hensel did not undertake a “descent” into the arena of publishing.⁹ Though she produced over four hundred compositions, Hensel began a career as a professional composer only in 1846, publishing a series of works beginning the year before her untimely death. That same year she wrote to her brother that her “Friday singers” had enjoyed her *Gartenlieder*.¹⁰ Although the songs were first heard in

MILITARY BAND.

N^o 608. Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen. Published by G. W. STRATTON, Boston.
Sixth Series.

Allegretto. F. Hensel.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1871 by G. W. STRATTON in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.
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Figure 1

Fanny Hensel, “Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen,” in *Military Music* (New York: John F. Stratton [sic], 1866-71), *Band Music from the Civil War*, Library of Congress, Music Division, <http://www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/cwmhtml/cwmhome.html>

performances by Fanny’s friends and may have been programmed on her salon concerts that spring, there is evidence to suggest that they were also composed with publication in mind.¹¹ R. Larry Todd has suggested that Hensel’s choice of part-songs was a symbolic move away from stereotypically “feminine” genres for solo voice or piano “to the more masculine ‘open-air’ part-song.”¹² Nonetheless, the *Gartenlieder* remained appropriate for amateurs in the domestic sphere, and even the title, “Garden songs,” suggests a private, not a public setting.

Although the composer did not live to see it, the *Gartenlieder* appear to have achieved some popularity in the nineteenth century. Robert Schumann requested copies of them to conduct with his Verein für Musik in Dresden, and Johanna Kinkel directed them in Bonn with the Musikalische Liebhabergesellschaft.¹³ Sean Wallace has identified not only two editions from the work’s Berlin publisher, Bote & Bock, which sold approximately three

hundred copies, but also two British editions with translations of the texts into English. The individual song *Morgengruß* appeared in English translation in a volume entitled *Alpine Glee Singer* as well.¹⁴ A review of the *Gartenlieder* in the *Musical Times* in 1879 assumed that “These songs, by Mendelssohn’s sister, are *already known* to most lovers of part music.”¹⁵

Evidence suggests that Fanny Hensel and her music were not unknown across the Atlantic. Her Lieder published under Felix Mendelssohn’s name in his opp. 8 and 9 would have been available to Americans, who may or may not have been aware of her authorship. Several of these songs—*Heimweh*, *Italien*, and *Die Nonne*—were available in America in English translations around 1870.¹⁶ Writing about Fanny in American publications increased dramatically after the English translation of the family history, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*, by her son, Sebastian Hensel, appeared in 1881, as it included significant portions of her letters and diaries.¹⁷ However, even before the book’s publication, Fanny’s music was heard in America. The pianist Otto Dresel, a member of Leipzig musical circles during the 1840s, performed her Opus 11 piano trio in Boston in 1856. The review in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* found the work “remarkable,” praising it as “full of interest and beauty” and “vigorous, so full of fire.” The review claimed that in its “sustained strength, indeed, it exceeds some favorite productions of the brother.”¹⁸ Fanny’s song *Schwanenlied*, her op. 1, no. 1, appeared in 1878 with English texts provided by a Mrs. R. von Minden, who seems to have been the wife of a publisher.¹⁹ In 1892, when Antonín Dvořák was quoted in the *Boston Post* as saying that women have no creative power, the responses by Americans reveal that they knew of Fanny Hensel and her music.²⁰ She was cited by the composer Amy Beach and the suffragist Alice Stone Blackwell, but more significantly, composer George Chadwick noted, “there is the case of Mendelssohn’s sister, who wrote as good a trio as Mendelssohn ever produced.”²¹ Yet whether or not the *Gartenlieder*, either as brass arrangements or in their original form, were performed in America is unknown.

The publishers of Hensel’s music for band, George W. Stratton (b. 1830), seen in Figure 2, and his brother, John F. Stratton (1832–1912), were influential in the development of the brass band movement in the post-Civil War era. John Stratton was a cornetist and band director who started his career in Worcester, Massachusetts and Hartford, Connecticut, then moved to New York, where he operated a highly successful instrument company. It has been estimated that he sold 60,000 brass instruments to the United States government during the Civil War.²² Stratton published a great deal of brass band music during the years 1866 to 1871, as well as a “how-to” guide to band arranging by George Patton in 1875.²³ The publisher’s brother George, whose name appears on the transcriptions of Fanny’s music, was a composer and conductor.²⁴ Favorable reviews of his standing-room-only concerts in Manchester, New Hampshire, were reprinted in *The New York Musical World* and *Dwight’s Journal of Music*, commending his ability to keep his orchestra “under *complete control*” and to insure that they were “*well-drilled*.”²⁵ His compositions included four concert overtures, an opera entitled *The Buccaneer* that was never performed, and several popular operettas designed for children. In 1869 George purchased the *Boston Musical Times*, in which he advertised his brother’s instruments and band music, and also publicized his own compositions until the journal ceased publication two years later.²⁶



Figure 2

George W. Stratton. From Benjamin Read, *The History of Swanzey, New Hampshire, from 1734 to 1890* (Salem, Mass.: Salem Press, 1892).

Courtesy of University of Chicago Libraries.

Clues in the two Strattons' careers and their publishing history provide the context for the publication of Hensel's music. John Stratton went to Germany in 1866 to open an instrument factory that could produce musical instruments more cheaply than in the United States; two years later he expanded his firm to Gohlis, near Leipzig, where he ran a four-story factory with three hundred employees.²⁷ Sometime around 1871, George Stratton appears to have temporarily taken over the publishing end of the business, now based in Boston, where he ran a music store, rather than in New York City.²⁸

Hensel's pieces were published by George in the "Sixth Series" of "Military Music." While these scores have the identical format as those in the previous series, which appeared under John's name, the content of George's Series Six differs considerably from the music contained in previous Stratton publications. John Stratton's collections typically included marches, quicksteps, dances, popular songs, and sometimes arrangements of opera excerpts.²⁹ The composers represented were primarily band or opera composers, though John did include several pieces by Felix Mendelssohn, including an arrangement of his *Lied ohne Worte*, op. 38, no. 4. In contrast, the series of works that appeared under George's auspices featured almost entirely German music, and included not only works by Hensel and Mendelssohn, but others in their circle, such as Ferdinand Hiller and Robert Schumann. (The complete contents of this series can be found in the Appendix.) Schumann is the only composer represented by more pieces in the collection than Hensel, with part-songs from his opuses 55, 67, 75, and two duets from opus 34. Following closely on his sister in number of compositions represented is Felix Mendelssohn, with five arrangements taken from his opp. 75 and 76 part-songs.

Notably, many of the lesser-known composers in the series were associated with Leipzig, where John Stratton had opened his factory. Carl Reinecke, Moritz Hauptmann, and Rudolf Sachse taught at the Leipzig Conservatory. Franz Abt, Johannes Rupperecht Dürnner, and Gustav Graben-Hoffman all studied in Leipzig, and August Ferdinand Riccius conducted opera there. Louis Papier conducted the Thomanerchor in the late 1870s, and Carl Friedrich Zöllner founded the Leipzig Liedertafel and numerous other men's choral organizations. Zöllner, Abt, Dürnner, Otto Claudius, Richard Seifert, and other composers in the Sixth Series all produced music for men's chorus. Thus the pieces that the Strattons chose to arrange were, like the *Gartenlieder* and the works of Mendelssohn and Schumann, originally part-songs for the most part; several originated as vocal duets.³⁰ Indeed, with only one or two works by most composers—Hensel's *Gartenlieder* are the only set of pieces by a single composer presented in their entirety—the bulk of the Sixth Series resembles the song anthologies designed for four-part men's chorus that were published in the second half of the nineteenth century.³¹ The titles of the compositions refer to topics typical of such songs, such as woods, wandering, and springtime; their extra-musical associations with the "open air" are especially appropriate for brass. In fact, the two vocal duets by Richard Genée that had titles completely unrelated to typical *Männerchore* repertoire, *Das Engagements-Gesuch* and *Die Politik*, are disguised in the Strattons' Sixth Series as generic "Duets."

Thus the publication of the *Gartenlieder* in brass transcriptions probably resulted from John Stratton's residence in Leipzig and his sending or bringing back music from Germany.

Like John, George Stratton also traveled abroad a great deal, but not until three years after publishing Hensel's pieces. (In 1872 he suffered from some sort of "nervous ailment" that forced him to curtail his composing, and his journeys to the warmer climates of southern Europe and Egypt were ostensibly for the purpose of improving his health.³²) Whether the transcriptions are John's or George's is not clear; one can imagine that George, as a composer himself, was drawn to musical works with the potential for aesthetic pleasures beyond that of the average march or quickstep. His 1857 musical "soirée" in Manchester featured Beethoven's *Pathétique* Sonata and music by Mozart and Schubert,³³ and the *Boston Musical Times* advertised his edition of the Beethoven piano sonatas. Under George's ownership, the journal also published several editorials calling for improvements in music education in America, one of which, entitled "Our Military Bands: How They Can Be Improved," appeared the same year as the Sixth Series.³⁴ While the article mentions no specific repertoire and actually criticizes the contemporary emphasis on brass at the expense of woodwinds and other instruments, it is possible that it was somehow meant to serve as preliminary publicity for the forthcoming series of part-songs transcribed for band.

Yet the Strattons' sudden adoption of highly Germanic tastes may have been motivated as much by their business acumen as by their musical preferences. The conductors and players in many American bands were German immigrants. Band historians Margaret and Robert Hazen have written that German bands were the most prominent among ethnic bands in the United States, spreading from New England to Texas to Oregon by the 1870s.³⁵ Much anecdotal evidence supports the Hazens' assertions. When the New York 7th Regiment Band was founded in 1852 it drew on the professional musicians of the German Musical Society.³⁶ George Patton claimed he wrote his treatise on arranging because most band instructors were German and weren't capable of writing a treatise in English.³⁷ Pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk, upon encountering a volunteer military band in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, in 1863, wrote, "Is it necessary for me to say that it is composed of Germans (all the musicians in the United States are Germans)?"³⁸ Thus, the music of the Stratton brothers' Sixth Series may have been part of a deliberate marketing strategy: German music for German bands.

Nonetheless, what is most striking about the appearance of the *Gartenlieder* arranged for band is the seeming intrusion of music by a woman into what was so clearly a masculine world. Not only the power of all-brass scoring, but bands' long historical relationship with the military solidified the association.³⁹ The brass band's military basis certainly would have been most apparent immediately after the Civil War, when bands became a regular part of the United States militia for the first time.⁴⁰ In 1861 Dwight wrote that the bands of Patrick Gilmore and others would "probably incite the men to heroic deeds."⁴¹ That brass bands and military bands were essentially conceived as one and the same is suggested by the Strattons' heading of "Military Music" over opera arrangements and part-songs with no specific military associations. Trevor Herbert has documented the use of military endorsement in advertisements for brass instruments until as late as about 1920; Kenneth Kreitner writes that "the town band remained a male province at least until the school band movement" of around the same time.⁴²

One need only turn to the criticism of John Sullivan Dwight, who, while decrying the popularity of “Brass, brass, brass,—nothing but brass,” nonetheless used gendered language and military analogies in describing bands, recalling “the bold, manly tones of those old-fashioned, masculine brass instruments.”⁴³ In 1853, objecting to the proliferation of bands and the abandonment of woodwind instruments, he wrote:

All at once, the idea of a *Brass Band* shot forth: and from the prolific germ sprang up a multitude of its kind in every part of the land.... And, as if the invention of new and deadlier implements of war, which came out about the same time, had hardened men’s hearts, all the softer companions of the savage science were banished.⁴⁴

The loss of woodwinds was the loss of more feminine values, leaving only the masculine brass: “Are the business and politics of the day so harsh,” Dwight complained, “that the tones of our street music must renounce all their sincerity and gentleness?”⁴⁵ Herbert has described the military band’s role as more ceremonial than functioning in actual warfare, emphasizing that such bands “were a vital ingredient in the network of devices, many of them recently invented ‘traditions’, that served to symbolize and assert a prevailing authority,” an authority which was, without question, male.⁴⁶

Historians have uncovered all-women bands in the nineteenth century, but these were a small minority of American amateur and professional bands. The Hazens noted that of the 1200 pre-1920 band photographs owned by the Smithsonian Institution, only about twenty different women’s bands are depicted.⁴⁷ Although women did sometimes appear in touring family bands, most of the female bands date from the turn of the century.⁴⁸ Judith Tick notes that “by and large, women did not learn orchestral instruments to any significant degree until the 1870s” and even then they took up the violin, not woodwinds or brass.⁴⁹ As this musical activity emerged after the publication of the *Gartenlieder* transcriptions, it is highly improbable that the Strattons were aiming their publications specifically at the few women in bands. Nonetheless, George Stratton was not unaware of women as musicians, as the *Boston Musical Times* published a brief but enthusiastic notice about the expected arrival of a Viennese ladies’ orchestra in New York the same year the *Gartenlieder* transcriptions were published, listing amid their instrumentation “trumpets, trombones, drums, etc.” The article also called for women to take up the violin, and, perhaps jokingly, supposed that after the arrival of the women’s orchestra that “the trade in orchestral instruments will certainly be doubled and all teachers of these instruments will be besieged with pupils!”⁵⁰ (After the ensemble’s performance, the critic for the *New York Times* complained about the ensemble’s complete lack of brass instruments.⁵¹) In spite of George’s seeming advocacy of a rise in the number of women musicians, his journal also published an account of British music critic Henry F. Chorley’s address to the Royal Anthropological Society, negatively assessing women’s creative abilities:

[T]he absence of musical inventive genius in women is explicable, and offers another signal illustration of the contradictions and inconsistencies which mark music beyond any other art. While women have achieved distinction and often great success in literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, and science, and while they are unsurpassed as interpreters of the drama and of the art of music, not a solitary female composer of originality, or even of repute is known to the historical or critical observer.⁵²

Chorley's lecture had recently been published in the Society's journal. It offered, as part of a list demonstrating how women "have been habitually weak as composers," his assessment of Hensel as having created "music in the most ambitious and severe forms," music which he would have known from his personal acquaintance with the Mendelssohn family.⁵³ Although it thus seems that the Strattons were aware of the identity and the gender of the composer of the *Gartenlieder*, they listed her as "F. Hensel" on the six scores, so it is possible that players of these works would not even realize they were by a woman. The obfuscation of Hensel's gender was not deliberate on the publishers' part, as most of the composers of their pieces were listed without full first names.⁵⁴

The brass version of the *Gartenlieder* would have met the specific musical needs of the countless male musicians who joined brass bands after the American Civil War. The works are scored for various combinations of E♭ and B♭ cornets, alto, tenor, baritone, and bass horns, each taking one of the four individual voice parts. As shown in a chart from George Patton's guide to band arranging (Figure 3) demonstrating the possible scorings of period brass bands, a moderate-sized band of eight or nine would contain the required

Best combinations for Brass Bands.			
<i>Band of five.</i>	<i>Band of seven.</i>	<i>Band of nine.</i>	<i>Band of eleven.</i>
2 E♭ Cornets.	2 E♭ Cornets.	2 E♭ Cornets.	2 E♭ Cornets.
1 E♭ Alto (1st).	1 B♭ Cornet (2d).	2 B♭ Cornets (1st & 2d).	2 B♭ Cornets (1st & 2d).
1 B♭ Tenor (2d).	2 E♭ Altos (1st & 2d).	2 E♭ Altos (1st & 2d).	2 E♭ Altos (1st & 2d).
1 E♭ Tuba.	1 B♭ Tenor (2d).	1 B♭ Tenor (2d).	2 B♭ Tenors (1st & 2d).
—	1 E♭ Tuba.	1 B♭ Baritone.	1 B♭ Baritone.
—	—	1 E♭ Tuba.	1 E♭ Tuba (small).
—	—	—	1 E♭ Tuba (large).
<i>Band of six.</i>	<i>Band of eight.</i>	<i>Band of ten.</i>	<i>Band of twelve.</i>
2 E♭ Cornets.	2 E♭ Cornets.	2 E♭ Cornets.	2 E♭ Cornets.
2 E♭ Altos (1st & 2d).	2 B♭ Cornets (1st & 2d).	2 B♭ Cornets (1st & 2d).	2 B♭ Cornets (1st & 2d).
1 B♭ Tenor (2d).	2 E♭ Altos (1st & 2d).	2 E♭ Altos (1st & 2d).	1 Solo Alto.
1 E♭ Tuba.	1 B♭ Tenor (2d).	1 B♭ Tenor (2d).	2 E♭ Altos (1st & 2d).
—	1 E♭ Tuba.	1 B♭ Baritone.	2 B♭ Tenors (1st & 2d).
—	—	1 E♭ Tuba (small).	1 B♭ Baritone.
—	—	1 E♭ Tuba (large).	1 E♭ Tuba (small).
—	—	—	1 E♭ Tuba (large).

Figure 3

Table from George F. Patton, *A Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music* (New York / Leipzig: John Stratton, 1875).

instruments for all six pieces. However, as seen in Figure 4, Hensel's arrangement of her songs by keys (B, e, A, D, a, A) is abandoned in Stratton's publication, as the six appear out of order and are interspersed with pieces by Schumann, Haydn, Hauptmann, Hiller, and Sachse. While the *Gartenlieder* are accurate transcriptions of Hensel's work and even faithfully include her original articulations and dynamics, they have all been transposed from her sharp keys into flat keys common to band music, though not in any consistent fashion which would retain the tonal relationships between songs.⁵⁵ That the Strattons did not conceive that the pieces would be performed as a set is further indicated by the variety of scorings they utilized; only *Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen* and *Schöne Fremde* share instrumentation: B♭ cornet, E♭ alto, tenor, and baritone horns.

Stratton Series no.	Hensel's original ordering	Key	Transposition	Scoring
608	1. Hörst du nicht	B	B♭	B♭ cornet, E♭ alto, tenor, baritone
602	2. Schöne Freude	e–E	e♭–E♭	B♭ cornet, E♭ alto, tenor, baritone
615	3. Im Herbste	A	B♭	E♭ cornet, B♭ cornet, tenor, baritone
609	4. Morgengruß	D	E♭	E♭ cornet, B♭ cornet, E♭ alto, baritone
603	5. Abendlich	a	g	B♭ cornet, E♭ alto, baritone, bass
607	6. Im Wald	D	A♭	E♭ cornet, B♭ cornet, baritone, bass

Figure 4

Modifications to Hensel's *Gartenlieder*, op. 3, in the band arrangements.

The musical style of the *Gartenlieder* is certainly appropriate for an amateur band. While not particularly complex rhythmically, the songs would require players with some level of ability. The ranges of the individual parts usually encompass at least a tenth, somewhat more than the “octave only or perhaps a compass of notes comprised between the first and fifth lines of the Treble staff,” suggested by arranger George Patton in *A Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music*.⁵⁶ However, these works are sophisticated examples of the part-song genre with all of the compositional finesse one might expect of a member of the Mendelssohn family.

The songs are brief and frequently homophonic in texture. However, in all six pieces the three lower parts of the quartet have a higher level of melodic independence and subtle

polyphonic interplay than would typically be found in the repetitive accompaniments of marches or quicksteps. Textural variety is created through brief solo sections in the soprano line, such as in *Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen* (mm. 8-9) or *Schöne Fremde* (meas. 35-36). More frequent divergence from homophony occurs through imitative passages or through rapid alternation between the soprano line and the lower parts. Brief moments of imitation throughout the texture are heard in *Im Herbst* (mm. 10-12) and *Im Wald* (mm. 34-36). The tenor line imitates the soprano in *Schöne Fremde* (mm. 44-45, 57-58); elsewhere, the entrance of the soprano follows that of the other voices (mm. 8-10). The echoing technique is particularly effective in the close of *Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen*, as the voices alternate, calling “kommt’ herab” (come down here) in the original song. *Abendlich schon rauscht der Wald* opens most of its melodic phrases with a three-note descending motive in unison before breaking into four-part harmony. In the following section (meas. 9-10), descending half steps in the soprano line are echoed by a half-step motive in the alto, accompanied by the tenor and bass (originally repetitions of the words “Wie so stille”). The textural manipulations are here striking effects, used to evoke the evening’s stillness described in the song’s text.

The forms of the *Gartenlieder* are straightforward: *Morgengruß* and *Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen* originally were fundamentally strophic settings and are thus notated only once in the band version (the latter with a second ending). *Im Wald* has a ternary structure, and *Schöne Fremde* is in two parts. Nonetheless, within their overall regular frameworks, Hensel’s songs feature considerable variety and subtle transformations of repeated material. *Schöne Fremde* best exemplifies Hensel’s flexible treatment: internal sections of material seem to repeat, refrain-like (mm. 9 and 30, 43 and 55), but veer off into new music after only four measures. In many of the *Gartenlieder*, phrases are varied upon repetition, and what would ordinarily be a four-measure consequent phrase is frequently extended to five, giving the songs a freer melodic structure. Four of the pieces feature brief codas, typically following a perfect authentic cadence on the tonic; the final cadence of *Schöne Fremde* is plagal, and *Im Herbst* closes with a half cadence. *Im Wald*, the final song in Hensel’s original ordering, has an extended coda (mm. 69-80) with several authentic cadences, as if to reinforce the finality of entire set.

Hensel’s melodic gifts are readily apparent throughout the lyrical songs, which sometimes have the character of German folk song, especially in the dance-like second half of *Schöne Fremde* and in *Im Wald*. These two pieces, along with *Im Herbst*, are linked through their compound meters and moderately fast tempos, designed to heighten the expression of happiness while surrounded by the joys of nature. The *Gartenlieder*’s subtle word-painting is, of course, lost in the transcriptions for instruments; the turns to the minor mode in *Im Herbst*, as the poet nostalgically recalls the “holde Träume” (sweet dreams) of the past spring, is nonetheless poignant even without the text.

The *Gartenlieder*’s harmonic characteristics, including modal mixture, modulations to third-related keys, and a certain amount of chromaticism, make them interesting despite their seeming simplicity. For example, the first two phrases of the opening song, *Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen*, with their antecedent-consequent structure, cadence on a first

inversion dominant seventh chord and submediant, respectively. The central section of the A-major *Im Herbste* is in A minor, returning to the major mode after cadences on C major, B major, and E minor. Likewise the midsection of the D-major *Morgengruß* modulates through F# minor and, briefly, B minor. Hensel's harmonic language thus extends well beyond that described in Patton's treatise, which covers only three or four basic chords;⁵⁷ it is more reminiscent of what George Stratton described when he complained of undertrained players becoming "wholly bewildered" when encountering "a few chromatic chords and studied modulations." The *Gartenlieder* would have provided his desired "good music" which would enable music students to "develope [*sic*] a love for harmony and inspire one to study it with earnestness, thereby making it a source of pleasure instead of the opposite."⁵⁸

While the vocal origins of the *Gartenlieder* might appear to make them less than idiomatic for brass instruments, bands' leading cornet players were well acquainted with performing vocal lines from popular songs and opera arias. Patton's guide to arranging recommended songs as the most suitable material for band arrangements, noting that an "air can always be adapted to the Cornet, as this instrument has about the same compass as the human voice, and the music written for the latter can be executed upon the former."⁵⁹ Patton mentions that "Quartettes and Trios, both vocal and instrumental" can be drawn on for brass bands, and that such music would typically be used for "concert and serenade purposes," but this repertoire occurs almost as an afterthought, appearing marginally in his considerations next to the omnipresent quicksteps, marches, polkas, and popular songs.⁶⁰ He suggested that when forming a band, players should be selected who are good singers. Likewise Frank Rauscher, who conducted a cornet band in Germantown, near Philadelphia, recalled the progress of his band members: "As instrumental musicians they were amateurs and beginners, but with a fair knowledge of music as vocalists, by close application they made rapid progress."⁶¹ Thus the *Gartenlieder* would contain the sorts of melodic lines that singers turned brass players would find familiar.⁶²

If not well known to members of brass bands, the music of the composers in the Strattons' Sixth Series would have been familiar to the numerous members of German *Männerchöre* in America; for example, a portrait of Franz Abt, two of whose pieces are found in the collection, was included amid the likes of Handel, Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Schubert, Wagner, and Mendelssohn in the Indianapolis Concert Hall designed for the fifteenth Sängerkongress of the North American Sängerbund, attended by forty singing societies.⁶³ The period of the rise of the brass band in America coincided with the development of *Männerchöre*, stemming from increased German immigration in the second half of the century; by the end of the century most cities of any size with substantial German population could boast at least one.⁶⁴ Major cities had numerous such organizations; as many as thirty-five *Männerchöre* had been founded in New York before 1871, the year of the Strattons' publication, for example.⁶⁵ How much overlap there was between the social groups in which brass bands and *Männerchöre* originated has not been systematically examined, but given the ubiquitous place both held in late nineteenth-century American life, it would be difficult to conceive of them as having carried on their musical activities in entirely separate spheres. Bands sometimes appeared on *Männerchöre* programs and

would often have served as entertainment at their purely social functions, such as balls and carnivals.⁶⁶ The U.S. Military Band of Newport, Kentucky, played three selections on the main concert of the North American Sangerbund's third festival, held in Cincinnati in 1851.⁶⁷ When Chicago's Germania Society performed in Indianapolis in 1867, their concert included the *Prayer of the Earth* by Carl Friedrich Zollner, who is represented by four pieces in the Strattons' collection; appearing on the same program with them was the Great Western Light Guard Band.

Both brass bands and men's choruses were credited with having improved the taste of the average American, the goal advocated in several editorials published in George Stratton's *Boston Musical Times*. Indeed, some of the larger and better-funded *Mannerchore* in large cities even undertook performances of operas and oratorios.⁶⁸ In 1895 Victor Herbert claimed that "The important part that military bands have taken in the development of musical knowledge in America cannot be overstated."⁶⁹ Likewise, Frank van Stucken confirmed that "the aim of male chorus singing societies is to develop the inborn love of music in all classes of society, and thus prepare for the refining influence of chamber music, great orchestral concerts, and operatic performances, a desirable public."⁷⁰ Both the spheres of the brass band and the *Mannerchore* were populated by amateur male musicians; nonetheless the Strattons' arrangements of part-songs are somewhat unusual in the context of nineteenth-century brass band literature and their inclusion of the *Gartenlieder*, by a female composer, the most unusual of all.⁷¹

In 1889 *Harper's Weekly* estimated that there were more than 10,000 bands in the United States,⁷² so it seems likely that players of John Stratton's instruments would have purchased his publications as well and performed Fanny Hensel's music. George Patton inserted a small advertisement for his publisher in his band arranging guide, noting that John Stratton published reasonably priced scores, "which are well adapted to purposes of study, besides being about the best for Amateurs on account of the simple manner in which they are arranged."⁷³ Perhaps referring to the *Mannerchore* selections, Patton added that "among them are quite a number of serious compositions suitable for concert and serenade performance." The 1871 band transcriptions of the *Gartenlieder* thus occupied a unique place in nineteenth-century American musical life, and they suggest wider dissemination of Hensel's music than previously believed. The introduction of Hensel's music into the world of brass bands took place within the larger context of the influx of German musicians and music into America, and the style of her part-songs intended for the domestic sphere also made them suitable for amateur male musicians performing in more public spaces. Perhaps a hundred and thirty years ago, on a warm summer afternoon in a small town somewhere in America, an audience gathered to listen to the music of Fanny Hensel wafting from a bandstand.

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NOTES

¹“The New Woman in Music,” *Musical America* 9 (28 April 1906): 8; quoted in Beth Abelson Macleod, *Women Performing Music: the Emergence of American Women as Classical Instrumentalists and Conductors* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2001), 10.

²“Opinions of New York Leaders on Women as Orchestral Players,” *Musical Standard* (2 April 1904); quoted in Judith Tick, “Passed Away is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870-1900,” in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 333.

³Helen Ducommun, Laurnes, Iowa, personal communication of 15 April 1985; quoted in Margaret Hindle Hazen and Robert M. Hazen, *The Music Men: an Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America, 1800-1920* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 57.

⁴Christine Ammer, *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music*, 2nd edn. (Westport, Conn.: Amadeus, 2001), 119.

⁵Monique Buzzarté’s list of brass works by women composers contains only four nineteenth-century works, though it contains many more works by women born in the late nineteenth century. “Women’s Contributions to the Brass Repertoire: A List of Works,” in *The Musical Woman, 1886-1990*, vol. 3, ed. Judith Lang Zaimont et al. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1991), 547-621.

⁶*Military Music* (New York: John F. Stratton [sic], 1866-71), in *Band Music from the Civil War*, Library of Congress, Music Division, <http://www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/cwmhtml/cwmhome.html>, accessed 30 October 2005. I am deeply grateful to Wayne Shirley for calling these works to my attention. Thanks also to Melissa Brobston for helping to identify several of the composers in the collection.

⁷The methodology in this study in some sense resembles the micro-historical approach of Katherine Ellis in her “The Fair Sax: Women, Brass-Playing and the Instrument Trade in 1860s Paris,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124 (1999): 223: “[A]nalysis of a single and sometimes bizarre event catalyses study of the constellation of broadly held values to which it relates.... passing from ‘texts’ to contexts and back again, repeatedly measuring the one against the other, helps the historian ‘tease meaning from documents’ until he or she has ‘cleared a way through a foreign mental world.’”

⁸A modern edition of the *Gartenlieder* was published by Hildegard Press in 1997.

⁹“Fanny Mendelssohn,” *The Musical Times* 29 (1 June 1888): 341.

¹⁰[After 26 August 1846] in *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, ed. Marcia J. Citron (New York: Pendragon, 1987), 353.

¹¹Sean M. Hamilton Wallace, “The Gartenlieder, Op.3, of Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel (1805-1847)” (D.M.A. dissertation, Michigan State University, 2000), 76-77. See also Willi Grundlach, “Die Chorlieder von Fanny Hensel: Eine späte Liebe?” *Mendelssohn Studien* 11 (1999): 105-30.

¹² R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 536.

¹³ Sean M. Wallace, "Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel," in *Women Composers: Music Through the Ages*, ed. Martha Furman Schleifer and Sylvia Glickman (New York: G.K. Hall, 2003), 7: 2.

¹⁴ *Part-Song Book*, 2nd Series, vol. 12 (London: Novello, 1875), 57-95; *Orpheus*, 3rd Series, Book 27 (London: Ewer, n.d.); and *Alpine Glee Singer* (N.p.: W.B. Bradbury, [1850]); cited in Wallace, "The Gartenlieder, Op. 3," 91.

¹⁵ "Six Four-Part Songs," *The Musical Times* 20 (1 March 1879): 159. Emphasis is mine.

¹⁶ *Complete Catalogue of Sheet Music and Musical Work Published by the Board of Music Trade of the United States of America*, ed. Dena J. Epstein (1870; reprint edn., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973).

¹⁷ *The Mendelssohn Family (1729-1847) from Letters and Journals*, 2nd edn., transl. Carl Klingemann (1882; reprint edn., New York: Haskell House, 1969). On Hensel's reception see Marian Wilson Kimber, "Zur frühen Wirkungsgeschichte Fanny Hensels" in *Fanny Hensel geb. Mendelssohn: Koponieren zwischen Geselligkeitsideal und romantischer Musikästhetik*, ed. Beatrix Borchard and Monika Schwarz-Danuser (Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 1999), 248-62.

¹⁸ "Otto Dresel's Soirees," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 8 (1 March 1856): 174.

¹⁹ Fanny Hensel, *I Saw a Bright Star Falling—Schwanenlied* (n.p.: A. von Minden, 1878), in *Music for a Nation: American Sheet Music, 1870-1885*, Library of Congress, Music Division, <http://www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/mussshtml/mussshome.html>, accessed 11 November 2005. Mrs. von Minden also published her own songs, as well as English texts for a song by Anna Amalia of Prussia, suggesting that she had a special interest in music by women.

²⁰ "Women Can't Help," *Boston Post* (30 November 1892), in Robert Winter, Antonín Dvořák: Symphony no. 9, *From the New World* [CD-ROM] (New York: Voyager, 1994).

²¹ "American Music: Dvořák Thinks Little Has Been Done Here," *Boston Daily Traveler*, (10 December 1892), in Winter, *ibid.* It is not clear where Chadwick encountered Hensel's trio; perhaps it was during the years 1878-79 when he attended the Leipzig Conservatory.

²² Martin Krivin, "A Century of Wind Instrument Manufacturing in the United States: 1860-1960" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1962), 33. See Stratton's advertisement in *The American Musical Directory*, new introduction by Barbara Owen (New York: Thomas Hutchinson, 1861; reprint edn., New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), 265.

²³ George F. Patton, *A Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music* (New York, Leipzig: John Stratton, 1875). See also Laverne John Wagner, "Doing-it-Yourself in 1875: George F. Patton on Arranging Band Music," *American Music* 6 (1988): 28-40.

²⁴ For much detail regarding George Stratton's early life and career and additional information on John Stratton, see Benjamin Read, *The History of Swanzy, New Hampshire, from 1734 to 1890* (Salem, Mass.: Salem Press, 1892), 550-59.

²⁵ "Musical Intelligence," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 10 (24 January 1857): 135; and 10 (13 December 1856): 85. See also "World of Music," *New York Musical Times* 11 (7 April 1855): 159; and "Musical Items," *New York Musical Times* 11 (6 December 1856): 673. The latter prints a favorable review of George Stratton's first Concert Overture.

²⁶ Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and its Business: the First Four Hundred Years, Volume II. From 1790-1909* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 120. The heading of the *Musical Times* and its reviews of New York musical events suggests that George Stratton briefly tried to circulate it in New York as well.

²⁷ William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: a Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 389.

²⁸ *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 4 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie and H. Wiley Hitchcock (New York: Macmillan, 1988), s.v. "Stratton, John F(ranklin)," by Robert E. Eliason. When Patton's ar-

ranging guide appeared, it listed John Stratton as the publisher, based in both New York and Leipzig. Nancy Groce says that John Stratton was part of Stratton and Foote in 1865, then Stratton was head of Stratton & Co. in 1866 (though Groce says 1870-88). In 1889 he added his son, Frank A., to Stratton & Son. Nancy Groce, *Musical Instrument Makers of New York: a Directory of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Urban Craftsmen* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon, 1991), 152-53.

²⁹ Several of Stratton's selections can be heard performed by the American Brass Quintet Brass Band, on *The Yankee Brass Band: Music from Mid-Nineteenth Century America*, Recorded Anthology of American Music (New World Records NW312-2, 1981).

³⁰ The most notable exception is a Concertino for E♭ Cornet by Sachse. As Rudolf Sachse was a violin teacher at the Leipzig Conservatory, it is possible that this work is a transcription of a violin concerto. However, as Sachse's first name is not given, this work may be by Ernst Sachse, who composed some marches and other band music.

³¹ Perhaps the bulk of the Sixth Series is based on an actual vocal anthology, as of yet unlocated.

³² Read, *The History of Swanze*, 556.

³³ "Musical Intelligence," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 11 (18 April 1857): 20. Stratton's lecture recitals in the fall of 1886 at the Swanze, New Hampshire, Public Library, which he had donated to his home town, included works by Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert and Mendelssohn. Read, *The History of Swanze*, 558.

³⁴ "Our Military Bands: How They Can be Improved," *Boston Musical Times* 13, no. 3 (June 1871): 14-15.

³⁵ Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, 52-53.

³⁶ Jon Newsom, "The American Band Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *The Wind Ensemble and its Repertoire: Essays on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Eastman Wind Ensemble*, ed. Frank Cipolla and Donald Hunsberger (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1994), 80.

³⁷ Patton, *Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music*, vi.

³⁸ Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist*, ed. Jeanne Behrend (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 127.

³⁹ Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, 55.

⁴⁰ Newsom, "The American Band Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 78.

⁴¹ John Sullivan Dwight, "Gilmore's Band," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 19 (28 September 1861): 207.

⁴² Trevor Herbert, "Selling Brass Instruments: The Commerical Imaging of Brass Instruments (1830-1930) and its Cultural Messages," *Music in Art* 29, nos. 1-2 (2004): 223; Kenneth Kreitner, *Discouraging Sweet Music: Town Bands and Community Life in Turn-of-the-Century Pennsylvania* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 132.

⁴³ John Sullivan Dwight, "Brass! Brass! again," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 9 (2 August 1856): 141.

⁴⁴ John Sullivan Dwight, "Our Military Bands," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 3 (16 April 1853): 9.

⁴⁵ John Sullivan Dwight, *Dwight's Journal of Music* 3 (16 April 1853): 13.

⁴⁶ Herbert, "Selling Brass Instruments," 217.

⁴⁷ Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, 56.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁹ Tick, "Passed Away is the Piano Girl," 328.

⁵⁰ "Female Orchestra," *Boston Musical Times* 13, no. 4 (August 1871): 25.

⁵¹ "Vienna Lady Orchestra," *The New York Times* (13 September 1871): 5, in *Women in Music: an Anthology of Source Readings*, 2nd edn., ed. Carol Neuls-Bates (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 193.

⁵² *Boston Musical Times* 12, no. 4 (August 1870): 23.

⁵³ Henry F. Chorley, "Race in Music," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London* 8 (1870-1871): clxvii. Elsewhere Chorley was more complimentary regarding Hensel's abilities; he hailed her as "a pianiste and composer of no ordinary force and feeling," in "Mendelssohn's Mother and Sister," in W.A. Lampadius, *Life of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, trans. William Leonhard Gage (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1865; reprint edn., Boston: Longwood, 1978), 210.

⁵⁴ Shortly before George Stratton took over the *Boston Musical Times*, it published an article that described Hensel's grave next to her brother's in Berlin, and given the popularity of Mendelssohn's music in Boston, it seems likely that he would have been familiar with the composer's sister. "Mendelssohn's Grave," *Boston Musical Times* 9, no. 3 (7 March 1868): 18.

⁵⁵ The only differences other than transposition are minor; for example, the arranger has added a pianissimo marking in the next-to-last measure of *Abendlich schon rauscht der Wald*. In several instances changes are due to the omission of the text: a repeated note on the second beat of a measure, which originally accompanied a weak final syllable of a word, has been tied to the note preceding it.

⁵⁶ Patton, *Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music*, 71.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

⁵⁸ "Our Military Bands: How They Can be Improved," 14.

⁵⁹ Patton, *Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music*, 81.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 82. Two brief excerpts of Mendelssohn's popular Wedding March from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* appear on pages 46-47.

⁶¹ Frank Rauscher, *Music on the March, with the Army of the Potomac, 114th Regt. P. V., Collis' Zouaves* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell & Co., 1892), 13-14, quoted in Newson, "The American Band Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 89.

⁶² The degree to which choral genres were arranged for band can be seen in the repertoire of the Cyfarthfa Band in Wales, which flourished ca. 1840-80. Their repertoire included numerous choral works by Felix Mendelssohn, including sections from *Elijah*, *Lobgesang*, and his *Psalm 42*. However, these selections are taken from large-scale public works, considerably different genres from that of the smaller part-song. Trevor Herbert, "The Reconstruction of Nineteenth-Century Band Repertory: Towards a Protocol," in *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historic Brass Symposium, Amherst, 1995*, ed. Stewart Carter, Bucina: The Historic Brass Society Series, 2 (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon, 1997), 211-22.

⁶³ Suzanne G. Snyder, "The Indianapolis Männerchor: Contributions to a New Musicality in Midwestern Life," in *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. Michael Saffle (New York and London: Garland, 1998), 118-19.

⁶⁴ Michael Broyles, "Immigrant, Folk, and Regional Musics in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of American Music*, ed. David Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 146. See also Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States with Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence*, 2 vols. (Boston, New York: Houghton & Mifflin, 1909), 2: 269-77. Suzanne Gail Snyder lists some 950 German-American singing societies, 1835-1960, in "The Männerchöre Tradition in the United States: a Historical Analysis of its Contribution to American Musical Culture" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1991), 426-551. See also the list of Sängerbund festivals between 1849 and 1901 in Mary Jane Corry, "The Role of German Singing Societies in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Germans in America: Aspects of German-American Relations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. E. Allen McCormick (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1983), 167. Ironically, according to Marcia J. Citron, Fanny Hensel did not like musical settings for male chorus. *The Letters of Fanny Hensel to Felix Mendelssohn*, 346.

⁶⁵ See Mary Sue Morrow, "Somewhere Between Beer and Wagner: the Cultural and Musical Impact of German Männerchöre in New York and New Orleans," in *Music and Culture in America, 1861-*

1918, 81.

⁶⁶ On the clubs' social functions, see Morrow, "German Männerchöre," 85-93, Snyder, "The Männerchöre Tradition in the United States," 177-202 and 380-406, and Mary Sue Morrow, "Singing and Drinking in New Orleans: The Social and Musical Functions of Nineteenth-Century German Männerchöre," *The Southern Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1989): 5-24.

⁶⁷ Snyder, "The Männerchöre Tradition in the United States," 233.

⁶⁸ Morrow, "German Männerchöre," 93-97, 106-08.

⁶⁹ Victor Herbert, "Artistic Bands," in *Music of the Modern World*, ed. Anton Seidl (New York: D. Appleton, 1895), 120.

⁷⁰ Frank van der Stucken, "Male Chorus Singing," in *Music of the Modern World*, 127.

⁷¹ For example, the repertoire of the Cyfarthfa Band, which Trevor Herbert has described as unparalleled in its "sophistication and diversity," contains no works by any of the composers in the Strattons' Sixth Series other than Felix Mendelssohn. Herbert, "The Reconstruction of Nineteenth-Century Band Repertory: Towards a Protocol," 211-22.

⁷² Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, 51.

⁷³ Patton, *Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music*, 62.

APPENDIX

Contents of *Military Music*, Sixth Series (Boston: G. W. Stratton, 1871)

Franz Abt (1819-85)	Lieder und Chöre für 3 Frauenstimme mit Piano- forte, op. 186, Heft 1 ⁱ 3. Die Nacht Der rechte Mann
[C.F.] Adam	Waldeinsamkeit ⁱⁱ
J[ohannes] Becker (1833-84)	6 dreistimmige Lieder 3. Aus der Ferne 4. Schweizerlied
O[tto Karl] Cla[u]dius (1795-1877)	Auf, schenket ein. Doppelquartett
J[ohannes Rupprecht] Dürnner (1810-59)	6 Gesänge für 4 Männerstimmen, op. 22 1. Frühlingslied 2. Das Vöglein im Walde
Rich[ard] Genée (1823-95)	Die Politik, op. 40. Komisches Duett für 2 Bässe mit Pianoforte Das Engagements-Gesuch, op. 82. Duett für Tenor und Bass mit Pianoforte ⁱⁱⁱ
[Gustav] Graben-Hoffman (1820-1900)	Liebeshandel. Duet für Sopran und Tenor mit Piano- forte, op. 19
[Moritz] Hauptmann (1792-1868)	Auf dem See, op. 21, for four soloists, four-part choir, and piano
[Franz] Jos[eph] Haydn (1732-1809)	Aus des Ramlers lyrischer Blumenlese, H. XXVc 1. Der Augenblick 13. Abendlied
F[anny Mendelssohn] Hensel (1805-1847)	Gartenlieder, op. 3 1. Hörst du nicht die Bäume rauschen 2. Schöne Fremde 3. Im Herbst 4. Morgengruß 5. Abendlich schon rauscht der Wald 6. Im Wald
[Eduard] Hermes	Deutschland dein Volk es singt Wie könnt' ich dein vergessen

- Ferd[inand] Hiller (1811-85) 6 Gesänge für Sopran, Alto, Tenor und Bass, op. 31
 Heft 1, 1. Willkommen
 2. Frühlingsgedränge
 3. Sonntag
 Heft 2, 1. Gute Nacht
 2. Morgens als Lerche
- [Friedrich] Kuhlau (1786-1832) “Ueber allen Wipfeln ist Ruh.” Abendlied^{iv}
- Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809-47) Vier Lieder, op. 75
 1. Der frohe Wandersmann
 2. Abendständchen
 4. Abschiedstafel
 Vier Lieder, op. 76
 3. Lied für die Deutschen in Lyons
- Th. Merker Serenade
- [August] Mühli[n]g (1786-1847)^v Frühlings Erwachen
- Rich[ard] Müller Reiselied
 Lied: Das arme Röslein
- L[ouis] Papi[e]r Blauäugelein
- C[arl] Reinecke (1824-1910) Nun fangen die Weiden zu blühen an
 Volkslied, op. 80
- A[ugust] F[erdinand] Riccius (b. 1819) Waldrast
- H. Richter Altdeutsches Lied
- G.A. Ritter Lied: An der Mond
- [Rudolf] Sachse (d. 1848) Concertino for E♭ Cornet
- Rob[ert] Schumann (1810-56) Vier Duette, op. 34
 1. Liebesgarten
 4. Familien-Gemälde
 Fünf Lieder, op. 55
 1. Das Hochlandmädchen
 2. Zahnweh
 5. Hochlandbursch
 Romanzen und Balladen, op. 67
 2. Schön Rohtraut
 3. Der traurige Jäger

	4. Ungewitter 5. John Anderson Romanzen und Balladen, op. 75 2. Im Walde. Chor mit Echo O selig ^{vi}
R[ichard] Seifert	Schneeglöckchen Liebesschmerz
[Friedrich] W[ilhelm] Stade (b. 1817)	Vier Gesänge für vier Männerstimmen 1. Wanderlied
C[arl Friedrich] Zöllner (1800-60)	Hymnus (bei Trauungen) 12 Lieder u. Gesänge für 4 Männerstimmen, op. 13 2. Wanderlied 4. Trinklied Wanderlieder von Wilhelm Müller für 4 Männerstimmen, op. 14 3. Einkehr
Unattributed	Die Warnung

ⁱ As Abt produced over 3000 works under 600 opus numbers, this attribution may or may not be correct. The bulk of the identifications of the sources of the arrangements have been made from nineteenth-century publishers' catalogues.

ⁱⁱ Published in *Liederhort (Deutscher) für vierstimmige Männerchor in 100 neuen Gesängen* (Leipzig: Kollmann, n.d.). The opening text of the song is "Im schattigen Haine."

ⁱⁱⁱ In the band arrangements, both works by Genée are entitled "Duett."

^{iv} Published in C. W. Ellissen, *Volkslieder für Pianoforte übertragen* (Hannover: Hornemann, ca. 1849).

^v Also possibly Julius Mühling (1810-80).

^{vi} Possibly not by Schumann. Perhaps Richard Genée's *3 Lieder für Bass*, op. 44, no. 1, "O selig ein Türke zu sein," misattributed.