

N. Lee Orr

John Hill Hewitt: Bard of the Confederacy

John Hill Hewitt touched almost every facet of American artistic enterprise during his long life (1801-1890). As dramatist, poet, historian, publisher, artist, essayist, songwriter and composer, he occupied “a unique position in both the musical and literary history of America.”¹ He was the most popular songwriter before Stephen Foster, and he continued to be recognized by the accolade, “Bard of the Confederacy,” during the Civil War. His uncommon talent lay in gauging precisely the popular tastes of his day and mirroring those tastes in his music. While we may smile now at the precious, mannered and genteel style of his songs, operettas, plays and poetry, these were exactly the aesthetic qualities that appealed to nineteenth-century audiences. Even though these works speak mainly to a certain time and place, studying this music is richly rewarding. Not only does it poignantly reflect a bygone era in our own cultural history, but it continues to strike a resonant chord in us today.²

Hewitt produced an astonishing oeuvre that includes more than three hundred songs and at least eight musical stage works. He wrote more than forty plays, two published volumes of poetry, hundreds of short poems, and three complete works of fiction. As a tireless chronicler of his time he authored one published collection of reminiscences, an unpublished narrative of the Civil War, a four-volume autobiography, essays, editorials, historical sketches, remembrances, and innumerable letters. He was arguably the first important operetta composer in the United States,³ and quite possibly composed the first American oratorio.⁴

No matter where he lived—which included almost every important city on the eastern seaboard: New York, Boston, Baltimore, Norfolk, Augusta, Savannah, Columbia, Richmond, and Norfolk—he was likely to be teaching, editing newspapers, publishing music, managing a theater, starting academies, arranging and conducting musical entertainments and performing. Even more dramatically, his life included more than a few breathtaking perils: he almost drowned twice, barely escaped being crushed by a train, took part in a bank riot, and had two theaters burn down around him, one while he acted and another while he slept.⁵ Moreover, he seems to have been present at many landmark events during the century: he saw Fulton’s first steamboat sail the Hudson River, rode on the first train drawn by a locomotive out of Baltimore, and heard the first dispatch sent over Morse’s telegraph from Baltimore to Washington.⁶

Hewitt was an extraordinary litterateur as well as a composer. His numerous dramatic works include “acting drama” manuscripts for plays,

melodramas and operetta librettos that vary from short sketches to full-length dramas. He wrote prose works mainly during his later years after he settled in Baltimore in 1875. Many of his short pieces were published in Baltimore newspapers and reflect the light and sentimental writing so fashionable during the Gilded Age. He was an extremely facile poet as well. Reading through his voluminous collection of works gives the impression that he almost continuously wrote poems, which could easily fill several volumes in addition to the two published collections.⁷ The poems vary widely in quality, but overall they show enthusiasm, craftsmanship and imagination. Altogether, his literary and musical works comprise one of the most extraordinary artistic collections produced during the nineteenth century.

The Hewitt Family

The bulk of our information on Hewitt's life comes from his own four-volume unpaginated manuscript containing a semi-fictionalized autobiography. In the first part, *Gilbert Crampton—Romance and Reality, being the Biography of a Man of Letters, Edited by a Cosmopolitan* (volumes I and II), Hewitt begins with a pseudonymous third-person narrative of the early career and adventures of Crampton—read Hewitt—but later lapses into a more personal, first-person style. The second part, colorfully titled *Leasure [sic] Hours* (volumes III and IV), picks up in the early 1880s and continues right up to his death in 1890. While Hewitt puts himself in a favorable light throughout these reminiscences, and can at times reinterpret the meaning of events in his favor, the factual statements seem largely to be credible.

Only two serious studies of Hewitt's life and music have been done, a Ph.D. dissertation and a DMA paper.⁸ While these scholars did the fundamental spadework, even the more recent study is over twenty years old. Neither completely assesses Hewitt's overall output. Other biographical materials found at the Emory University library consist of what must surely be only a modest portion of Hewitt's personal and family correspondence, much of it from his later years. Two notebooks by his father, James Hewitt, most likely written before he came to this country in 1792, extend the scope of the collection back into the eighteenth century.

The father, James Hewitt (born Dartmouth, England, June 4, 1770), was a musician in England and must have shown considerable promise, for at the young age of twenty-one he served briefly as leader of the orchestra at the court of George III. In 1790 he had married a Miss Lamb, but when she and a child died a year later he decided to move to America.⁹ He left England in June 1792 on the brig *Bristol* and arrived in New York on September 5.¹⁰

James Hewitt quickly entered into New York's musical life, becoming that city's "leading professional musician . . . during the post-Revolutionary period."¹¹ He joined the Old American Company as orchestra leader and opera arranger where he wrote approximately twenty stage works, including two

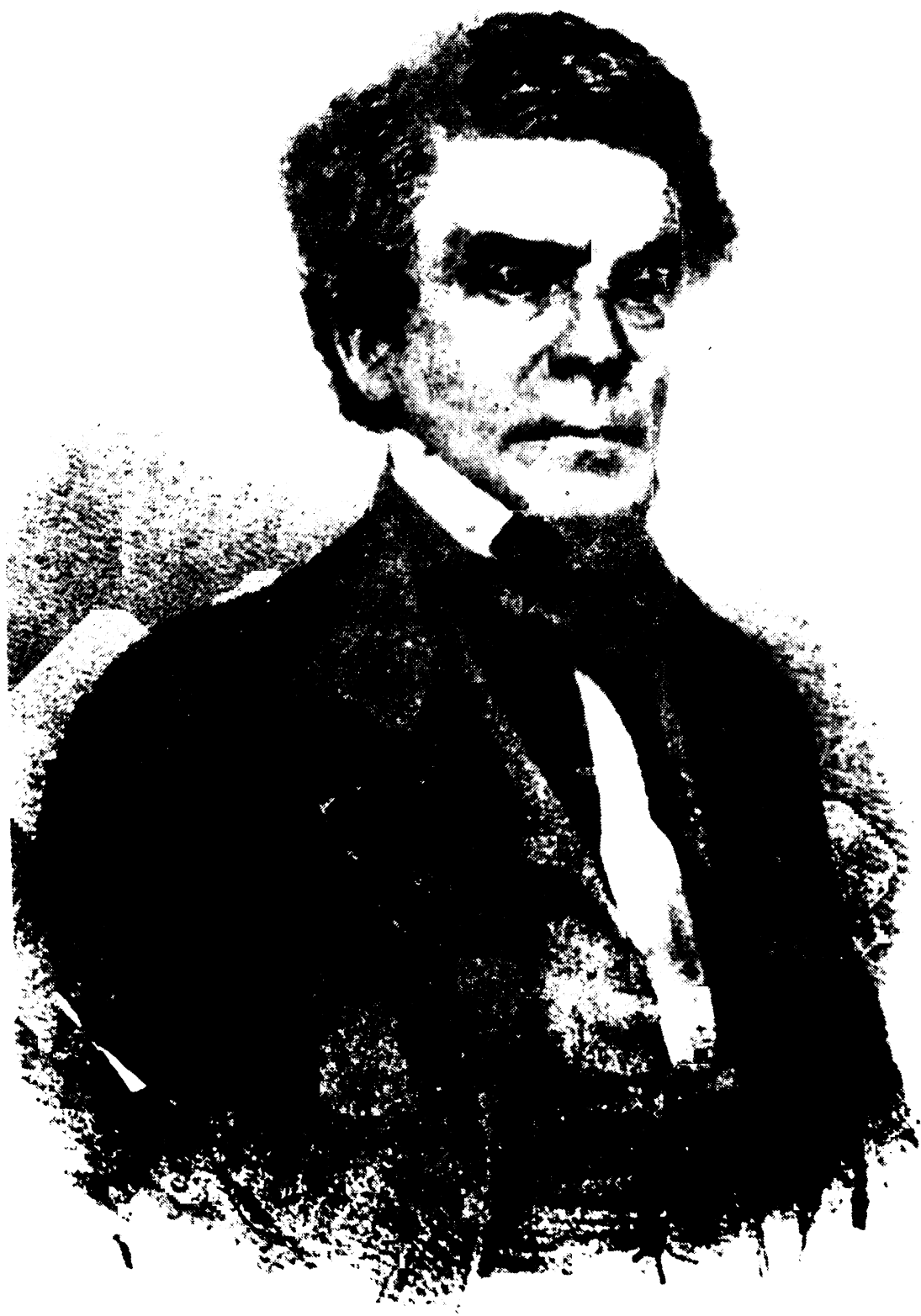


Figure 1. John Hill Hewitt.
Photo courtesy of Emory University.

operas, *Tammany, or the Indian Chief*, a ballad opera with obvious political overtones (March 3, 1794), and *The Patriot, or Liberty Asserted*, which he performed on June 4 that same year. Sadly only fragments of the music from either work survive.¹²

Along with his conducting and composing, Hewitt soon entered the publishing business, buying Benjamin Carr's *Musical Repository*, which was later carried on by his son James.¹³ In 1800 James senior published his own song, "The Wounded Hussar," which quickly became one of the most popular songs of the early nineteenth century. As Charles Hamm points out, the song treats yet again the subject of "separation and loss brought about by the [Revolutionary] War."¹⁴ This time the girl left at home seeks out the lover on the field after the battle.

Alone on the banks of the dark rolling Danube,
Fair Adelaide hied when the battle was o'er.
Oh wither she cried hast thou wander'd my lover
Or where dost thou welter and bleed on the shore.

The remaining three verses describe how she finds him and begins consoling him, sadly too late: "his faltering tongue scarce could murmur adieu," as he dies in her arms.

The strophic nature of the text, the diatonic melodic line, and major key belie the dramatic impact that the song made on the listeners of the day. By today's standards the music seems too gentle and innocent to support the melodrama contained in the words. But to contemporaneous ears the wide ranges and discreet dissonances of Hewitt's song were "quite expressive and even dramatic, within the stylistic bounds imposed on him by the period in which he lived."¹⁵

On December 10, 1796 Hewitt married his second wife, Eliza King at Trinity Episcopal Church, on Wall Street in New York. She was nine years his junior and the daughter of Sir John King, who had been connected with the British East India Company.¹⁶ John Hill Hewitt was born of this union on July 12, 1801, at 59 Maiden Lane, New York City, the third of seven children and the eldest son. Hewitt senior began commuting to Boston in about 1808. By 1810 the family had moved there permanently and Hewitt presented a "Musical Entertainment" of vocal and instrumental music on December 26. The well-received concert led to a similar one on January 8, 1811. Later that year, on October 9, he led the orchestra for a concert managed by a Mr. Chambers, where Hewitt conducted an "overture" (probably a symphony movement) by Haydn, the Overture to *Lodoiska* by Kreutzer, and the Andante from the *Surprise* Symphony of Haydn, all ambitious works for the period.¹⁷ He also played the organ at Trinity Church.

In 1816 he returned to New York with John and James, junior, leaving the other children with his wife in Boston. During this period his talented

daughter, Sophie Henriette Hewitt was serving as the organist for the Handel and Haydn Society. In 1822 she married Louis Ostinelli, the leading violinist in the city, and she later moved to Portland, Maine, continuing to perform in concerts and teach piano, harp and voice for nearly twenty years.¹⁸

Early Career

Back in New York, Hewitt, senior, sought to help young John establish himself in business. As Hewitt recounts in *Leisure Hours*, his father found a place for him with the jewelry firm of Stollenmark on Broadway, but John soon left after being accused of stealing. His next stint as a clerk in a New York commission house finished his sojourn in the world of business. With his energetic nature and creative mind, he soon grew bored with the drudgery of his position and penned his poetic contempt in the daily ledger: “None but a fool—my life I’ll wager/Will waste his best days o’er a ledger. And all for what? Himself to starve/And give his masters beef to carve.” Unfortunately he forgot to remove the doggerel, and his boss, discovering it, fired him.¹⁹

Hewitt took matters into his own hands and decided to try military service. He had been active in a drill corps in New York that practiced on Saturdays and was sometimes commanded by a General Swift who had become a friend of the family. Swift had noticed young Hewitt’s upright military deportment and offered to intervene on his behalf with John C. Calhoun at the War Department. In the summer of 1818 Swift obtained permission for Hewitt to enter the Academy at West Point. When the letter with the admission warrant arrived, it took his father by surprise, as young Hewitt had pursued the appointment without telling him. Nevertheless, he consented and wished him to “be more successful in this calling of your own than you have been in those which your mother and I have selected for you.” Hewitt passed the entrance exams later that summer and entered the academy on September 21, 1818.²⁰

At West Point Hewitt received his only formal musical training from the academy band director, Richard Willis (b. ? d. 1830), an Irish immigrant who had been a musician in England. Willis’s impressive skill on the keyed bugle and the flute had earned him the appointment at West Point before he even arrived in New York.²¹ Willis is the one friend during his years at West Point that Hewitt mentions in his writings: “To Captain Willis I am indebted for my musical education for he was a good theorist as well as a good performer.”²²

Hewitt’s military career hit several snags as his graduation year of 1822 approached. His marginal involvement in a student prank—they had tried but failed to fire a cannon at the Superintendent’s room—created one problem. For another, his work in chemistry, trigonometry, and the application of algebra to geometry remained deficient. Finally, when the administration ordered him to repeat his last year, he balked, accused Superintendent Thayer of

undermining him, and challenged the superintendent to a duel, which fortunately did not take place. Hewitt's resignation aborted his military career.²³ Later he admitted that he "was born of a different line, and did not inherit those traits that go to make good soldiers. I should have been placed in a school of Music and the Fine Arts."²⁴

As luck would have it, the mail soon brought news from his father. James expressed his disappointment over John's resignation, but reminded him of his literary and musical talents. James told his son that "I am going to the south on a kind of theatrical speculation which I think will succeed. The theaters of Augusta, Savannah and Columbia are offered to me, and I have already engaged a select corps dramatique. Your pen and your flute will both be useful to me."²⁵ Hewitt *filed* found the invitation not only timely but attractive, jumped "on board a brig bound to Savannah—and sailed from New York full of happy anticipation."²⁶

In 1823 Augusta was still a small town, and John found conditions less than ideal. The theater was "an old wooden structure, situated on the banks of the river, approached by dark and muddy streets."²⁷ Opening night was Friday, January 10, 1823, when the troupe "presented for the first time here, the celebrated melo Drama, in three acts, called the *Snow Storm*. As performed in London, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston with distinguished applause. The music composed by Mr. Hewitt."²⁸ As was the custom, the play was preceded by a musical potpourri consisting of songs, dances, and recitations. The season continued with melodramatic plays such as *My Grandmother*, *Forest of Rosenwald*, *Innkeeper's Daughter*, *The Vampyr*, and others.²⁹ Unfortunately, the theater burned down in April and Hewitt *pere* shortly returned to New York.³⁰

Young Hewitt found southern society congenial and decided to remain in Augusta, teaching flute and piano to the families of affluent merchants and planters. "I loved the genuine hospitality of the Southerners," he wrote; he felt that in the South, where manners and proper breeding were held in high esteem, his "gentlemanly and upright deportment" would help him move into the upper sphere of society.³¹

Though he may have enjoyed high society, he did not prosper financially, which, in 1824, prompted his move to Columbia, South Carolina to study law in Judge Thompson's law office. But once again the appearance of indiscreet personal behavior drove Hewitt out of town. As Hewitt told the story, he was out riding with his student, Elizabeth Macklin, when a storm forced them to seek shelter in a deserted cottage. A large bear prowling around the cabin kept them from leaving until a search party discovered them the next morning. The ensuing scandal encouraged Hewitt quickly to accept a position as music instructor at the Baptist Female Academy in Greenville, South Carolina.³²

In Greenville, Hewitt, in addition to teaching, founded the first literary journal in the South Carolina Piedmont, the *Ladies Literary Port Folio*.³³ He

also composed one of his first songs, “The Minstrel’s Return’d from the War.” In the manuscript copy now in the Library of Congress he described the song’s history:

This song, crude as it is, was one of my first musical efforts. It was composed in 1825 in the village of Greenville, S.C., now a city of 20,000 souls. When I returned North, I took this book with me to Boston. My brother James was a musical publisher. I gave him a copy to publish—he did it very reluctantly—did not think it worthy of a copyright. It was eagerly taken up by the public, and established my reputation as a ballad composer. It was sold all over the world—and my brother, not securing the right, told me that he missed making at least \$10,000.³⁴

Hewitt penned the piece as popular song in America was coming of age. While British composers continued to dominate the market during the decades between 1810 and 1840, American songwriters were establishing a cottage industry. Along with established printers on the eastern seaboard, new presses appeared throughout the South: Benjamin Casey in New Orleans, Charles Gilfert in Charleston, and William C. Peters in Louisville.³⁵

Hewitt’s song became one of the archetypal American parlor songs, a model for the ballad (which, as William Ludden pointed out in his *Pronouncing Dictionary* (Boston, 1875), was “a short simple song of natural construction [with] each verse sung to the same melody”). “The Minstrel’s Return’d” became so popular, in fact, that it earned Hewitt the accolade as “the father of the American ballad.”³⁶ One facsimile edition advertised it as “the first American hit song.”³⁷ These works, aimed at the amateur singer with limited vocal range, were easy to perform, strophic, and included keyboard accompaniment. The music was cast into regular four-measure phrases, with the first stanza printed beneath the music and remaining stanzas following the musical score (Example 1).³⁸

The song’s style shows clear roots in the works of Shield, Hook and James Hewitt. Its appeal comes from its clear and direct depiction of the text, which deftly combined most of the major themes in American life: patriotism, tender affection (for either family, parents or children), separation through death, and parting. With families moving long distances to settle new land, young men going away to serve in the military, women leaving with new husbands, and death such a constant factor, it is not surprising that parting and separation became common threads in nineteenth-century poetry and song. People were well aware that they might soon be deprived of loved ones.³⁹ The genteel musical packaging of these harsh truths made it a little easier for the listener to accept their reality.

Hewitt showed early on his natural gifts as a songwriter, “who understood, as did Schubert and Stephen Foster, that the best songs have music

THE MINSTREL'S RETURN'D FROM THE WAR
 As Sung by
 (M^r C. W. TAYLOR)
 Written & Composed by
 (J. H. H.)

Philadelphia Published by John G. Kamm.

ANIMATO.

cres

f *p* *f* *dolce*

The Minstrel's return'd from the war, With spir_its as buoyant as

air; And thus on his tunful guitar, He sings in the bow' of his fair, He

sings in the bow' of his fair; The noise of the battle is o_ _ _ ver, The bugle no more calls to

377.

Example 1. "The Minstrel's Return d from the War."

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The second system also has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The third system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The piano accompaniment features a variety of textures, including arpeggiated chords and sustained chords. The score is in G major and 4/4 time.

arms. A soldier no more, but a lo - - - - - ver, I kneel to the power of thy
 charms! Sweet la - - dy, dear la - dy! I'm thine, I bend to the mag - ic of
 beauty; Tho' the helmet and banner are mine, Yet love calls the soldier to duty.

The minstrel his suit warmly prest,
 She blushed, sigh'd and hung down her head;
 Till conquer'd she fell on his breast
 And thus to the happy youth said;
 "The bugle shall part us, love, never,
 My bosom thy pillow shall be;
 'Till death tears thee from me forever
 Still faithful, I'll perish with thee!
 Sweet lady, dear lady! I'm thine,
 I bend to the magic of beauty,
 Tho' the helmet and banner are mine,
 Yet love calls the soldier to duty

But fame called the youth to the field,
 His banner wav'd over his head;
 He gave his guitar for a shield,
 But soon he laid low with the dead:
 While she o'er her young hero bending,
 Received his expiring adieu;
 I die while my country defending,
 With my heart to my lady love true!"
 Oh! death! then she sigh'd, "I am thine,
 I tear off the roses of beauty,
 For the grave of my hero is mine,
 He died true to love and to duty!"

Example 1. "The Minstrel's Return'd from the War."

that allows the verse to be understood with no competition from the music, but the music must intensify the words through its own distinctive character."⁴⁰ The three verses tell the story of a minstrel who returns to his lover from battle and promises her that, "The bugle shall part us, love, never/My bosom thy pillow shall be; 'till death tears thee from me forever/Still faithful, I'll perish with thee." The bugle sounds again, however, and the minstrel gives up his guitar for a shield and dies in battle, "true to love and to duty!" The first measures of the song contain the important musical material for the whole work. The march-like introduction with its dotted rhythms and trumpet fanfare recalls the battlefield and duty of the soldier to fight. Then when the guitar is mentioned in m. 13 the accompaniment changes to a softer serenade style, suggesting the steadfast devotion of the soldier's beloved awaiting him back home. The discreet move to the dominant in mm. 19-26 heightens the musical tension, which quietly underlies the hope in the text that promises an end to the fighting and the return of the soldier home.

The rising crest of popularity for parlor songs of all kinds helped bring widespread success to Hewitt's works. In fact, as late as 1854, when Stephen Foster's songs were being aggressively marketed by Firth and Pond, Hewitt's works were still much better known⁴¹. As Charles Hamm observes, "his songs of the 1830s and 40s represent a sort of microcosm of song in America during this fertile period."⁴² Works like "O! Soon Return" (1829) and "Farewell Since We Must Part" (1829) capture the pain of separation and parting already discussed. The vogue for Italian opera, recently introduced to America in the works of Bellini and Rossini, shows up in the style of songs such as "Wilt Thou Think of Me?" (1836) and "They Told Me to Shun Him" (1834). Hewitt's special skill lay in the straightforward depiction of quasi-Medieval loftiness, in effect making "miniature operatic dramas" with a few well-chosen images and simple melodies.⁴³ Only one work echoed the success of "The Minstrel's Return'd," "The Mountain Bugle" (1833), which appeared in a second edition in 1839 as well as an arrangement for guitar.⁴⁴

Hewitt's songs enjoyed such success because, like the popular music of any time, they met an emotional need. In a place and an era dominated by social prohibitions against public displays of emotions, these songs—with their retrospective "olden days" quality—played an indispensable role in allowing the listener, moved by the song, to give vent to his inner feelings in a socially approved manner (with gently dropped tears). "They allowed the soul the breathe."⁴⁵

Hewitt exploited more than once the popular Romantic symbol of refuge from the pain of life, the Tree, with its powerful, never-changing presence. "Its spreading leafy boughs protect and comfort as a person stumbles through the world—sheltering the child, screening young sweethearts, shading the traveler, and standing guard over the dead."⁴⁶ The strength of the imagery accounts for much of the success of the Morris-Russell song "Woodman! Spare that Tree!" whose story Hewitt continued in his "Fall of the Oak" (1841).

Hewitt again attempted to duplicate Russell's success in his song "The Old Elm Tree" (1842). Depicting the historic elm on the Common in Boston where children still played, he shrewdly combined the imagery of the elm ("In days of yore beneath its shade ") not only with childhood ("our daughters dance, and sing, and play, For, who so gay, so proud as they?") but with patriotism, by suggesting that Washington stood there as "Our land's first Chief—the brave and good."

Another powerful symbol for safety and security in a precarious world was the Home, often presented with its chief domestic guardian, Mother. Few images of nineteenth-century popular song caught the attention of listeners as immediately as those of home. Following the enormous success of "Home! Sweet Home" by the Englishman Henry Bishop and the American John Howard Payne, living in London, hundreds of British and American imitations followed: "Do They Miss Me at Home?" "My Old Kentucky Home," "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," and of course Stephen Foster's enduring favorite "Old Folks at Home."⁴⁷

Mother, a model of unquestioned devotion, was a sure bedrock of love, tenderness, and solace when all else failed. She in return became a central figure of nineteenth-century thought, an object of devotion. A mere thought of her could console the heartsick, as Hewitt describes it in his "Welcome Mother!" (1834):

Love, forsaken—'midst the smiling,
Longing for some absent one,
I have stood—one thought beguiling,
'Twas the thought of thee alone.

His later song "Rock Me to Sleep Mother" (1862), penned during the Civil War when families were often separated, offers an even more penetrating picture of that yearning for the soothing ministrations of the only one who "can charm away pain." Hewitt's music to Florence Percy's nostalgic poem became his best-known tune after "The Minstrel's Return'd." The work went into at least three editions, and was reprinted as late as 1889.⁴⁸

Amidst the brutal realities of America's bloodiest conflict, songwriters were constantly drawn to this feminine symbol of home, stability, and enduring love during an era when families lost men in battle and women often died young as well. The words express the loneliness and suffering of the soldier away at war (and for families missing him at home) (Example 2).

The compound meter recalls the gentle lullabies sung to the child while the active melodic line evokes a poignant sadness. Hewitt discreetly intensifies the yearning in places such as m. 12 where he pens a rising sixth above a dominant seventh chord for emphasis; four measures later he pushes the musical tension slightly further by the deceptive cadence on "hair." The refrain fittingly concludes each verse by moving into sixteenth-notes giving an added urgency to the singer's plea.

2

“ROCK ME TO SLEEP, MOTHER!”
BALLAD.

Words by FLORENCE PERCY.

Music by JOHN H. HEWITT.

Andante con Espressione.

PIANO. *mf* *Cresc.* *f*

I. Backward, still backward, oh Time, in your flight, Make me a child a - gain
II. O - ver my heart in the days that are flown, No love like mo - ther love
III. Moth - er, dear mo - ther, the years have been long Since I last hush'd to your

just for a night; Moth - er come back from the ech - o less shore,
ev - er has shone,— No oth - er wor - ship a - bides and en - dures,
lul - la by song; Sing, then, and un - to my soul it shall seem

Example 2. “Rock Me to Sleep Mother.”

3

Take me a - gain to your heart as of yore. Kiss from my fore - head the
Faith - ful, un - self ish and pa - tient like yours. None like a moth - er can
Wo - manhood's tears have been but a dream. Clasp'd to your heart in a

fur - rowa of care, Smooth the few sil - ver threads out of my hair;
charm a - way pain, From the sick soul and the world - heavy brain;
lov - ing em - brace, With your light lash - es just sweep - ing my face,

O - ver my slum - bers your lov - ing watch keep, - } Rock me to sleep, mother,
Slum - ber's soft calms o'er my bea - vy lids creep, - }
Nev - er here - af - ter to wake or to weep, - }

rall.
f
rall.
cresc.

Example 2. "Rock Me to Sleep Mother."

acquerimento.

rock me to sleep; Rock me, rock me, rock me to sleep;

p *legato.*

dim. perdendosi.

Rock me, rock me, rock me to sleep.....

colla voce. *pp* *dim.*

.....

Weeks, pr.

Example 2. “Rock Me to Sleep Mother,” cont.

The Mid South Years, 1827-60

Hewitt's career in South Carolina was interrupted by his father's illness in 1826. He left Savannah and arrived in Boston, where the family was living in 1827. John was dismayed by his father's condition, made more appalling by incompetent facial surgery, and noted, "I arrived in Boston in time to see my father, as it were, dying by inches. Mother had been his faithful and untiring nurse during upwards of a year of terrible suffering" ⁴⁹ James Hewitt died on August 2, 1827.

That same year John Hewitt married his first wife, Estelle Magnin, whom he had met sometime before when she visited West Point. She was born October 20, 1802 in Kingston, Jamaica to Ann and Charles Magnin, a French architect and engineer. After the wedding Hewitt took a position in Boston with the *Massachusetts Journal*. When the *Journal* failed the next year the young couple moved to Baltimore, the city he would eventually call home.

In Baltimore "he commenced his career life" with musical activities, theatrical productions, and journalism.⁵⁰ Still in his twenties, Hewitt had already developed a reputation as a composer and a poet, which helped him secure a position with *The Emerald*, a literary paper edited by Rufus Dawes. Given the scarcity of well trained, literate writers, in the mid-South region, Hewitt had little trouble finding work in journalism, something he would come back to again and again throughout his entire life. When *The Emerald* merged with *The Minerva*, Hewitt became sole editor of the new paper *The Baltimore Minerva and Emerald*.⁵¹ He also edited, at various times, *The Baltimore Saturday Visitor*, *The Daily Clipper* and *The Sunday Enterprise*.⁵² In Baltimore Hewitt met some of the most important literary figures in early nineteenth-century America, including Hezekiah Niles (editor of the *Niles Weekly Register*) and the poets Edward Pinckney, Francis Scott Key and Edgar Allan Poe.⁵³

His encounter with Poe became somewhat notorious following their clash over a poetry contest. Poe had come to Baltimore in 1829 hoping to establish his reputation with his first collection of poems, *Al Aaraaf*, *Tamerlane*, and *Minor Poems*. Although Hatch & Dunning published two hundred and fifty copies, which Poe undoubtedly circulated to literary editors, only three reviews appeared. One advance notice by John Neal was printed in *The Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette*. Another, unfavorable, reaction came from Nathaniel Park Willis in *The American Monthly Magazine*.⁵⁴ Hewitt wrote the third review for his own paper, *The Baltimore Minerva and Emerald*. With his rather straightforward and literal poetic bent, he was put off by Poe's vivid imagery and imagination: "With all my brain-cudgelling, I could not compel myself to understand line by line, or the sum total." The muse of poetry, he wrote, "hesitated in imparting to the author of 'Al Aaraaf' that portion of inspiration essential to the formation of a poet of mediocre talents." Unfortunately, Hewitt's own limited understanding of Poe's work led him to adopt an air of superiority. He smugly concluded later that "Poe was not the poet he was said to be; he added but little to the literary reputation of our country."⁵⁵

Subsequent events escalated the bad feelings between the poets. *The Minerva and Emerald* had folded in 1833 and Hewitt had been appointed literary editor of *The Baltimore Saturday Visitor*, which sponsored a contest on June 15, 1833 for the best prose and the best poem. Both men entered. Poe won the prize for his tale *A Manuscript Found in a Bottle*; Hewitt, writing under the pseudonym Henry Wilton, was awarded top honors for best poem with his *Song of the Wind* over Poe's *The Coliseum*. Poe maintained that the judges told him his poem would have won had he not received the prize for his short story.⁵⁶ Later, discovering the identity of Henry Wilton, he irately confronted Hewitt at the office door of *The Visitor* and accused him of using "underhanded means, sir, to obtain that prize over me." Furthermore, he denounced Hewitt for influencing the committee and of failing to be "a gentleman." Hewitt then slugged him. As he described later: "With my usual impulsiveness, I dealt him a blow which staggered him, for I was physically his superior." A fight appeared imminent but the two were parted, "much to the disappointment of our friends and well-wishers."⁵⁷ The bruises to their egos, however, lingered. Poe never forgave Hewitt for winning a contest sponsored by Hewitt's own paper; he later described *The Visitor* as a "journal which has never yet been able to recover from the *mauvais odeur* imparted to it by Hewitt."⁵⁸ Hewitt for his part resented living in Poe's shadow and never missed an opportunity to assail his character.

During his years in Baltimore, Hewitt produced his first successful plays and musical stage works. The Front Street Theater staged his first play, *Washington: An Allegorical Spectacle*, in 1832. The next year it presented his *Rip Van Winkle*, for which he later composed music. He also wrote the text and some music for *Flora's Festival, a Pastoral Oratorio*, which premiered at the Baltimore Musical Institute on May 1, 1838, and proved to be one of his most popular works.⁵⁹

In addition to his dramatic efforts, Hewitt published his first collection of poetry in Baltimore: *Miscellaneous Poems*, a retrospective volume containing nearly all of his early poetry and songs.⁶⁰ Though the poems vary in quality, they reveal the hand of an able craftsman, and they constitute a respectable—and apparently somewhat popular—collection of early American poetry. Like the texts for the popular songs, the poems focus on the contemporary themes of nostalgia and loss. In *Decay* (pp. 47-48) Hewitt describes a different deprivation in each stanza: lost youth, forgotten forests, past home and childhood, departed friends, Father, and, of course, Mother. The final stanza draws everything together:

Aye, where are they—the beautiful,
The forest and its shade;
The house where I first saw the sun,
The garden where I play'd?
Where are the cherish'd of my youth?

My parents—where are they?
 Sibyl!—unfold the mystic page—
 'Tis written there—*Decay!*

In another poem, *On Music* (p. 60) Hewitt suggests a balm for the pain of loss of friends and family:

When far from the scene of childhood I rov'd,
 Forgotten by those whom my bosom held dear,
 I caught the mild strain of a song that I lov'd
 In the days of my youth, stealing soft on my ear.
 How welcome, how blissful the feeling it gave!
 It told me of pleasures long, long past away;
 And I questioned myself—if these numbers still love,
 Oh! why should remembrance so quickly decay?

Oh music! what language can breathe so like thee,
 New life on the heart that is sinking in death?
 How cold and how cheerless existence would be,
 Were our cares not appeased by thy life-giving breath.
 When the strain of my boyhood passed slowly along,
 It brought me again to my own fireside;
 And I caught every note of the soul-stealing song,
 To store in and cherish the dream 'ere it died.

The poems, like the songs, found a welcome reception. "Well done, friend Hewitt!" one reviewer wrote. Another noted that "His writings, both prose and poetical have uniformly proved very popular, and have been stamped with general approbation." The reviewer did not find it "surprising that his productions should win their way to general popularity, especially when it is considered, that by wedding some of his sweetest songs to music equally sweet, he has sent them forth to the world with double claims to admiration."⁶¹

During this time the Music Institute of Baltimore produced some of his compositions, including his oratorio *Jeptha*, which was mounted in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Georgetown, and Norfolk.⁶² In 1846 he presented the work in New York, where the *New York Daily Tribune* welcomed him "as author of the first successful American oratorio."⁶³ After some delays the performance with a full orchestra and a chorus of two hundred took place on January 26 at the Broadway Tabernacle.⁶⁴ While the work was criticized by the *Courier* and the *Enquirer*, the *Tribune* found that, given the difficult rehearsal circumstances, the work "was a gratifying and decisive triumph."⁶⁵

Hewitt moved to Washington in 1840, where his earlier journalistic connections from Baltimore gained him entree into important political circles. He worked with Henry Clay in his presidential campaign, but after Clay lost

the election, Hewitt's hopes for a political appointment faded and he moved once again. During the next twenty years he would live in various places throughout the upper South: Norfolk, Virginia, where he wrote for the *Norfolk Beacon*; then Hampton, Virginia, where he taught at the Chesapeake Female College until the death of his wife in 1859; and finally, Richmond, where he took up residence in January of 1860, taught music privately and wrote poetry.

The *Richmond Enquirer* welcomed Hewitt as a "citizen of Richmond who proposes to establish here an academy of vocal music" ⁶⁶ He joined quickly into the city's musical life, with the Richmond Academy of Music presenting that same year his most extensive work for the musical stage, *Rip Van Winkle*, a "Comic Opera in Three Acts." *Rip Van Winkle* (1860), *The Vivandiere* (1862/67) and *Taken In* (1879), alone among his eight theater works, used entirely original music; the other five, *The Bohemian Girl* (1863), *Lingomar the Semenole* [sic] (1863), *The Artist's Wife* (1863), *King Linkum the First* (1863), and *The Musical Enthusiast* (1872), incorporated borrowed music. In addition to these, Hewitt put together three lighter works: *The Revellers* (1874), *The Fairy Bridal* (1871), and *Flora's Festival* (1838), which went through at least seven printings by 1863. ⁶⁷

Apparently *Rip Van Winkle* had been produced first in 1833 as a play without music at the Baltimore Front Street Theater. ⁶⁸ Hewitt added musical numbers by 1851 (the date on the score and parts) and the brief subtitle *The Sleeper*. Selections were performed in Baltimore in 1853, two years before George Frederick Bristow's opera on the same story opened in New York. The entire work was presented in Richmond in 1860 by the Richmond Academy of Music.

Hewitt's lyrical works lay firmly in the mainstream of musical stage productions that had characterized the American theater for its first hundred years. ⁶⁹ In fact, most theatrical productions during this period were primarily musical, involving theatrical forms inherited from the Continent during the eighteenth century: ballad opera, comic opera, burlettas and farces, interludes and pantomimes—with rope dances, ballets and masques. During the Colonial period well over half the works presented along the eastern seaboard were musical in nature. Straight drama rarely appeared without music; comedies inevitably included songs, dances, and marches. A typical presentation of, say, *The Tempest* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream* might include as many as thirty songs. Actors were often expected to sing and dance as well as act. In the 1840s, the minstrel show—perhaps the first important homegrown American stage musical theater genre—led the way in establishing an indigenous popular musical theater with its emphasis on extensive musical activity, accompanied singing bridged by dialect conversation and ensembles.

Melodrama—the alternation or overlapping of instrumental sections with spoken lines—also became extremely popular in the years before the Civil War. While its origins lay in Europe—Germany, France and England all had

a thriving melodramatic heritage by this time—melodramatic techniques were easily adapted to our native play repertory or to English translations of Continental European pieces. The addition of new songs in effect created a popular hybrid. For new works American writers depicted American characters, American themes and American settings. From New York through the Midwest and South, increasing numbers of new melodramas appeared.

Melodrama's major competition came from opera in English (including both British works and English translations of familiar *bel canto* pieces). English opera generally consisted of a play with songs, in a style derived directly from *The Beggar's Opera*, as well as pastiches with more original music or with dialogue substituted for recitatives. Inevitably, given the enormous range and variety of singers, troupes, abilities, and situations, few operas were given in their entirety without singers inserting or substituting their own favorite popular songs, although this was not uncommon in Europe as well. (Not until after mid-century did this genre often appear in anything resembling its modern form, but with respect to performance practice it appears that American styles did not greatly differ from the European.) Few opera houses supported their own companies, so most audiences heard the latest operatic hits presented by the numerous traveling companies.⁷⁰

It was in this milieu of musical stage entertainments that Hewitt began his work. He drew from all the current types of musical productions, especially the Italianate English opera. Depending on the seriousness of the story he set, his works involved a melodramatic story either largely sung throughout, such as *Rip Van Winkle*, or as a dialogue play with new words set to familiar songs satirizing current events, such as *King Linkum the First*.

Rip Van Winkle, Hewitt's first important musical stage work, saw at least five productions as a popular play since Washington Irving had published it in *The Sketch Book* in 1819.⁷¹ Like these versions, Hewitt expanded the Washington Irving story into a complicated Romantic tapestry by including additional characters, patriotic themes, and rousing choral ensembles, such as the final chorus, "Sing, sing, patriot's sing. Let the echo steal along; We'll sing with pride our native song" (Example 3).

Hewitt reshaped Irving's characters to give the story a more sentimental twist by devising a love triangle between Dame Van Winkle, Derrick Van Brummel and Rip. Predictably, Hewitt has Rip discover the two lovers by listening at the door, and, in true melodramatic fashion, he barges in, catches them together and sings: "My doubts confirmed, she swerves from duty. Thou false one! Anguish cling to thee, the hand of grief shall mar thy beauty." Dame Van Winkle and Brummel despair together with a duet, "O fatal hour! Where shall I fly? Rage and despair flash from his eye!" The score then has "melodramatic-agitato" music to accompany Rip chasing Van Brummel into the woods with a gun, both pursued by the townspeople. In eluding his rival Rip rests by a brook, encounters a dwarf and returns the plot more closely to Irving's original.

[illegible]

Example 3. *Rip Van Winkle*, Act 3, Final Chorus.

monarch's slaves the strain let's; Its notes have made the fiddle string, And give the nation's heart

Hail, then hail the dainty band; Who fought the cause of Liberty; Hail, all hail to nation land, The

The musical score is handwritten on ten staves. The first five staves contain the lyrics 'monarch's slaves the strain let's; Its notes have made the fiddle string, And give the nation's heart'. The next five staves contain the lyrics 'Hail, then hail the dainty band; Who fought the cause of Liberty; Hail, all hail to nation land, The'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Example 3. *Rip Van Winkle*, Act 3, Final Chorus, cont.

Rip Van Winkle is Hewitt's most sophisticated opera. Divided into nineteen distinct musical numbers dispersed over three acts, the work has solo pieces alternating with ensembles and choruses. Though there are some extensive dialogue sections, the work is largely sung throughout. The musical style reflects that found in the Italian operas of Bellini, Donizetti, and Rossini that were popular in America at the time. Rip's solo from the end of Act 3 (Example 4), typifies Hewitt's musical style. Like a Bellini aria, it opens with a motto that lasts for four measures, at which time the solo enters, rising from the third of the opening chord. The melody, which generally rides the underlying harmony in triadic outlines, moves to the dominant. Hewitt reaches to the climax on a plaintive high F to underscore the bittersweet text: "I long for thee my quiet village home." While Hewitt includes infrequent chromatic touches, secondary dominants, and diminished-seventh chords for dramatic effect, the music is almost completely diatonic, harmonized mainly by the three major chords of the key.

Another scene, this one from Act 2, demonstrates Hewitt's sure skill at crafting effective musical melodrama. Orchestral music raises the curtain on Rip pensively sitting alone in the forest singing "All around seems quiet save the murmur of the brook." A tempo and key change precede the second verse. He then hears his name called offstage supported by orchestral accompaniment, to which he reacts with surprise. The dwarf Hans Dondervelt enters and asks for Rip's help. A solo by Rip is followed by spoken dialogue with Hans over more orchestral music. Rip concludes the scene by confidently assuring the dwarf, "If you treat me to good cheer, I'll join your merry dwarfish crew." Rip enters the dwarf gathering, falls asleep and the plot works its way to its expected finale, when Rip awakes twenty years later.

Unlike Irving's story, however, on his return Rip discovers the town has developed an enthusiastic patriotism. After opening martial music, the chorus of soldiers admonishes everyone to "March to the drum, to the drum and cheering fife." Rip agrees by singing that "dead the soul that feels no pride, when high our banner floats." Everyone joins in for the rousing conclusion.

Rip Van Winkle is one of Hewitt's two stage works for which we have his orchestration. (Horatio Hewitt, John's son, orchestrated *The Fairy Bridal*. *Jeptha*, which Hewitt also orchestrated, was intended for concert performance only.) Hewitt's instrumentation for both works typifies a mid-century American opera orchestra: flute, first and second clarinet (in C and B-flat), bassoon, horns, trumpet or cornet, bass trombone, tympani, first and second violins, viola, cello, and bass. The strings bear the heaviest musical burden, with the violins embellishing the melody in arpeggios, scales and repeated chords, while the violas fill in the harmony and the cello and bass generally supply the harmonic foundation. The remaining instruments are scored in the usual fashion of the time.

In May 1860 Hewitt's juvenile cantata, *Flora's Festival*, was presented "with splendid effect;" and the *Daily Dispatch* advised "every one to attend

Winkle
Rip Van Winkle who
Scenes I've loved so well in childhood
day. When not a care disturbed my youthful breast; I see them passing to slumber
M
Scenes I've loved so well in childhood
M
Scenes I've loved so well in childhood
M
Scenes I've loved so well in childhood
M

Example 4. *Rip Van Winkle*, Act 3, no. 17, "Scenes I lov'd so well," Rip.

Pa. 22.

The image shows a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The lyrics are written below the staves. The score is divided into sections by a double bar line. The first section is marked 'Pa. 22.' and the second section is marked 'Scene 2'. The lyrics are: 'Shot when the land can sell', 'My home! since brightly green', 'How changed, how changed the', 'Scene - Now manhood's sun has tinged my brow, I long for that my quiet village home', 'making look, the hoe and plough, O give me them and can I roam?', and 'How changed, how changed the'. The score is written in a cursive style with some corrections and annotations.

Shot when the land can sell

My home! since brightly green

How changed, how changed the

Scene - Now manhood's sun has tinged my brow, I long for that my quiet village home

making look, the hoe and plough, O give me them and can I roam?

How changed, how changed the

Example 4. *Rip Van Winkle*, Act 3, no. 17, "Scenes I lov'd so well." Rip.

on Wednesday night. Mr. Hewitt deserves to be encouraged, and we should exert ourselves to hold out inducements sufficient for him to decide on making Richmond his home.”⁷² The work of some twenty-six brief numbers was first put together by Hewitt in 1838 using music from Rossini, Auber, Mercadante and Weber, in addition to Hewitt’s own compositions, and was presented on May 1 of that year at the Baltimore Musical Institute. It was published in 1847 by M. H. Newman and Company of New York and proved to be the most popular of Hewitt’s musical theater works, enjoying reprintings as late as 1863 (New York: Ivison, Phinner and Company). The musical settings of Hewitt’s idyllic pastoral texts (sung by the spirit Flora, fairies, and zephyrs) are intentionally simple and edifying, “For the advancement of youth who have already acquired some Knowledge of the Elements of Music.”⁷³

The Confederate Years

The opening of the Civil War found Hewitt in Richmond. Sympathetic to the Southern cause, he decided to stay and cast his lot with the Confederacy. Lincoln’s decision to use military force to prevent the South from seceding angered Hewitt, who promptly offered his military service to President Davis. Hewitt declined an offer to drill new recruits perhaps feeling that he deserved a more prestigious appointment. He later claimed that Davis turned him down for a commission because of his Northern birth. His age—he was sixty years old—and lack of any real military experience undoubtedly played a greater role in the decision.⁷⁴

With military service again closed to him, he assumed management of the Richmond Theater in late 1861.⁷⁵ As the capital of a new nation, Richmond soon became the “Broadway of the South,” supporting as many as four theaters at the same time.⁷⁶ On October 10, 1861, Hewitt announced that in November his theater would open, but under wartime conditions this proved difficult to accomplish. At the outbreak of hostilities, many of the professional actors had fled north, leaving only the disreputable “fag-ends of dismantled companies to open the theater with,” including “harlots and artful dodgers.”⁷⁷ Hewitt worried not only about their lack of theatrical skills but also his potential loss of social standing from associating with such undesirables. Nevertheless, he began producing plays, including his own works: *The Scouts*, *The Log Fort*, and *The Prisoner of Monterey*.

The Scouts; or, the Plains of Manassas was Hewitt’s first play about the war, celebrating the first major Southern victory.⁷⁸ It opened on November 18, 1861, running for six consecutive nights as well as repeated performances during the season.⁷⁹ *The Scouts* has all the ingredients guaranteed to please wartime audiences: the rivalry between two brothers, Harry and Edward Ashwood, for their father’s ward Alice; the unbowed spirit of Southern women who dress as soldiers to capture Federal troops; and a comic subplot.

Hewitt's first season abruptly ended on New Year's Day, 1862, when the Richmond Theater burned to the ground. To complete the run Hewitt moved his troupe to old Trinity Church and renamed it the Richmond Varieties.⁸⁰ He stayed through the rest of the season and oversaw the publication of his book, *War, a Poem with Copious Notes, Founded on the Revolution of 1861-1862 (up to the Battles before Richmond, Inclusive)* (Richmond: West and Johnson, 1862).

In Richmond Hewitt formed the most enduring professional association of his career with the Queen Sisters company ("The Thespian Family"), composed of the father Alfred Waldron and six children: three sisters and three brothers who were too young to be drafted. They had been in Charleston at the outbreak of the war, whence they travelled to the Confederate Theater in New Orleans in April, 1862. There they sang "The Bonnie Blue Flag," "Maryland, My Maryland" and other popular war songs.⁸¹

When the Waldrons moved to Augusta later that year (1862) and opened at the concert hall in September, Hewitt, now disenchanted with wartime Richmond, soon followed them, becoming their advisor and stage manager. Since the troupe possessed limited dramatic talents, Hewitt wisely avoided works from the standard repertory. He accommodated himself to the situation by adapting his own older pieces, patching together skits with music, and composing new works which touched a vein of wartime sentiment.⁸²

By 1863 new Confederate plays for Augusta literally poured from his pen, including *The Exempt!, or Beware of the Conscript Officer* (comedy); *The Veteran* (drama); *The Roll of the Drum* (melodrama); *Protector Wanted; or, Dangers of Single Blessedness* (comedy); and *The Courier; or the Siege of Lexington* (melodrama). Hewitt's productivity earned him recognition as the most significant dramatist of the Confederacy.

His comedies and melodramas reflected the two contemporary currents in American theater at midcentury. While standard prose dramas (especially melodramas) remained quite popular, a new genre, the poetic drama had also emerged. Poetic dramas, with the lines cast into rhyming verse, aspired to a higher, more moralizing plane than the prose works. For this reason they more closely dealt with the popular ideals of nineteenth-century America: liberty and patriotism; romantic love; childhood, home, and motherhood.⁸³ Hewitt cast his most extensive musical stage works as poetic dramas and built them around these subjects, which accounted in part, for their immediate success.

In addition to his Confederate plays, Hewitt produced five musical stage works during the Confederate period: *The Bohemian Girl*, *The Vivandiere*, *Lingomar the Semenole* [sic], *The Artist's Wife*, and *King Linkum the First*. In 1862 he arranged Michael Balfe's (1808-1870) three-act opera *The Bohemian Girl* (1843) for the Waldron family to produce at the Augusta Concert Hall.⁸⁴ The work was still in vogue at the time of the Civil War, and Hewitt's adaptation proved popular.⁸⁵ He reduced the original to twenty-eight numbers and wrote

spoken dialogue to replace the discarded musical numbers. Only the libretto, without the song texts, remains.

Also in 1862 Hewitt composed and wrote for the Waldron family *The Vivandiere*, an operetta in three acts which was presented at the Augusta Concert Hall. Similar farces were produced in Northern theaters as well, such as William C. Reynolds' *A Supper in Dixie*, produced in Chicago in 1865.⁸⁶ *The Vivandiere* is the only one of Hewitt's Confederate musical works that uses original music. The play's confident patriotism—the South had yet to encounter the series of bitter military reversals that would begin the following summer— permeates the light comedy which bears an uncanny resemblance to Donizetti's popular opera *La Fille du Regiment*. The cheerful story of a young girl disguised as a soldier also reflected a contemporary practice in parts of the South where women dressed in Turkish trousers and feathered hats to sing and play in saloons and hotel lounges.⁸⁷ Hewitt originally set the story in Louisiana during the Civil War, but he revised the work in 1868 after the Confederate defeat, moved the location to Prussia during the Prussian-Austrian War of that year, expanded the score, and changed the names.

Young Louise, the Vivandiere, has joined a regiment of soldiers, offering them inspiration with her cheerful presence, as she sings to them in the opening scene, "At my country's call I come, with cheerful lips and eyes." Like the Donizetti opera, Hewitt builds the plot around Louise's romance with a soldier, Lieutenant Seibert (names are from the revised version). Seibert's aunt, the wife of his uncle and superior officer, opposes the relationship because she thinks Louise common and lower class. For added complication, while wandering in the woods Louise encounters an Austrian soldier who turns out to be her long-lost brother. He is captured and the necessary misunderstandings arise from his hidden identity, until he joins the Prussian side, after which the men rejoice and Louise and Seibert are married.

Hewitt transferred the opening choral music from *Rip Van Winkle*—"Drink, drink, drink, we have no time to think"—to open *The Vivandiere* as well. His new words convey the same enthusiasm for alcohol—"Beer, beer, beer, the soldier's heart to cheer"—as they do for freedom and duty to country. Two other rousing songs in the work achieved popularity throughout the South for their patriotic association: "I Love the Rolling of the Drum" and "The Valiant Conscript".⁸⁸ The finale uses J. Augustine Signaigo's "Dixie, the Land of King Cotton," a contrafactum of "Columbia, The Gem of the Ocean."⁸⁹

Louise's touching solo near the end of Act III, "Be ever lov'd as now" (Example 5) shows Hewitt's skill in musically depicting a poignant text. The well-crafted vocal line climbs to a moving climax as she speaks about "love and duty" before coming confidently to a close on the tonic.

The work proved popular and was performed a number of times during the War. It was presented in Savannah on March 17, 1863 and the local press reported: "Professor Hewitt's new opera *The Vivandiere* was rendered for the

1st voice *2nd voice* *Louise, you begin* -

1st voice *2nd voice* *Be ever lov'd as now - wild forest flower - Be ever lov'd as now, Louise, you begin - happy in the wildwood dwelling, Be ever joyful as the bounding doe; With laughing*

Example 5. *The Vivandiere*. Act 3, no. 14, "Be ever lov'd as now," Louise.

Ritard

crf

colla voce

*gaze on thee, Enslaved by youth and beauty, My lagging eye thy tapers glowing
Under a-way for o'er the heaving billow, Like flock of fawn, dear maid, all these of*

Example 5. *The Vivandiere*, Act 3, no. 14. "Be ever lov'd as now," Louise, cont.

And softly beats my heart thro' love and duty - try my dreams awake, as sleep are stilling
 thee! And bless the cot, the jess mine - and the wil - low! the smiling eyes the other that makes
 thee - my dreams awake, as sleep are stilling
 thee - the smiling eyes, the voice that warbles free.

Example 5. *The Vivandiere*, Act 3, no. 14, “Be ever lov’d as now,” Louise.

first time in this city in truly [sic] happy effect. The music is bold and patriotic.”⁹⁰ The writer for the Augusta paper enjoyed the work as well, but held greater aspirations for Hewitt’s future ventures, hoping that “Mr. Hewitt, the composer, will try his hand at something of a higher order”⁹¹

In 1863 Hewitt also produced *Lingomar the Semenole* [sic], “A Musical Travestie in Three Acts,” for the Waldron Family to perform at the Augusta Concert Hall.⁹² Like *King Linkum the First*, Hewitt wrote the script and fashioned new texts for six songs on popular tunes of the day. (Only a libretto survives in the Hewitt Collection.) The work is light entertainment and predictably moves in the rhymed couplets of which Hewitt was so fond.

Hewitt’s other play with inserted songs, *King Linkum the First*, “Musical Burletta in Two Acts,” is a hard-core political burlesque that reveals the extremes to which Southern propaganda went during the war. Hewitt must have begun work on it shortly after arriving in Augusta in the fall of 1862, because mention of it (as being “in preparation”) first appears in the *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist* of February 21, 1863. The next day it was advertised to be performed on Monday evening, the twenty-third. The only other recorded performance was on the twenty-fifth.⁹³ Hewitt was probably emboldened by the recent Southern victory at Richmond over the Northern forces. Confident of imminent victory—and it did appear that the South might win at the time—Confederate audiences were well disposed for savage political satire set to rhymed couplets.

The story, with barely enough plot to keep the work together, portrays Lincoln as a henpecked, bungling drunk. References to contemporary events, such as the Democratic victory in New York, the Federal government’s increasing fiscal difficulties, and the failure of the Union troops to take Richmond, were put into sarcastic doggerel and sung boldly, undoubtedly bringing howls of laughter from the audiences.⁹⁴ Linkum bewails his generals’ incompetence by singing “There’s Scott, he’s used up like a duck with the croop/He was ‘shot in the rear’ and made gouty by the ‘soup’”; and “There’s Pope, he attempted an essay on man/And he issued his bull, it was ‘run while you can.’” Later a black ghost appears to Lincoln, complaining of the Emancipation, which will only cause the slaves to starve and freeze to death when left on their own. Finally, when a cannon ball passes over the stage and knocks Lincoln down, everyone else collapses in sympathy. Then, in true Victorian melodramatic fashion, all arise, and Lincoln assures them “I’m not dead—it was a hum,” to which his Queen answers, “Nor am I, my ducky.” The curtain rings down as all join in with “Yankee Doodle, you’re no go,/ Racked by feuds and cabals;/Tho’ you rant and sputter so,/You can’t put down the rebels!”⁹⁵

Later in 1863, on June 18 Hewitt married his eighteen-year old student, Mary Aletha Smith. While the age difference—over forty years—had caused the family to oppose the marriage forcefully, Hewitt prevailed. “I was alone,” he later wrote. “The existing war had separated me from all that I held dear on earth, my mother and my children. I knew not whether the former was alive or

not, for I had not means of communicating with the north.”⁹⁶ Allie (as Hewitt affectionately called her) would prove to be a warm and compassionate wife, eventually giving him four children.

Even though the plays and ballad operas enjoyed gratifying success with many Southern audiences, it was Hewitt’s war songs that made him the most popular Southern composer. “His career is the story of music in the Confederacy,” Richard Harwell explains in his *Confederate Music*; he rightly earned the accolade, “Bard of the Confederacy.”⁹⁷

With the outbreak of war in 1861 patriotic verses celebrating the call to arms appeared almost everywhere. While the poems vary in quality, many of them were soon set to music and published by new as well as established Southern presses. The war caused a boom in Southern music publishing. Antebellum Charleston and New Orleans had been the centers for music publishing on a limited basis; by the time the conflict was well under way, however, sheet music publishing was prospering in ten Confederate cities: Augusta, Charleston, Columbia, Danville, Macon, Mobile, Nashville, New Orleans, Richmond and Wilmington. Memphis, Montgomery, Savannah and Vicksburg also saw some music publishing. Almost 700 different pieces of sheet music were published by Southern presses during the war.⁹⁸

For the Confederate soldier, music became a favorite recreation. “In camp and on the march Johnny Reb found comfort in the sentimental melodies of the time. During the long wearisome stands on picket, he hummed or whistled softly to himself strains that recalled scenes of home and of childhood.”⁹⁹ The songs also comforted Confederate civilians as they anxiously awaited news from the front.

Hewitt entered the publishing business himself when in October 1863 he obtained from John C. Schreiner and Son of Savannah and Macon exclusive rights for his songs. He soon opened a branch of that house in Augusta, which continued until the end of the war.¹⁰⁰ In 1863 and 1864 Hewitt published his own songs under the Schreiner imprint, including: “Dixie, the Land of King Cotton,” “The Soldier’s Farewell,” “The Unknown Dead,” “You are Going to the Wars, Willie Boy!” and “The Young Volunteer.” Eight of these appeared together in *The Musical Olio; or, Favorite Gems of That Popular Southern Composer, John H. Hewitt*.¹⁰¹

Hewitt had a knack for putting his finger on the pulse of the wartime public. His skill lay in the way he discreetly intensified and supported the verse in the music without interfering with words. The melody and accompaniment always remain uncomplicated, giving the impression of a very simple song. But the parts as a whole—the poem, melody and accompaniment—forge a richer musical sum. Hewitt’s sure sense of melodic craftsmanship caught the underlying sentiment of the genteel words and directly communicated that to his audiences.

For the young Confederacy he penned new words to his most popular melody, “The Minstrel’s Return d from the War” (1825). The tune was still so well known that it never appeared together with the words:¹⁰²

A Nation has sprung into life
 Beneath the bright Cross of the South
 And now a loud call to the strife
 Rings out from the shrill bugle's mouth
 Then hail to the land of the pine!
 The home of the noble and free;
 A palmetto wreath we'll entwine
 Round the altar of young liberty.

One of Hewitt's best Civil War songs was "Somebody's Darling," which became popular in the North as well. He composed it in 1864 to a text by Marie Ravenel de La Coste, who had given it to the publisher Herman L. Schreiner in Savannah, where she lived. Schreiner was moved by the poem and sent it to Hewitt to see if he cared to set it to music.¹⁰³ Hewitt did, and the song became so popular that Schreiner and Son had difficulty keeping up with the demand. The bittersweet text reflects the changing Confederate mood as the mounting casualties of war began to touch every household; its sentiment also explains why it became so popular in the North as well as the South. As late as 1936 Margaret Mitchell found it compelling enough to use it in *Gone With the Wind*. Hewitt added a short refrain, which drove home the message of the verse:¹⁰⁴

Into the ward of the clean white-washed halls,
 Where the dead slept and the dying lay;
 Wounded by bayonets, sabers and balls,
 Somebody's darling was borne one day.
 Somebody's darling, so young and so brave,
 Wearing still on his sweet yet pale face
 Soon to be hid in the dust of the grave,
 The lingering light of his boyhood's grave.
Refrain: Somebody's darling, somebody's pride,
 Who'll tell his mother where her boy died?

Hewitt gained his greatest success, however, in his touching musical setting of "All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight," "arguably the best song to come out of the war."¹⁰⁵ The words first appeared anonymously in the November 30, 1861, edition of *Harper's Weekly*, under the title "The Picket Guard." The story is as bitter as it is brief. A picket is shot as he walks on duty, but since "not an officer [is] lost, only one of the men," his death "will not count in news of the battle." The evening report goes out, "All quiet along the Potomac tonight." The poem was set by Northern composers as well as Hewitt (under the *Harper's* title), but it was Hewitt's setting that became the most popular, both in the North and the South.¹⁰⁶ Its lilting compound meter and

sweet appoggiaturas deliver far more effectively than strident protests ever could the mordant observation that war often brings inglorious, solitary and unnoticed death. The quiet field where the soldier waits, bathed in a moonlit glow, is a poignant, ironic and unsettling backdrop, and it is made more unsettling by the the relatively restrained music. The recurring melodic phrase outlines a triad, suggesting the trumpet call to war, although we know almost from the beginning of the song that the picket will be killed cruelly and anonymously even before the battle begins. The understated melody and simple accompaniment figures do not stray beyond the three major chords of B-flat major—only two or three modal scale degrees in the bass and one high E-flat in the melody break the placidity--and the notes unobtrusively allow the disconsolate text to speak directly to the listener. The song's success resulted from its immediately graspable melody, setting some of the most honest verse produced during the conflict. Its evocative irony clearly tapped into the deep pain and anger that the war engendered and contributed to its widespread fame (Example 6).

Hewitt prospered during the war years, so much so that he generously donated almost \$2,500 for public relief on two separate occasions.¹⁰⁷ The good fortune was not to last, however. Hewitt's life-long lack of financial acumen and timing led him to purchase the Augusta music publishing firm of Blackmar and Brothers on April 10, 1865, one day after Lee's surrender at Appomatox Court House. As the defeated South had little time or money for music, he again found himself penniless, took his wife and child to Savannah, left them with her mother, and returned to Baltimore to search for work.

The Later Years

Hewitt's remaining twenty-five years of professional activity proved a disappointment. His amazing outpouring of essays, poems, plays, reminiscences and musical works continued, but he found it increasingly difficult to interest a publisher. After living for a while in Virginia and Maryland, he moved alone (Allie and the two daughters had again returned to Savannah) to New York where he once more tried journalism, but to no avail.

The entire family moved to Baltimore in 1874 where he spent the rest of his life. Hewitt opened yet another music school, the Baltimore Academy of Music, while his wife began teaching at the State Institution of the Blind. He continued to teach and write for newspapers and journals, but with little financial success. For the rest of his life his wife provided most of the family's support.¹⁰⁸ Hewitt's generous and gregarious nature had always won him many friends, and a group of them organized a benefit concert for him at the Masonic Temple on December 18, 1874. Despite the limited interest shown in his work, the stream of plays, poems, anecdotes, articles for the Baltimore press, and music continued unabated. He finished his only published autobiographical work *Shadows on the Wall, or Glimpses of the Past*, which Turnbull Brothers

“ALL QUIET ALONG THE POTOMAC TONIGHT.”

Moderato.

“All

qui - et a - long the Po - to - mac to - night,” Ex - cept here and there a stray picket Is

shot as he walks on his beat to and fro, By a ri - fleman hid in the thicket; 'Tis

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It begins with a tempo marking 'Moderato.' and a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows the piano introduction with a treble and bass staff. The second system introduces the vocal melody with the lyrics 'qui - et a - long the Po - to - mac to - night,'. The third system continues the vocal melody with the lyrics 'shot as he walks on his beat to and fro, By a ri - fleman hid in the thicket; 'Tis'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more complex bass line in the left hand.

Example 6. “All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight.”

nothing a pri-vate or two now and then, Will not count in the news of the bat-tle, Not an

of fi-er lost! on-ly one of the men Moaning out all a-lone the death rattle. 'All

qui-et a long..... the Po-to-mac to-night!"

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of four systems of staves. The first system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The fourth system shows the vocal line ending with a final note, while the piano accompaniment continues with a series of chords and a final cadence. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

Example 6. "All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight."

2

"All quiet along the Potomac to-night,"
 Where the soldiers lie peacefully dreaming,
 And their tents in the rays of the clear autumn moon,
 And the light of the camp fires are gleaming;
 There's only the sound of the lone sentry's tread,
 As he tramps from the rock to the fountain,
 And thinks of the two on the low trundle bed
 Far away in the cot on the mountain.

3

His musket falls slack— his face, dark and grim,
 Grows gentle with memories tender,
 As he mutters a pray'r for the children asleep,
 And their mother—"May heaven defend her!"
 The moon seems to shine as brightly as then—
 That night, when the love yet unspoken
 Leap'd up to his lips, and when low murmur'd vows
 Were pledg'd, to be ever unbroken.

4

Then drawing his sleeve roughly o'er his eyes,
 He dashes off the tears that are welling,
 And gathers his gun close up to his breast,
 As if to keep down the heart's swelling;
 He passes the fountain, the blasted pine tree,
 And his footstep is lagging and weary,
 Yet onward he goes, thro' the broad belt of light,
 Toward the shades of the forest so dreary.

5

Hark! was it the night-wind that rustles the leaves!
 Was it the moonlight so wond'rously flashing?
 It look'd like a rifle! "Ha, Mary good bye!"
 And his life-blood is ebbing and plashing.
 "All quiet along the Potomac to-night,"
 No sound save the rush of the river;
 While soft falls the dew on the face of the dead,
 "The Picket's" off duty for ever.

Example 6. "All Quiet Along the Potomac Tonight," cont.

printed in 1877.¹⁰⁹ In this volume Hewitt reveals his skill as a raconteur, sharing with “the readers of the present period the experience of an author and composer.” He includes sketches of the many notable people he had met in his long life—he was seventy-six by this time—and also describes his relationship with music:¹¹⁰

Music has always been, and still is, my frailty. Since my earliest youth I have sought its gentle influence; . . . and it finally became my profession, though my parents were solicitous that I should adopt any other honorable calling but that. I studied it as an art and a science; but only for the sake of accomplishment, never thinking that I should use it as a means of support. . . . Whenever I failed in any enterprise I fell back on music; it was my sheet anchor.

During the post-war years Hewitt finished three juvenile operettas: *The Fairy Bridal*, *The Musical Enthusiast*, and *The Revellers*, all of which were published in the early 1870s. One other musical stage work, *Taken In*, was completed in 1879, never published, and possibly never even performed.¹¹¹ *The Fairy Bridal*, “A Cantata by J. H. Hewitt. Subject founded on Shakespeare’s ‘Mid-summer Night’s Dream’,” was initially published by Ditson, in 1871. Later in 1886 he revised the mixed chorus work for women’s voices, refocusing it to appeal to the growing number of female academies. The two-act work, which consists of spoken dialogue with inserted songs, liberally draws upon the section of the Shakespeare play in which Queen Titania is preparing to marry Oberon, attended by her subject fairies. After the wedding the entire cast cheerfully bid each other adieu and goodnight. The work’s light musical style matches well the charming nature of the subject.

The Musical Enthusiast, “A Parlor Operetta, written and composed by John H. Hewitt, suitable for Schools, Singing Societies, or the Home Circle,” (1872) appealed to a growing middle class with their preference for moralizing Victorian drama, where music was viewed as an ennobling profession, at least for young women. It enjoyed at least one reprint as late as 1900.¹¹² The twenty-one musical numbers describe a singing contest wherein Professor Crotchet (“The Musical Enthusiast”) promises the hand and sizeable dowry (left her by her uncle) of his daughter Ippolita to whomever wins the singing contest. Male voices were included: Hewitt scored it for two tenors, a bass (Professor Crotchet), two sopranos, and chorus.

The work opens with Crotchet scolding the girls for laughing, “I’ll punish her who laughs again . . . wriggling, giggling, clattering, chattering, noise quite enough to set a man crazy.” The girls eventually quiet down by Part II, in which the competition occurs. Hewitt set the different songs in various national styles: Swiss (an Alpine song type), German (reminiscent of “O Tannenbaum”), Scottish (using the “Scotch snap” and Scots dialect), Irish (“Sweet Kathleen O’Reilly”), Italian (in the style of an Italian aria, with a clear-cut melody above

strong chordal rhythms) and French (with discreet chromaticism). Finally the hero, Edward, sings “A Refuge from Southern climes” in the most dramatic tradition of American popular music, telling his listeners how his father died in battle, but that “My mother clasp’d me to her heart, and dropped a parting tear.” The chorus applauds him with “Bravo, bravo, bravo. A very good song and well sung.” He wins the contest, Crotchet takes his hand, and tells him “Sir, you are a gentleman, for any one who can make so powerful an appeal to the feelings must be a gentleman.”

Hewitt obviously drew upon his years of experiences gleaned from teaching young women in “female academies.” He understood not only the sentiments that would appeal to school-age children, but their musical limitations as well. The songs, which are accompanied by piano, remain simple throughout and could easily be managed by young voices. Hewitt interpolated an arrangement of “Annie Laurie” and composed all the other music except for the German, Scottish, Irish and French songs, which are marked as traditional national melodies. The Italian song bears the title *Attila*, a reference to Verdi’s opera of the same name.¹¹³

Hewitt wrested one other success from these years by revising an earlier work, *The Revellers*, whose temperance theme had grown increasingly popular following the Civil War. The original version, published in 1848, contained only sixteen pages. In 1874 Hewitt expanded it to sixty-four pages for publication by Biglow and Main of Chicago. The revised edition not only increased the length but was apparently intended for adult performance, since the music is more difficult and extensive stage instructions are given as well.

The work, cast into twenty numbers, again reflects the zealous moralizing so prevalent in much late nineteenth-century American art and literature. The first part opens with young men sitting around a table revelling in drink, enthusiastically prompted by the Fiend of Intemperance. After tearful appeals first from a sister, then from—who else?—Mother (“Oh, tarry not in danger’s way, but by thy weary mother stay”), the boys see the error of their ways and decide to abandon the demon rum. In the second part the happy family, led by the Queen of Temperance, celebrates the joys of sobriety around a fountain of pure crystal water.

Just as he had in his Confederate plays and music, Hewitt hit the right chords for his audience with an immediately accessible musical style boosting the popular themes of motherhood, temperance, and errant children brought to remorse and reform. In the preface he described the work’s success as “so marked that it was repeated by general request. It was also produced, often times, at Seminaries in various parts of the country, with equal approbation.”

In December of 1879 Hewitt finished one final musical stage work, *Taken In*, a “Comic Operetta” in three acts. In this one large-scale work, Hewitt drew upon another author for the text, a “Miss Fanny Stewart.” Only the music manuscript remains; the libretto appears to have been lost. Stewart’s text bears a distant resemblance to the plot in Cimarosa’s *Il matrimonio segreto*.¹¹⁴ It

revolves around the family of Sir Hector, Lady Emma and their three children: Dora, twenty-five, unmarried, and decidedly anxious about it; Bella, her younger sister, who is less concerned about her marital state; and Billy, a scamp who provides comic distraction. Act One ends by celebrating the planned marriage of Sir Marmaduke and Bella. Shortly into Act Two, however, Marmaduke's wife—thought dead these many years—reappears and claims him. When confronted by Bella he confesses that “I was a youth, not twenty, free from all worldly sin. And by a girl of forty, was badly taken in!” When the supposed wife turns out to be the twin sister of Sir Marmaduke's long-dead wife, looking for a husband, she is dismissed and everything is resolved.

For a man approaching ninety years of age, Hewitt must have had an enormous amount of vigor, for during the 1880s he was once again talking about returning to journalism. He proposed to establish a Washington newspaper with the backing of a friend, although like most of his latter-day plans, nothing came of it.¹¹⁵ Personally he enjoyed the gratifying respect of friends and associates in Baltimore, and surely this provided a measure of consolation for his futile attempts to reenter the business world. Numerous newspaper clippings in the Hewitt collection recount tributes, banquets and accolades in his honor. During these years his health remained strong; he never visited doctors, and claimed he could “walk five miles a day and feel but little inconvenienced from the *esercizio* [*sic*] of my limbs.”¹¹⁶

In February of 1888 he fell down the stairs at his East North Avenue residence and broke his hip; he was never to recover. He remained an invalid for a year and a half, until Tuesday morning, October 7, 1890, when he woke up, bid his wife and daughters farewell, and died quietly. He was buried in London Park Cemetery attended by family, friends, and the last two surviving members of his old regiment, the Marion Rifles.¹¹⁷

From the numerous obituaries found in the Hewitt collection, it seems all Baltimore mourned his passing. One writer who can speak for the others remembered Hewitt's “cheerful disposition” and his “kind heart” “He was firm and resolute, but never dogmatic or unreasonable. His sincerity was sublime, his soul pure as his poems, and his end peaceful as the Christian's.”¹¹⁸

Hewitt's life spanned most of the century. But his longevity meant that he outlived himself. Though he continued to generate musical and dramatic works until his final days, he had somehow lost his touch, or perhaps it is more accurate to say that his light touch had long since faded from fashion. His early efforts of the 1830s and forties had evoked a delicate aura of “olden days,” and his songs written during the War had provided a vivid and compelling chronicle of the tragedy. But with the cessation of hostilities Americans preferred to forget the desperate events that had brought pain into almost every home. The themes of the seventies and eighties, whether comedic or heavily nostalgic, were no longer Hewitt's themes. And while some songwriters active during the War remained popular in the following decades—Henry Clay Work and Henry Tucker immediately come to mind—Hewitt's works found only a

small audience. When the music of Tin Pan Alley began to sweep across the country beginning with Charles Pratt's "Wait Till the Clouds Roll By" (1881), Hewitt found himself forgotten, except as a colorful link to the past.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, Hewitt had achieved much. He had played a major role in that "genteel tradition which had dominated American art music since the days of Hopkinson and [James] Hewitt."¹²⁰ He had also enjoyed deserved success with his songs, which appealed to millions in his day, and which can still strike a sentimental chord in us. The musical stage works, especially those written for Southern audiences, had captured the mood of the era as few other works did. The allure of his plays and poems has dimmed so that they now reflect the quaintness of period pieces. Nevertheless, they set him apart as a most prodigious, and indeed remarkable, early American musician, dramatist, and poet. Few other musical and literary craftsmen in nineteenth-century America could boast of these accomplishments. Visiting with him and his music for a time deepens our understanding of the story of America's music.

NOTES

1. John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music*, rev. 3rd. ed. (New York: Crowell Co., 1946), 164.

2. Almost all of the primary materials on Hewitt have been housed in the Special Collections Department of the Robert W. Woodruff Library at Emory University since 1938, when many were purchased from the collector Keith M. Read. The remaining materials were later bought from Hewitt's daughter Clementine Hewitt Lebey in 1947. A complete and detailed inventory of the collection appeared in 1981 by Frank Hoogerwerf, *John Hill Hewitt: Sources and Bibliography*, Emory University, Atlanta. In total, the collection probably contains over 9,000 items.

3. Deane L. Root, *American Popular Stage Music, 1860–1880* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 133.

4. *New York Daily Tribune*, January 3, 1846.

5. From various sources in the Hewitt Collection at Emory University. See below for more details.

6. *Baltimore Sun*, June 28, 1890.

7. *Miscellaneous Poems*, (Baltimore: N. Hickman, 1838), and *War, a Poem, with Copious Notes, Founded on the Revolution of 1861–62 (Up to the Battles before Richmond, Inclusive)* (Richmond: West and Johnson, 1862).

8. Coy Elliot Huggins, "John Hill Hewitt: Bard of the Confederacy" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1964); William Craig Winden, "The Life and Music Theater Works of John Hill Hewitt" (DMA Paper, University of Illinois–Champaign, 1972).

9. John Tasker Howard, "The Hewitt Family in American Music," *Musical Quarterly* 17 (1931): 27.

10. John Wagner, "James Hewitt, 1770–1827," *Musical Quarterly* 58 (1972): 259.

11. Gilbert Chase, *America's Music* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1955), 120.

12. Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), 32; *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, s.v. "Hewitt, James" II: 380.

13. Howard, "The Hewitt Family in American Music," 27.

14. Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 32.

15. Ibid., 32–33.
16. John Wagner, “James Hewitt, 1770–1827,” 262.
17. Michael Broyles, *Music of the Highest Class: Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 112.
18. Ibid., 149.
19. Hewitt, *Gilbert Crampton*, I.
20. Ibid., I.
21. *Muskets and Music. One Hundred Years Ago at West Point. Taken from the Autobiography of the Old Poet John Hill Hewitt*, typescript copy in the Hewitt Collection, 25.
22. He should not be confused with Richard Storrs Willis (1819-1900), composer of the tune “Carol” commonly sung to the words “It Came Upon a Midnight Clear,” and other hymns.
23. Hewitt, *Gilbert Crampton*, I.
24. Hewitt, *Muskets and Music*, 30.
25. Hewitt, *Gilbert Crampton*, I.
26. Ibid., I.
27. Ibid., I.
28. *Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser*, January 9, 1823, n.p.
29. Ibid.
30. Hewitt, *Gilbert Crampton*, I.
31. Hewitt, *Leisure Hours*, I.
32. Hewitt, *Gilbert Crampton*, I.
33. *The Daily News*, Baltimore, February 4, 1882, n.p.
34. Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 103.
35. Nicholas E. Tawa, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green Popular Press, 1980), 5.
36. William W. Austin, “Susanna,” “Jeanie,” and “The Old Folks At Home;” *The Songs of Stephen Foster from His Time to Ours* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 151.
37. Ibid., 378.
38. Tawa, *Sweet Songs*, 8–9.
39. Ibid., 123–124.
40. Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 245.
41. Austin, “Susanna,” “Jeanie,” and “The Old Folks At Home;,” 207.
42. Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 105.
43. Jon Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone: Themes in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Songs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 20.
44. Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 105.
45. Tawa, *A Music for the Millions*, 41.
46. Ibid., 57.
47. Ibid., 83–89.
48. Harwell, *Confederate Music*, 36.
49. Hewitt, *Leisure Hours*, I.
50. John Hill Hewitt, *Shadows on the Wall* (Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers, 1877), 5.
51. Richard B. Harwell, *Recollections of Poe by John Hill Hewitt* (Atlanta: Emory University Publications, Sources and Reprints, Series 5, No. 3, 1949), 8.
52. Hewitt, *Gilbert Crampton*, II.
53. Harwell, *Recollections of Poe*, 8.
54. Ibid.
55. Hewitt, *Shadows on the Wall*, 41–42.
56. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe. A Critical Biography* (New York: D. Appleton–Century Company, 1941), 203.
57. Harwell, *Recollections of Poe*, 19.
58. Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe*, 355.
59. William Craig Winden, “The Life and Music Theater Works of John Hill Hewitt” (DMA diss., University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, 1972), 31.
60. Baltimore: N. Hickman, 1838.

61. Unidentified newspaper clippings, Hewitt Collection.
62. Ibid.
63. *New York Daily Tribune*, January 3, 1846, n.p.
64. Ibid., January 26, 1846, n.p.
65. Ibid., February 3, 1846, n.p.
66. *Richmond Enquirer*, January 24, 1860, n.p.
67. For a facsimile edition of six of these, *Rip Van Winkle, The Vivandiere, Taken In, King Linkum the First, The Musical Enthusiast, and The Artist's Wife*, see *The Collected Works of John Hill Hewitt*, ed. N. Lee Orr and Lynn Wood Bertrand (New York: Garland Press, 1994).
68. Winden, 78.
69. Julian Mates, "The First Hundred Years of the American Lyric Theater," *American Music* 1, no. 2 (1983): 22–38.
70. Katherine K. Preston. *Opera on the Road* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 2–6.
71. Walter J. Meserve, *An Outline History of American Drama*, (Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams, & Co., 1965), 90.
72. *Daily Dispatch*, May 15, 1860.
73. John Hill Hewitt, *Flora's Festival* (New York: Ivison, Phinner & Co, 1863), introduction.
74. *Leisure Hours*, I.
75. Charles S. Watson, "Confederate Drama: The Plays of John Hill Hewitt and James Dabney McCabe," *The Southern Literary Journal* 22 (1989): 104.
76. Ibid., 101.
77. Hewitt, *Gilbert Crampton*, II.
78. Manuscript in the Hewitt Collection.
79. Watson, "Confederate Drama," 104.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., 106.
82. Harwell, *Confederate Music*, 34.
83. Walter J. Meserve, *An Outline History of American Drama* (Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams, & Co., 1965), 51–53, 120–22.
84. Michael William Balfe was the most successful composer of English operas in the nineteenth century. He enjoyed a long string of successes beginning in 1833 with *The Siege of Rochelle* and continued through *The Bohemian Girl* of 1843, which had more continuous performances than any other English opera except Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*. His works appealed to British and American audiences because of the lilting melodic style and the uncomplicated plots.
85. Harwell, *Confederate Music*, 96.
86. Watson, "Confederate Drama," 107.
87. Ibid., 106.
88. Winden, "The Life and Music Theater Works of John Hill Hewitt," 117.
89. Harwell, *Confederate Music*, 34.
90. *Daily Morning News*, [Savannah, Georgia], March 18, 1863.
91. Unidentified newspaper clipping, Hewitt Collection.
92. Winden, "The Life and Music Theater Works of John Hill Hewitt," 94.
93. Richard Harwell, ed., libretto, *King Linkum the First* (Emory University, Sources and Reprints, Series IV, Atlanta, Georgia, 1947), 10.
94. Watson, "Confederate Drama," 107.
95. Harwell, *King Linkum the First*, 21, 25–26, 32.
96. Hewitt, *Gilbert Crampton*, II.
97. Harwell, *Confederate Music*, 28.
98. Ibid., 22–23.
99. Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), 151.
100. Ibid., 36.
101. Ibid.
102. Harwell, *Confederate Music*, 26.

103. Unidentified newspaper clipping, Hewitt Collection.
104. Irwin Silber, ed., *Songs of the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 121.
105. Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 245.
106. Ibid.
107. Harwell, *Confederate Music*, 38; unidentified newspaper clipping, Hewitt Collection.
108. Newspaper clippings, Hewitt Collection.
109. AMS Press, reprint, 1971.
110. Ibid., 8, 65–66.
111. Winden, “The Life and Music Theater Works of John Hill Hewitt,” 124.
112. For a compelling account of how American society viewed music as a career for men in the latter part of the century, see Frank R. Rossiter, *Charles Ives and His America* (New York: Liveright, 1975), especially chapters 3–6.
113. Winden, “The Life and Music Theater Works of John Hill Hewitt,” 128.
114. Ibid., 120.
115. Letter to Allie, Washington, D.C., December 9, 1881, Hewitt Collection.
116. Hewitt, *Leasure Hours*, I.
117. Newspaper clippings, Hewitt Collection.
118. Newspaper clippings, Hewitt Collection.
119. Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 254–258, 285.
120. Chase, 1955, 364.

The Hewitt manuscript pages for Examples 3, 4 and 5 were provided courtesy of Emory University Library Special Collections.

