

Anthony Philip Heinrich's *Thundering of Niagara*: Hearing American Sublimity

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Abstract

The nineteenth-century trans-Atlantic dialogue between Americans and their European contemporaries sustained “one of the most vibrant intercultural exchanges in all of Western music history”. In this cosmopolitan environment, the Americanization of the sublime aided in the rebranding of the European symphonic tradition while perpetuating the idealization of the nation’s geography, people, and beliefs. Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781-1861) provided the foundation for a repertoire that became internationally recognized for the first time as “American”. Heinrich’s *The Thundering of Niagara* serves as a case study of the natural sublime’s power to assert artistic autonomy through the formation of an American musical voice.

Keywords: American Sublime, Symphony, Niagara Falls, Wildness, Anthony Philip Heinrich’s *Thundering of Niagara*, Hearing American Sublimity

I. Introduction

When Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781–1861) confronted the criticism and censure of American composers in the preface of his “opera prima”, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky; or, the Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitude of Nature* in 1820, he emphasized the perilous nature of an all-too-Eurocentric taste that dominated musical culture in the United States. Finding the condition of American music inundated with “too many *Butterfly-effusions*”, Heinrich concluded that if American composers, himself included, were to contribute in the “crowded” and “difficult” firmament of Western music, American music must be rooted in the nation’s landscape (2)¹. Sublime traits fused to the Beethovenian symphony, often imported (sometimes by Heinrich himself)² with an overwhelming sense of *Sehnsucht des Unendlichen* (longing for the infinite) that accompanied German imagination, would not suffice to engender an American music capable of linking nature’s sublimity with vernacular topics and tropes (Downes 86)³. As Heinrich’s music of natural sublimity would go on to show, the American sublime grew out of a disruption in the relationships among the United States, European symphonic music, and the American landscape and its inhabitants.⁴

II. Americanizing the ‘Natural’ Sublime

The appropriation of the natural sublime, or environmental sublime, as part of the American sublime marks the point at which the independence and exceptionalism that

spurred the “Spirit of ‘76” and the geographical uniqueness of the environment merged under the pretenses of national and artistic identity. The Presbyterian minister Samuel Stanhope Smith, writing in 1810, attributed America’s “climate” to the unique pairing of geography and politics (Brown 147). Smith articulated that this climate leaves a recognizable mark on those who live within it, a mark of “Americanness”. Over two centuries later, Chandos Brown describes “the great cultural work of the Anglophonic migration” to link geography with identity “was to render *terra incognita* into vernacular terms” (147). Brown further suggests,

[T]he American Revolution and the subsequent invention of the American state compelled Americans to expand their imagined geography to encompass both a physical environment – North America – and an emergent community conceived in revolution – the United States (147).

This disruption by revolution compelled Americans to view themselves and their environment differently. For nearly two generations, Americans relied on the diversity of the landscape to construct a national identity and subsequently, the natural sublime dominated America’s first focus on the sublime aesthetic from approximately 1820 to 1840. This initial phase, was itself, a result of the merger of three spirits: the ideological sublime of North American Protestantism, a fascination with the natural world, and the nationalist sublime propelled by the American Revolution. Heinrich lived and worked at this crossroads.

Heinrich’s *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky; or, the Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitude of Nature* mentioned earlier, was only the beginning of a career dedicated to the promotion of his own music and American exceptionalism, viewed through the natural sublime. Born in 1781 in Schönbüchel, Bohemia, Heinrich immigrated to the United States in 1816 after a failed attempt as an import-export merchant for the Austrian empire (Shadle 35). After two brief stints as the music director of theaters in Philadelphia, and later Pittsburgh, Heinrich traveled to Lexington, Kentucky in 1817 and soon after moved to Bardstown, Nelson County. In 1819, Heinrich relocated to a hemp plantation along Beargrass Creek named Farmington where he lived in a log cabin as a guest of the influential Judge John Speed and his family until approximately 1823 (Kleber 380).⁵ Although he was not completely isolated from domestic comforts, Heinrich still felt he had developed a new relationship with the wooded landscape he encountered in Nelson County, which would have a noticeable impact on his composition and eventually, disrupt his perception of Western music. Forests, mountains, and rivers became his “muse”, which he believed imbued his music with a distinctive quality not shared by his musical contemporaries, a quality that critics felt placed him “ahead of his age” (Shadle 51).⁶

Despite the assertions of uniqueness, Heinrich was part of a much greater movement within the United States that encompassed the arts, from musical composition to painting to the written word. “Kindred spirits”, like the poet William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) and the landscape artists of the Hudson River School, primarily Thomas Cole (1801-1848), dedicated their careers to the mythmaking of American Nature which will evolve into a “symbolic opposition between Europe and America” (Chmaj 39). Betty Chmaj observes, “In an era when ‘Truth to Nature’ was a ruling idea guiding landscape and genre painters alike, romantic and realist writers, Heinrich’s efforts in music accurately reflect the strivings of the age” (49-50).

III. In Search of Authenticity

Born in a Massachusetts log cabin in 1794, William Cullen Bryant cultivated a relationship with nature that characterized his poetry and later, his writings as the editor of the *New York Evening Post* from 1827 to his death in 1878. Bryant's poems such as "Thanatopsis" (1817, rev. 1821) and "The Prairies" (1832) draw the American sublime into a "democratic and vernacularized terrain", which Rob Wilson defends "were piously [...] both contemplative and sublime in effect" (123). Wilson observes,

Bryant typically moved from subjective contemplation of natural imagery to an expansive mood of associated sublimity in which the idea or "high sentiment" of God emerged as the ideological trump card of any American sublimity (123).

Evident in such oft-quoted works as "Thanatopsis", and "The Prairies", Bryant's deity-enhanced sublimity also appears in "To A Waterfowl", and "A Forest Hymn". The flight of birds and poets in "To A Waterfowl" is sustained by "He who, from zone to zone, / Guides through the boundless sky their certain flight". And the "green tops" of "boundless power / And inaccessible majesty" of the American forests form "God's first temples" in "A Forest Hymn". This "immanent power of God" created a terrain that when curated by an American sense of entitled ownership justified the asserting of mountain ranges, rivers, and valleys, as artifacts of national identity regardless of the indigenous communities that called these places home (R. Wilson 126). Resultingly, the natural sublime was "negotiated as the site of self-empowerment" to buoy the American ego (R. Wilson 126). "Through such awe", writes Rob Wilson, "wildness is tamed and interiorized in the heart, linking the wild to the good, and power to ethos" (127). Here, "good" may be substituted with virtuous, righteous, and even honestas illustrated by the 1850s reputation of "Honest Abe" Lincoln and his log cabin origins.

In the United States, the symbolism of the log cabin alluded to the related concepts of wildness and wilderness which played an influential part in the aesthetics of the nineteenth century. During Heinrich's lifetime, wildness could refer to a number of different ideas. As a character trait, it could imply the extremes of savageness, brutality, or rudeness. Less aggressive qualities of wildness included the disposition to rove, irregularity of manners, an overactive imagination, and "the quality of being undisciplined, or not subjected to method or rules" (Webster). Heinrich's constant traveling, his tendency to speak his mind (which often resulted in frequent impassioned outbursts), and his unconventional composition practices accurately fit the definition of wildness in the early nineteenth century. When applied to the natural world, wildness denoted a "rough uncultivated state; as the wildness of a forest or heath" (Webster). Wilderness, as it relates to wildness, is thus "a tract of land or region uncultivated and uninhabited by human beings, whether a forest or a wide barren plain" (Webster). These definitions represent the predominant Euro-American perspective of natural wildness of the 1800s. The fact that the wilderness was perceived as "uninhabited by human beings" denies the existence of the indigenous peoples who inhabited much of the American "wilderness". The perception of wildness or wilderness was regularly tied to religious, political, or economic ideology (Toliver 332). The positive role wildness assumed in the United States became a trope of American authenticity. The cabins of Heinrich, Bryant, and Lincoln thus signify the nation's relationship with wildness (both natural and cultural) and displays an exploitation of the environment that defined the country throughout the

century. Artists and politicians with ties to the log cabin or the wildness of the American frontier invented bonds with geography, a union which gave American identity its uniqueness. Those with wilderness (wildness) origins were perceived as more American in the Euro-American culture of the 1800s.

To this equation, in which the symbolism of the log cabin equated wildness, the sanctification of wildness through text, image, and sound supported the sublime trope of divine foreordination. Together, they signaled "Americanness." This multi-valent cultural perception buoyed the valorization of wildness in the hearts of the American people. Heinrich's curated experience in his Kentucky log cabin was sufficient to persuade critics to distance the European-born composer from his homeland and render him an American, even a cultural ambassador for the United States (Shadle 36). For Heinrich and his compatriots, wildness was a characteristic of American authenticity.

IV. Wildness

Heinrich's compositional origins from a secluded log cabin borrowed from the symbol of the medieval hermit's cave and mystical communion with God and nature (Holl 216).⁸ The British hymnodist Benjamin Gough (1805-1877) poeticized of Heinrich,

When hermit-like and hid from vulgar view,
Thy spirit first its mighty impulse drew,
Twelve weary months within a sunless cave,
'Twas this that sweetened solitude, and gave
What worldly mildews never can destroy
A gush of fresh unutterable joy (Gough)!

Gough bestows a margin of sainthood that aligns with the composer's moniker of "Father Heinrich". Just as the ancient Fathers of the Catholic church established foundational theological and intellectual doctrines, Heinrich is repeatedly situated as a founder of American music, or as Harold Schonberg called him, "a brash apostle of an emergent America" (Schonberg).⁹ Gough further lends Heinrich the qualities of impulsiveness, freshness, and joyfulness, suggesting a feral uniqueness not experienced in the music of other composers; a uniqueness he ascribes to the composer's spiritual intimacy with Nature. Within Gough's poem, Heinrich's music redefines what music *is*:

Say what is music? Is it not the thrill
That sorrow checks not death can never kill,
That dwells in thunder's deep and awful voice.
And makes the choral gales of spring rejoice;
The poesy of sound the rich the wild
Creation's herald Nature's loveliest child (Gough)!

Here is music that originates from thunder, unconcerned with the rules of harmony. Chmaj suggests this new type of music rooted in the wildness perceived in their environment by Euro-Americans nature "counted for more than *science* and *restraint*" (46).¹⁰ The natural sublime provided Heinrich with a "stimulus to loftier voice", or the means to ascribe a divine origin to his music, justifying his departure from "well-worn stylistic paths", or wildness (R. Wilson 96; Shadle 55). The natural sublime, as Rob Wilson argues, "is used to serve as one means of evoking the infinite and even trans-social force of Jehovah, praising power that can somehow empower" (96). If Heinrich could legitimize

the wildness of his music through his relationship to nature, and as such, the divine, he could cast off the millstones of European symphonists that hung around the necks of American composers. Just as it had for Bryant and Cole, the power provided by the natural sublime solidified into an “ideological trump card” (R. Wilson 123). For Heinrich, this was easier said than done. Writing to the composer in 1842, the English tenor John Braham lamented, “I regret the Public have not yet done justice to your genius There is a wildness, an originality in your musical effusion that would delight a Cultivated audience” (Holl 219).¹¹ Braham, likely unfamiliar with the extent of audience cultivation in the United States, was overly optimistic. While Bryant and Cole became recognized for their “democratic vistas of immensity” that rivaled their European counterparts, Heinrich struggled to receive recognition as anything more than a subversive imitation of European “masters” (Shadle 9).

V. American Power

Beginning in the 1830s, Heinrich composed thirteen symphonic works over twenty years, many of which reference the American geography or people associated with the nation’s landscape. Heinrich’s first symphonic work to overtly reference the natural sublime is his *Der Kampf des Condor, amerikanisch charakteristisches Tongemählde* (*The Battle of the Condor, American Characteristic Tone-picture*), later renamed *The Ornithological Combat of Kings*. John Herron describes the work as a combination of “national mythology, natural science, and impressions of nature” that “create a distinctive American aesthetic” (630). Following its premiere in Vienna on June 9, 1836, August Mandel, secretary of the Musik-Verein, commented:

Heinrich’s muse is the daughter of Nature, but not that Nature whose quiet, idyllic grace possesses us all unconsciously. He has sought out Nature in her workshop where she produces her mighty works, where great bridges of rock are thrown across streams; where rivers, broad as seas, flow out of undiscovered sources over hundreds of miles to the ocean itself; where great lakes plunge with deafening roar to the depths below, and the tornado, with its crashing strength lays bare the impenetrable secrets of the primeval forests (Upton 143; Broyles 63; Shadle 41).

Although Viennese audiences were not strangers to natural phenomena referenced in music such as Haydn’s “Chaos” from *Die Schöpfung* (1797-98) and the storm in Beethoven’s Pastoral Symphony (1802-08), this familiarity did not make the overall impression of Heinrich’s music any less idiosyncratic. Mandel does not cite specific locations in the excerpt quoted above; however, his analogous descriptions demonstrate knowledge of North-American geography. “Bridges of rock” “thrown across streams” recalls Natural Bridge in Virginia, deemed one of the “Natural Wonders of the Modern World”.¹² “Rivers, broad as seas” that flow for “hundreds of miles to the ocean” could refer to the Hudson or Mississippi rivers. “Great lakes” that “plunge with deafening roar to the depths below” – the closest Mandel comes to referring to a specific location – alludes to the Great Lakes and Niagara Falls. Later in the same review, Mandel specifically refers to Heinrich’s “orchestra scores” as “broad as the falls of Niagara” (Upton 143).

It comes as no surprise that Mandel would reference Natural Bridge and Niagara Falls in referring to Heinrich’s Americanness. Writing in 1872, Bryant labeled Natural Bridge and Niagara Falls as “the most remarkable curiosities in North America”, exceptionally beautiful, but “mingled with sublimity” (40). Depictions of these natural phenomena circulated through Europe long before the Mandel’s review in 1836 (Fig. 1). As symbols

of North America, both Natural Bridge and Niagara Falls were internationally recognized and used by foreign critics like Mandel to distinguish between the Old and New Worlds.

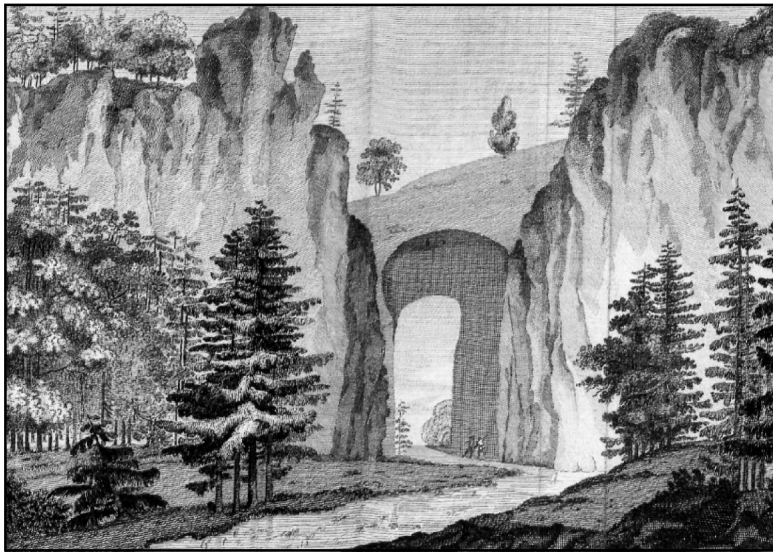


Fig. 1. de Chastellux, François-Jean. "Perspective Taken from Point A". 1787. Illustration of Natural Bridge, Virginia from *Travels in North-America in the years 1780-81-82*, Vol. 2. Accessed 3 Aug 2020.

Although both natural phenomena played on the imaginations of many who saw them, the sight and sound of Niagara proved to be the most significant throughout the nineteenth century. Sometime between 1831 and 1845, Heinrich composed a programmatic symphonic work inspired by the Falls, which he called *The War of Elements and the Thundering of Niagara*. This was not the first time the cataract's roar was portrayed in music. The Norwegian violinist and composer Ole Bull (1810-1880) wrote a piece for violin solo and orchestra entitled *Niagara* in 1844. Later representations of the falls include William Henry Fry's *Niagara Symphony* (1854) and George Frederick Bristow's *Niagara: Symphony for Grand Orchestra and Chorus* (1893). Denise Von Glahn asserts that that Heinrich, Fry, and Bristow "attempted to capture what no visual artist could; their works celebrated the powerful *sound* heard at the Falls" (23).

The intensity of sound produced by the 3,160 tons of water that flows over Niagara Falls every second is referenced in many of the accounts of its visitors. However, exaggerated tales of its deafening sublimity spread to the extent that by the 1720s, it was commonly assumed that the Falls overpowered all other sounds for approximately a thirty-mile radius (Dudley 575).

Exaggerations of the Falls' power only bolstered its sublime reputation throughout the nineteenth century. Works like Heinrich's *Thundering of Niagara* symbolize his admiration for the seemingly uncontrollable power of the natural world. While both visual artists, poets, and composers preserved their admiration for the Falls through their respective artistic media, Von Glahn observes that music attempted to do what no other medium could: mimic the sounds of the falls themselves (23). Perhaps the most iconic painting of the Falls from the middle of the nineteenth century is Frederic Edwin Church's *Niagara* (1857) (See Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Church, Frederic Edwin. "Niagara". 1857. Oil on Canvas. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington. Accessed 3 August 2020.

Church's painting is the first visual representation of the Falls in a "grand scale, with such fine detail, naturalism, and immediacy" ("Niagara"). The canvas is 101.6 × 229.9 cm (40 × 90 1/2 in.), twice as wide as it is high. Sheer dimension heightens the panoramic expansiveness of the scene ("Niagara"). In spite of its scale and perspective, Church's painting lacks one of the principal characteristics of the Falls – its sound. An anonymous observer at the exhibition of the work in 1857 aptly declared, "This is Niagara, with the roar left out!" (Mathews et al. 56).¹³

Church's Niagara is incapable of producing the sound of the Falls by itself; however, it suggests the presence of imagined sound. However, Church's painting will "sound" different to someone who has only a cursory knowledge of the Falls than to someone who has experienced the cataract first hand. The resulting sensory, and as such, emotional experience, can vary greatly. How then, does an artist make the intentional experience of the sublime reproducible?

To answer this question, some artists turned to language to reinforce the intent of their art. Predating Church by thirty-two years is Edward Hicks's *The Falls of Niagara* (1825) (Fig. 3). While the scope of the painting is not as considerable as Church's, Hicks seems to obscure the Falls with images of a beaver, rattlesnake, eagle, and moose among a variety of trees and shrubs. Hicks places a greater emphasis on sound. An excerpt from a poem by Alexander Wilson encompasses the scene and includes direct references to the sonic nature of the Falls.

With uproar hideous' first the Falls appear,
The stunning tumult thundering on the ear.
Above, below, where'er the astonished eye
Turns to behold, new opening wonders lie,
This great o'erwhelming work of awful Time
In all its dread magnificence sublime,
Rises on our view, amid a crashing roar
That bids us kneel, and Time's great God adore (A. Wilson 74-75).

Hicks's inclusion of Alexander Wilson's poem invites the observer to hear the "hideous" and "crashing" roar and experience the "thundering on the ear".

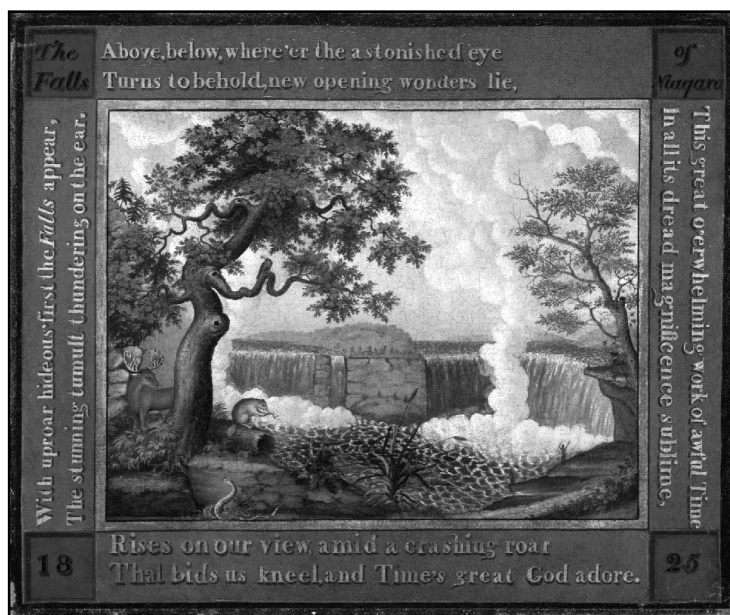


Fig. 3. Hicks, Edward. "The Falls of Niagara". 1825. Oil on Canvas. Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accessed 3 August 2020.

Heinrich's *The War of the Elements and the Thundering of Niagara* (1831-45) occupies a position between Hicks' sound-encircled folk-art and Church's water-dominant, yet silent and motionless canvas. What Heinrich achieved is not a simultaneous experience like Hicks's painting where the falls are experienced all at one, but a successive experience that pulls the observer from one moment to the next through the musical events of the composition. Heinrich's Niagara overcomes limitations of movement and sound through music and takes on additional symbolism.

Heinrich's "Cappriccio Grande", the *Thundering of Niagara* is scored for a full orchestra with augmented brass and percussion sections. In addition to winds and strings, the score calls for three piccolos, four horns, four trumpets, and alto, tenor, and bass trombones. Heinrich's percussive forces include parts for timpani, snare drum, bass drum, cymbals, triangle, and tambourine. The thirty individual parts often play together at the same time, heightening a sense of acoustic sublimity. The approximately eleven-minute work is written as a single movement; however, frequent fermatas, grand pauses, and tempo changes divide the work into smaller sections: (Adagio largo, Allegro moderato, Poco piu mosso, Andantino, Allegro primo, and Allegro Coda). Closer analysis shows Heinrich's awareness of large-scale forms and his effort to create unity throughout the work. Harmonic, textural, and rhythmic motives recall previous moments, thus creating a sense of internal consistency. The composer's evocation of "thundering" occurs in the work's "semi-autonomous" coda (mm. 333-507) which accounts for over one-third of the work (Van Glahn 27). The Coda begins softly but this tranquility soon gives way to *forte*, *fortissimo*, and triple *forte* dynamics that persist to the end of the work.

Heinrich's perspective of Niagara is that of a downward gaze. This perspective became the prominent viewpoint of the Hudson River School of painters like Cole and Durand

discussed earlier. Brooks Toliver notes that this perspective celebrates both wilderness and the will to dominate it (342). Here the sublime manifests through Heinrich's response to the power of the falls. The triple-forte dynamics, droning brass, and constantly running scales assume the roaring sound of constantly falling water. This intensity and persistence of sound overtakes the listener much like getting hit with a wave; as Von Glahn writes, "the power of the Falls becomes the music" (34). The wildness of the scene threatens to destroy. However, Heinrich keeps the experience under his control, symbolically asserting his own power over that of nature. The cataract's reputation as an American phenomenon, coupled with Heinrich's self-promotion as an American composer identifies the power of conquest represented in the music as American power. Rob Wilson's comment that the sublime is a "genre of empowerment" comes alive in Heinrich's portrayal of Niagara Falls (169). The ceaseless flow of the water represented by rising and falling scales becomes the perpetual forward momentum, or Manifest Destiny, of the United States. The thundering roar of the Falls represented by Heinrich's densely constructed walls of sound becomes the booming voice of the American people and their leaders, even the voice of God. This assertion of natural, cultural, political, and economic power underpins the American sublime.¹⁴

VI. Conclusion

The sublime is not a "delightful or contemplative experience of nature" (Brady 180). Emily Brady asserts that "the sublime does not define a relationship of loving nature, or even a friendly relationship with nature", instead it is "uncomfortable, even difficult" (180). This type of relationship is evident in Heinrich's symphonies in which he was dealing with something much larger than himself: the concept of America. For Heinrich, mountains, rivers, waterfalls, and people defined what the United States was and where it originated. Heinrich as Self confronted this new world and the exotic otherness that it represented. The internal and external sense of displacement he experienced with North American people and places, and the criticism heaped upon him disrupted his perception of the symphony and Western music generally. As a result, Heinrich dedicated his compositional career to grappling with his primary autobiographical question: the disruption between Self and Other, internal and external, old and new, European and American, culture and nature. Although discrepancies of taste among his sympathizers and his critics rendered almost all of his music inconsequential during his lifetime, many of Heinrich's works remain accurate representations of American thought and emotion during the early nineteenth century. Chmaj unashamedly declares that, "[Heinrich] is the one composer who tried to do for American music what the landscape painters did for painting, the Nature writer for literature, and to make that attempt with the orchestra" (55). Beyond Chmaj's hyperbole, indeed Heinrich's contributions should be regarded along the same lines as those of his contemporaries, namely Bryant, Cole, and Church. Their alignment of natural sublimity with wildness, power, and antiquity as expressed on canvas, in prose, and in music contributed to and accurately reflected the sense of American exceptionalism that defined what it meant to be authentically American.

Notes

- ¹ The condition of music in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century reflected “postcolonial anxiety” of the nation. Much of the music was imported from Europe which resulted in a cosmopolitan type atmosphere and national cultural ambiguity. For a detailed analysis of the condition of American music during Heinrich’s lifetime see Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise*, 2016.
- ² Heinrich conducted the first known performance of a Beethoven symphony in America (Symphony no. 1) on November 12, 1817 in Lexington, Kentucky.
- ³ I use the terms natural, nature, and landscape throughout this chapter and elsewhere to refer to the romanticized perception of the natural world within the North American continent including forests, mountains, rivers, prairies, etc. This is in contrast to areas that have been settled or industrialized through cultivation or infrastructure. While there are different sub-categories of landscapes (cityscapes, farmscapes, mountainscapes), I use the term landscape to refer to the way that is was used throughout the nineteenth century, specifically “a portion of land or territory which the eye can comprehend in a single view, including mountains, rivers, lakes, and whatever the land contains”. See Noah Webster, “Landscape”, in *American Dictionary of the English Language* (1882), <http://webstersdictionary1828.com/Dictionary/landscape>.
- ⁴ While the term “American” can be problematic because of its multiple definitions and subjectivity, I use the term throughout this chapter as it refers to the way Heinrich would have recognized it. Noah Webster’s 1828 dictionary defines American as “A native of America; originally applied to the aboriginals, or copper-colored races, found here by the Europeans; but now applied to the descendants of Europeans born in America”. Webster also quotes George Washington in his definition, “The name *American* must always exalt the pride of patriotism”. As such, “American” here refers to the white citizens of European decent. Indigenous people, although originally called Americans, would not be considered American citizens at this time and were thus perceived as Other.
- ⁵ Sixty enslaved people worked on the 550-acre Farmington plantation at the time Heinrich lived there. Heinrich dedicated several works to members of the Speed family or honored the Farmington estate: *Farmington March*, *Visit to Farmington*, *Farewell to Farmington*, *Hail to Kentucky*, and *The Birthday of Washington*. The latter was commissioned by John Speed.
- ⁶ The quoted passage originally appeared in “City Items”. *New York Daily Times*, 7 May 1846.
- ⁷ Other notable figures during the nineteenth century promoted their log-cabin origins for various political and artistic means. Figures include Henry David Thoreau, William Henry Harrison, and Franklin Pierce.
- ⁸ Heinrich referred to his time in Kentucky as his “hermitage”. Consider also Henry David Thoreau (1817-1962) and his cabin experience at Walden Pond. from 1845 to 1847.
- ⁹ Schonberg’s statement recalls the concept of instrumental music as religion that became popular during the nineteenth century, particularly regarding the music of Beethoven and Wagner. Virinder S. Kalra observes that, “This notion of music as religion was developed through a process of elevation of the [musical] work through theological interpretative frameworks; artists became priests mediating the absolute for the public and concert halls of the new churches” (25).
- ¹⁰ Emphasis is original.
- ¹¹ The quote comes from a letter written by John Braham to Heinrich (Anthony Philip Heinrich *Scrapbook*, 425).
- ¹² Purchased by Thomas Jefferson from England in 1774 for twenty shillings, Natural Bridge soon became a tourist destination for Europeans during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Jefferson referred to the bridge as “the most Sublime of nature’s works”. The arch was painted by numerous times throughout the nineteenth century. Notable artists include Jacob Caleb Ward in 1835, Frederic Edwin Church in 1852, and David Johnson in 1860. Herman Melville alludes to the arch in his novel, *Moby Dick*, comparing a breaching whale to its characteristic curve. American literary figure, William Cullen Bryant, referred to Natural Bridge and Niagara Falls as the two most remarkable features of North America.

¹³ The quoted passage originally appeared in *Home Journal*, May 9, 1857, 2. Italics are original to the article.

¹⁴ Non-American composers have also used waterfalls to musically allude to national rhetoric. Jón Leifs' *Dettifoss* (1964) is a more recent expression of nationalism through referencing a natural phenomenon.

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