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Rhodolph Hall: Nineteenth-Century Keyed Bugle, Cornet, and Clarinet Soloist

Robert E. Eliason

On may 22, 1870, Rhodolph Hall wrote to his sister Lucy:

I have procrastinated a little in writing you, which I hope you will excuse, by reflecting that my time must be somewhat occupied at a salery of \$75 per week, and expences. I had excelent success at Brooklyn, N.Y. the two weeks I played there. Received only 11 Encore there, one of which was a call out the 3d time, or a double encore. Have since concerted one week in N. J. and the past week at principal cities on the Hudson. . . . I take some pride in having a written contract for the largest salary of any American Instrumentalist of my kind, that has yet lived. 1

At this time he was at the top of his career, touring with the Peak Family Bell Ringers as cornet and clarinet soloist (see fig. 1, especially nos. 4 and 8).

Rhodolph Hall was one of the most successful American band soloists in the middle years of the nineteenth century. He is known to have played flute, clarinet, keyed bugle, cornet, Ebor Corno (a valved alto brass instrument), trombone, violin, and even occasionally penny whistle. He played with brass bands, dance bands, circuses, minstrel shows, bell ringers, and other concert ensembles and toured widely, including trips throughout the eastern and mid-western states, California, Cuba, Canada, and England. His career overlapped the change from bands of woodwind and brass instruments to all-brass bands by the 1840s, and documents the shift from keyed bugle to cornet as the principal solo brass instrument. His letters also show that American brass bands formed in the 1840s and 1850s were sometimes well-paid professional organizations and that wind soloists were popular and well rewarded. A unique feature of his later performances was the use of a cornet with an

^{1. &}quot;The Hall Letters" 326.1W, May 22, 1870: Rhodolph in Poughkeepsie to Lucy in New Haven. (This source is described more fully below, in the third paragraph of the main text.) Vagaries of spelling are generally left uncorrected in these informal and often hastily-written letters.

"SENIOR" PEAK FAMILY SWISS BHIL RINGERS.

PROGRAMME:

- 1. OPENING PIECE—"Governor Morgan's March," BELL RINGERS.
- HARP SOLO—"Fantasia," Mad. JULIA PEAK BLAIS-DELL.
- 3. JEPPE'S BUDGET OF MIRTH.
- 4. STAFF BELL SOLO—"Annan Polka" EDDIE PEAK.

 CORNET SOLO—"With Magic Echo"
 RODOLPH HALL.
- 6. SERI COMIC DUET—"Broadway swell and Brooklyn Belle"......JEPPE and MISS FANNIE.
- 8. CLARIONETTE SOLO, -- "Theme and Variations." RU-DOLPH HALL.
- 9. FAVORITE BALLAD.....MISS FANNIE PEAK.
- 10. STAFF BELL SOLO-selected EDDIE PEAK.
- 11. CHARACTER SONG,.....MISS FANNIE PEAK-
- 12 DUET FOR BELLS..... EDDIE and FANNIE.
- 13. "A FEW MOMENTS IN GERMANY,".....JEPPE.
- 14. GRAND BELL POLKA,.....PEAK FAMILY.
- FINALE—"Ferdinand Schottische," by BRASS BAND., R. HALL, Leader.

The Gold Cornet, played at the concert, is a present to Mr. Hall by his musical friends, and manufactured by HALL & QUIN-BY, No. 62, Ludbury Street, Boston, Mass., and cost \$2, 800 in Gold.

Figure 1. Peak Family Swiss Bell Ringers tour program enclosed in Hall Letters 329, October 2, 1870, from Nebraska City, Nebraska. From the collections of the Benson Ford Research Center, Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village (BFRC), 1604: 5–9.

echo attachment. This article will examine his career as a soloist, the instruments he played, his travels, and the rewards he earned.

The principal source of the information presented here is the Hall Family Papers at the Benson Ford Research Center of the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Michigan. The collection includes 373 letters and 106 programs, advertisements, dance cards, and newspaper clippings dating from 1835 to 1896. For easier access, the letters among these materials are numbered by date, and those related to the musicians of the family and their correspondents were transcribed in the 1980s and privately printed as "The Hall Letters." This work is available at the Benson Ford Research Center and electronically from the author. About thirty other letters and some additional programs and clippings mentioned below are from a collection of family history documents belonging to Mrs. Harold E. Whitcher, formerly of Hamden, Connecticut, a descendant of the Hall family. Copies of these materials, obtained in 1987, are in the author's files, but the current location of the originals is unclear. Letters relating to the musicians and their correspondents from this source have numbers followed by a "W," and are also included in "The Hall Letters." Additional materials have been drawn from the collections of the Lyme Historians, a local organization of people interested in the history of Lyme, New Hampshire, the town in which Hall grew up.

Many of the instruments shown in the illustrations of this article are from the collections of the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Michigan. Founded by Henry Ford and incorporated in 1929 as the Edison Institute, the Museum and Village interpret the American experience for a worldwide audience.

American Bands in Perspective

Because Rhodolph Hall played mostly with town bands, it may be helpful to review some of the history of such bands in the United States. The earliest American bands formed during and after the Revolution consisted mostly of woodwind instruments. Although the usual instrumentation was pairs of oboes, clarinets, horns, bassoons, and percussion, common variations were additional clarinets instead of oboes; bass clarinets, trombones, or serpents instead of bassoons; and an occasional flute, trumpet, or bugle. By the early nineteenth century, these bands served a wide range of useful functions, playing for all kinds of outdoor

public events, both military and civilian, as well as for dancing, concerts, theater entertainment, and other indoor activities.

After 1815, a series of mechanical inventions resulted in new and improved brass instruments that began to appear in American bands. The keyed bugle, invented in 1810 and first brought to this country about 1816, first made it possible for a brass instrument to carry the melody. Various sizes of ophicleides (larger keyed bugles), which followed in the 1820s, were able to play chromatically in the lower registers along with the trombone. Valved brasses, invented about 1815, also were able to play a fully chromatic scale, and practical models were available in this country by the 1830s. The first all-brass bands were formed in Boston and New York in the mid-1830s, and the idea spread rapidly throughout the country during the next twenty years.

The introduction of these improved brass instruments opened the way to growth in band activity, particularly at the local level. The new brasses were easy to play, inexpensive, and readily available from American makers after 1840. With some diligent practice, especially if aided by a competent leader, a group could produce satisfactory results in a relatively short time. More and more town bands were formed, filling both functional and aesthetic needs in their communities. They played for military musters, fire brigade drills, parades, dances, church activities, political events, steamboat excursions, picnics, etc. Almost any occasion where people gathered was enhanced with band music. Both the sight and sounds of the new brass bands were more dramatic and exciting than the older bands. The rapid spread of bands to every corner of the country resulted in the training of large numbers of American instrumental musicians and played an important role in disseminating a common musical culture. Until the advent of phonograph and radio, only sheet music songs and the piano were more important as a means of distributing the music Americans enjoyed.2

Of broader importance, the development of American bands provided the means by which Americans with no access to training in such typically European institutions as conservatories, court and church orchestras, or the military were able to establish instrumental performing groups throughout the country and acquaint a large segment of the population with a surprisingly high level of musical culture. The activities of

^{2.} Raoul Camus, "Bands," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 1:127ff.; and Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life, a History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 272ff.

musicians like Rhodolph Hall, together with hundreds of bands and concert groups like those he played in and directed, led to the era of fine band music exemplified by Patrick Gilmore and John Philip Sousa.

Biographical Overview

Rhodolph Hall (b. July 22, 1824, Lyme, N. H.; d. December 10, 1878, New Haven, Conn.), the youngest of ten children born to John and Mary Hall,³ grew up in a farming family in Lyme, New Hampshire, a small town just north of Hanover, along the Connecticut River. "His first instrument was a flute made of a masterwort stalk.⁴ . . . He was told that as soon as he learned to play a tune on this, a real flute would be purchased for him. He accomplished this in a short time and at the age of twelve years he appeared in public as a musician." Rhodolph joined the Lyme town band and also began to play for dancing around the area in the early 1840s. In the fall of 1843 he completed his studies at the Lyme school and the next year followed his older brother David (D. C.) to Hartford, Connecticut, to work for their uncle David Culver in his cast iron stove factory.⁶ In short order the brothers discovered that playing with the Hartford brass band was a lot easier, more fun, and far more lucrative than working in the stove factory.

From Hartford, Rhodolph went to New Haven, New York, and then to the Boston area. During the late 1840s and 1850s he most often played with Boston bands in the summer and for dancing all over New England during the winter; however, this general schedule was interrupted often by tours with circuses and various concert groups. On December 14, 1849, he married Kate Morris (1833–73), a friend of his sister Lucy whom he had gotten to know over the previous summer. Her family farmed in Horsham, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia, and the couple often visited there. In March 1850, after spending the winter in Middlebury, Vermont, for the dancing season, they moved to Roxbury,

- 3. "Hall Letters" 221.1W, Apr. 1855: John Hall in Lyme to Mr. Quint (identity unknown).
 - 4. Astrantia major; family: umbelliferae.
- 5. Edwin P. Dimick, "Hall Brothers," unpublished 1948 article in the collections of the Lyme Historians, 2.
- 6. D. C. Hall (1822–1900) was also a musician and eventually became even better known than Rhodolph. A fine keyed bugle soloist, he led the Boston Brass Band for many years, starting in 1853, and also had an instrument manufacturing and importing business from 1862 to 1880.

Massachusetts, then to Lowell the next year, and finally to Boston in 1853, as Rhodolph's employment changed. Kate often traveled with him on tour; they had no children.

Beginning in 1853, D. C. Hall was leader of the Boston Brass Band and Rhodolph was second leader. Portraits painted in 1854 of each of them in full uniform with their instruments now hang in the Converse Free Library in Lyme, New Hampshire. About 1861 Rhodolph acquired a cornet with four valves, one of which could direct the airflow to an echo attachment. During the next few years he perfected the use of this attachment and began to use it in his solo work. In 1861–62 he toured England with Rumsey and Newcomb's Minstrels, and thereafter, for the rest of his career, Rhodolph was in considerable demand as soloist.

John Hall, Rhodolph's father, died in 1864, and when the estate was settled in 1866, Rhodolph purchased the home farm in Lyme from the other heirs. His intention was to make it a show place, but he was seldom able to pay much attention to its management. His crops usually failed, his hired workers often left him, and his prize animals died. At times he called it his "agricultural college," but more often it was his "elephant."

Throughout his adult life Rhodolph was bothered on and off by kidney problems, and this eventually brought about his death at the comparatively young age of 54. He died at the home of his sister Lucy (Hall) Johnson (1819–98) in New Haven, Connecticut, to whom many of the source letters were written. The funeral was in Lyme, conducted by the Rev. B. M. Tillotson. His sermon on the occasion was published¹⁰ but adds little to what we know from the letters and family collections.

Training

What training Hall received was limited to his own efforts on various instruments and what he could learn from music his brother sent him,

- 7. "Hall Letters" 297, Jan. 8, 1866: Rhodolph in Boston to Lucy in New Haven.
- 8. "Hall Letters" 317, Dec. 2, 1867: Rhodolph in Boston to Lucy in New Haven; and 320, July 22, 1868: Rhodolph in Saratoga to Sarah (another older sister) in Washington, D. C.
- 9. "Hall Letters" 301, May 1, 1866: Kate and Rhodolph in Baltimore to Lucy in New Haven; 303, June 5, 1866: Rhodolph in Boston to Sarah in Baltimore; and 313, July 16, 1867: Rhodolph in Saratoga Springs to Lucy in New Haven.
- 10. B. M. Tillotson, A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Rhodolph Hall in Lyme, N. H., December 14, 1878 (Boston: Goodwin & Drisko, 1879).

plus on-the-job experience playing in dance bands, and in other bands in Hartford, New Haven, New York, Roxbury, Lowell, and Boston. He was obviously talented and highly motivated, but he was also fortunate to work with some of the best of New England musicians.

Following his early years of playing flute, Hall was introduced to the clarinet and B-flat keyed bugle by his older brother and began playing in the Lyme town band. In an 1843 letter to D. C., who had already moved to Hartford, he wrote: "I hope you will not forget to get me a Clarionett, if you have a good chance. I will pay you well besides being ten times glad." A few months later he remarked:

I have had an introduction to the B flat Bugle you left here, & find nothing very difficult about that music you sent to play on it, it goes better on the Bugle than on the Clair [clarinet] it being in that key. I concluded you sent the easyest first. I would like some more that is harder if you have it, if it is not so good scientifics is wha[t] I am after, send them along.¹²

He shows here considerable motivation to learn the "scientifics" of music even if it involved playing pieces that are "not so good." A handful of European method books and collections of tunes for instruction existed by this time, ¹³ but Rhodolph probably learned, as suggested here, by playing any tune he could get his hands on. His mention of the music going "better on the [B-flat] Bugle . . . it being in that key" suggests that his first clarinet was in C.

Rhodolph's schooling ended in Lyme the fall of 1843. His sister Lucy wrote:

They had an exhibition or rather an examination at the close of the school at Lyme, and it is said Rhodolph showed himself to a good advantage, both in the music line and the exercise of the school. He gave them now and then a spice of poetry which was first rate, it is said—though I was not there to hear it—He got the good will of all the students. Richardson [his teacher] said "he is an admirable young man"!—that he ought to go through college—says he could easily pay his way by his music. I think he has made good progress in his studies, and ought to pursue them still further. But he is on hand for Hartford—I understand he has got father's consent, and will probably go in a few weeks. 14

^{11. &}quot;Hall Letters" 6, June 5, 1843: Rhodolph in Lyme to D. C. in Hartford.

^{12. &}quot;Hall Letters" 8, Sept. 5, 1843: Rhodolph in Lyme to D. C. in Hartford.

^{13.} See Ralph T. Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle* (Metuchen, N. J. & London: Scarecrow Press, 1993), 124ff.

^{14. &}quot;Hall Letters" 13, Dec. 12, 1843: Lucy in Hanover to D. C. in Hartford.

Rhodolph played that winter around Lyme with various dancing instructors, but at least by June 1844 he had joined D. C. in Hartford. Evidently by this time he was playing C and E-flat clarinets, but wanted one in B-flat as well, probably an instrument similar to that shown on the left in figure 2, as he wrote to his brother:

I can pay you for the Clat. [clarinet] now and if I do not visit you this spring I wish you to get me a B flat of of the same pattern only a niser one. Black ebony with first rate silver keys if you can get one of that discription. I like this very well all but the mouth piece. The throat of it is not big enough to fill it or to get a lusty tone. I use the E flat mouthpiece all to gether, it works much beter. 15

A few years later he also tried to buy an A clarinet from the prominent New York maker William Rönnberg, but failed to find one that suited him. 16

It is curious that Hall never mentions the number of keys on his clarinets or flutes. At this time many improvements in keywork were being tried on all of the woodwinds. Although it is likely that he began on inexpensive one-keyed flutes and five-keyed clarinets and later upgraded to more technically advanced instruments, it seems odd that he did not refer to any of these improvements. The foregoing brief discussion of his clarinet mouthpiece is the only mention of instrument construction found in the letters.

In Hartford, Hall worked at first in his uncle's stove factory, but very soon found enough music jobs to pay his way. As his playing improved he began to compare his abilities with other well-known musicians. At the 1844 Musicians' Ball in Lebanon, New Hampshire, an event that attracted 375 people, he played with several top New England musicians:

Mr. Boid from Boston was there and played the Clat [clarinet] he has been called as great as [James] Kendall on Clat. Mr. King was there & the two Densmors. But I was not afraid of the whole pile of them. I was not called second to any of them. 17

- 15. "Hall Letters" 14, Feb. 16, 1844: Rhodolph in Lyme to D. C. in Hartford.
- 16. "Hall Letters" 78, Oct. 10, 1847: Rhodolph in New Haven to D. C. in St. Louis.
- 17. "Hall Letters" 14, Feb. 16, 1844: Rhodolph in Lyme to D. C. in Hartford. James Kendall (1803–c. 1874) was a well-known clarinettist and trombonist who directed bands and theater orchestras in and around Boston; his brother was the famous keyed bugler Ned Kendall (Robert E. Sheldon, "Edward (Ned) Kendall," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* [London: Macmillan Press Limited, 1986], 3:621). No information has been found on Boid or King.



Figure 2. American clarinets in B-flat, C, and E-flat typical of the 1840s from the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village (HFM). B-flat clarinet, William Whiteley, Utica, N.Y., HFM 71.70.30; C clarinet, HFM 78.57, and E-flat clarinet, HFM 73.40, Graves & Co., Winchester, N.H. All are made of boxwood with ivory ferrules and five brass keys.

And just a few months later, after a trip to New York City, he bragged:

For I have heard the best Clarionett player in Town or has been called so, besides those in the Theater at N.Y. whare they aught to have as good as any whare, and I wont give up to any of the fatist [fattest] of them.¹⁸

In the summer of 1845 Hall got an abrupt introduction to another instrument, the E-flat ophicleide (fig. 3).¹⁹ He wrote from Boston about playing with the Boston Brass Band:

Wright Borowed an Eb ophiclide for me, but I had not seen it or a single note of their music. You can better imagine my feelings a Dam sight than I can discribe them. But I thought perhaps as the German or my predesesor did, better to carry an instrument and make believe in a band like this than to be bill write[r] and leader in a band like New Haven. . . . When we came out says Jim K[endall] here Hall you come besid me. betwene me & Sibley, says he. Now Hall, Blow it out, says he dont be afraid. blow it out. Says I. What the Devil shall I play I have no notes and I not acquainted with your music. Well dam it, ses he, play what your a mind to. Vamp ses he.²⁰

Although Hall tried for a time to buy an ophicleide, there is no evidence that he ever did, or that he ever played one again. There are no specific references in Hall's letters to learning to play the trombone, but often when traveling he mentions packing it or having it sent.

After several winters playing for dancing around New Hampshire and Vermont, Hall played well enough to be a regular among the dancing masters. In January 1846 he wrote:

Last week Pushee payed me \$25. for 3 Balls. The two weeks before of 2 Balls each \$30.00 or \$15.00 each week. We have 3 Balls this week for which Pushee promises me another \$25.00.²¹

- 18. "Hall Letters" 17, June 30, 1844: D. C. and Rhodolph in Hartford to Lucy in Orfordville, N. H.
- 19. An alto brass instrument with keys like a saxophone, invented with other lower instruments of the keyed bugle family by Halary (Jean Hilaire Asté) of Paris and patented in 1821. It was originally called the quinticlave.
- 20. "Hall Letters" 25, Aug. 30, 1845: Rhodolph in Boston to D. C. in New Haven. Elbridge G. (E. G.) Wright (1811–71) was a maker and player of fine keyed bugles and other brasses (Robert E. Eliason, *Early American Brass Makers* [Nashville: Brass Press, 1979], 23). Henry Sibley (1805–1859), a machinist and trombone player, was one of the earliest American keyed bugle makers and the first to make the smaller E-flat soloists' model (Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle*, 63).
- 21. "Hall Letters" 33, Jan. 3, 1846: Rhodolph in Lyme to Messrs. Hall & Rodgers in New Haven. A[braham] Pushee (1791–1868) was a Lyme, N.H., violinist and dancing master who had dance schools all around the area and often hired musicians.



Figure 3. E-flat ophicleide, Graves & Co., Winchester, N.H., brass, 10 keys, HFM 28.18.13. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

To put these earnings in perspective, carpenters and masons on the Erie canal during the period 1843–49 earned an average of \$1.25 and \$1.47 respectively per day,²² or \$7.50–\$9.00 per week.

In 1846 Hall wrote about the Driver's Ball in Haverhill, New Hampshire:

Had a great time, about 100 couple. 6 Musicians, Pushee Myself Post PROFF. Bond of Lowell and a chap that came with him. I no recolect his name played trombacello, & Dayton. I played the flutes part of the time & the Clt. [clarinet] part of the time, as Dayton could not play all of Pushee's Music nor could Bond or he would not, try to play some of it. You know some in E and rather tuf. Bond played the Clt. some but the Post Horn & trombone mostly he is more talk than cider I think, a dam sight. My bill was \$10.00 for playing, and the easiest \$10 I ever earned I think.²³

Here Hall's work on the "scientifics" paid off, enabling him to competently perform music that was "in E and rather tuf." The trombacello played by his unnamed colleague was a valved brass instrument made in alto, tenor, and baritone sizes by Graves & Co. of Winchester, New Hampshire, in the early 1840s (figs. 4–5).²⁴ So far this is the earliest known mention of a performance on one of this family of brasses manufactured in this country before the arrival of the saxhorns.

It is interesting that on this and several other occasions when Hall mentions the flute it is in the plural. It is likely that in addition to the ordinary or concert flute in C, he played the so-called band flute in E-flat, a smaller instrument with lowest (six-finger) note F that was more at home in the keys likely to be used by bands of E-flat and B-flat instruments (fig. 6).

He had also learned to play the violin, as he bragged in the same letter:

I play some cottillions on the Violin like a Book but the hornpikes I play like the Dev'l. So get out the way Ole John Rogers. I me unto say I have improved on violin.

- 22. U. S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the U. S. Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1976), part 1, 164.
- 23. "Hall Letters" 35, Jan. 25, 1846: Rhodolph in Lyme to D. C. in New Haven. Alonzo Bond of Hampstead, N.H., was a well-known teacher, composer, dance musician, and bandmaster; no information has been found on Post or Dayton.
- 24. Robert E. Eliason, *Graves & Company, Musical Instrument Makers* (Dearborn, Mich.: Greenfield Village and Henry Ford Museum, 1975), 12; also Allen Dodworth, *Dodworth's Brass Band School* (New York: H. B. Dodworth, 1853), 19–20.



Figure 4. E-flat alto trombacello, Graves & Co., Winchester, N.H., HFM 28.18.60. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.



Figure 5. B-flat baritone trombacello, Graves & Co., Winchester N.H., photo used with permission of the Hancock, N.H., Historical Society.

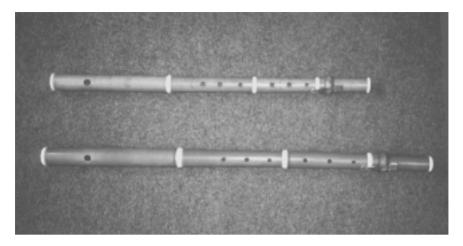


Figure 6. American flutes in C and E-flat typical of the 1840s, from the collection of the author. Flute in C, Bacon & Hart, Philadelphia, boxwood, ivory ferrules, one brass key; band flute, C. G. Christman, New York, boxwood, ivory ferrules, one brass key.

From March to October of 1846 Rhodolph and D. C. played with Ned Kendall in New York City.²⁵ They played regularly in the theaters, for dancing, and for a variety of other events. While there they met Claudio S. Graffulla (1810–80), a New York bandmaster, composer, and arranger whose arrangements they were to use often from then on. In the following letter Rhodolph describes their activities that fall:

I have given up the Idea of playing at the theatre every knight for Kendall has made an engagement to play 3 knights in a week at the same Ampitheatre for \$2'00 each knight a piece. Being the same as if I played steady every knight in the week at \$1'00 a knight. So it gives us a much better chance to play for Balls which ar comencing now rather brisk. We played at the theatre last knight for the first knight with FULL BAND It took first rate CROWDED house WONDERFUL APLAUSE &c. Benhan was thare will tell you something of us stayed with us last knight first rate time. I played last

25. Edward (Ned) Kendall (1808–61), a famous keyed bugle player and band director, was the younger brother of the clarinetist and band director James Kendall (see note 16). The careers of the two Kendall brothers and the two Hall brothers were intertwined over a long period. In 1835, Ned Kendall founded the Boston Brass Band, which D. C. Hall later directed; James Kendall directed the Boston Brigade Band (a woodwind and brass group), in which both Hall brothers, as well as Ned Kendall, played at various times.

Wednesday knight For a Ball at Vaix Hall the first of this season for which I recd \$3'00 last monday went to Burgoin Point target excursion for which I recd \$2'50 D. recd \$3'00 he led the band. tuesday last regtmental Perade in City Recd \$3'00 each. thursday target Excursion at Bulls ferry \$2'50 each together with playing in the theatre amounts to \$13'00 for my playing this week you will see. Next week we have 3 or 4 perades Beside playing in the theatre which will amount to as much more I think. Monday we have to perade with a fire comp. for target shooting. . . . ²⁶

The pay mentioned for these engagements in New York is considerably less than in the Boston area. Perhaps for this reason the brothers remained there only for the one season.

During the summer of 1847 Hall stayed in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and played around the Boston area. He must have been playing some cornet by this time, for when his brother D. C., who was on tour with Spaulding's North American Circus, asked him to pack up and send his cornet Rhodolph complained that he considered it his own.²⁷ That same summer he wrote about joining James Kendall's Boston Brigade Band and preparing to play a solo on the E-flat Ebor Corno:

I saw the bill of the concert (or a copy of it) that we give at Dartmouth yesterday. K [James Kendall] & Bartlet have put me in as folows; viz. solo E[b]ro Corno Rodolphus Hall. (&c) all but the &c. Now I want you to send me that solo that I practiced while we were going out to Buffalo last winter. I practiced it on the cornett you recollect. It goes first rate on the Ebro Corno. I remember the most of the air and variations. I want it just as it stands in Eflat. Write the acompanaments so I can distribute them in the Band with out copying again. [...] And Jim wants me to play a duett with him on the E-flat Oph. [ophicleide] & E. Corno. He mentioned it several times but has no duets that suit him, wanted to know if I had not one. He mentioned that one from Norma. He has it arranged for an Orcastra [orchestra] said he wished he had it for two instruments. Said it would be very pretty. I want you should send it as Grafulea [Claudio Graffulla] ara. [arranged] it for us, with the rest of the Music if you have not sent it. Send it as soon as possible, if you have to put your self to a little inconvenience. I have myself for you. Be sure and not fail to send them now. The duet I suppose you have with you.²⁸

A few weeks later he explained further that

Our Quick Steps are by Keurek most of them, and are first rate, and Dam hard. My part especialy, the same that Jim use to play on his E flat Opheclide.

^{26. &}quot;Hall Letters" 49, Oct. 10, 1846: Rhodolph in New York to Lucy in New Haven.

^{27. &}quot;Hall Letters" 61, Apr. 21, 1847: Rhodolph in Roxbury to D. C. in Albany.

^{28. &}quot;Hall Letters" 68, June 29, 1847: Rhodolph in Roxbury, Massachusetts to D. C. in Pittsburgh.

I play the part of the Fagotto Primo in the Ouvertires and Printed Collections, makes a good deal for my Instrument which sticks rite out.²⁹

Ebor Corno (or York Horn) was a name for a family of valved brass instruments first suggested to American makers by the Dodworth family of New York in the 1840s.³⁰ A flyer published between 1853 and 1858 lists them in E-flat and B-flat tenor, B-flat baritone, B-flat bass, and E-flat contrabass sizes.³¹ Although there is no direct evidence, it is thought that early models may ave been made by J. Lathrop Allen of Norwich, Connecticut (fig. 7). So far these are the earliest known references to performances on the Ebor Corno. Playing the first bassoon parts of "overtures and printed collections" on such an instrument was no mean feat.

From this time on the twenty-three-year-old Hall was a full-time professional musician playing many dances, leading bands, or playing as a featured soloist. His knowledge of several instruments no doubt broadened his job opportunities, but was not unusual for the time. Most musicians he worked with played several instruments. Knowing the "scientifics" was what counted, but Hall's "lusty tone," confident attitude and willingness to tackle just about anything probably didn't hurt his prospects either.

Winter Dancing

Work for professional wind instrument players in the 1840s and 1850s in New England varied with the season. In the winter there were a few brass band concerts, some concert tours, and an occasional circus tour, but most musicians kept busy playing in smaller ensembles for dancing. E. G. Wright wrote to D. C. Hall in 1846:

I have been very busy this winter in Musick and have played almost every night since the first of December \dots but the season is nearly over for dancing now although we are engaged for two weeks ahead every night. \dots 32

- 29. "Hall Letters" 71, July 22, 1847: Rhodolph in Roxbury to D. C. in Cincinnati. Adam Kurek was a Polish exile who published a lot of music for bands in piano arrangements with instrumentation noted. An example is his *Twelve Admired Quick Steps* "As Performed at the Concerts of the Celebrated Brigade Band of Boston, A. F. Knight, Leader" (Boston: Charles H. Keith, 1842). Instruments noted include cornet, trumpet, clarinet, trombone, flute, bass, and ophicleide.
- 30. Allen Dodworth, *Dodworth's Brass Band School*, 11, 19, 81; Harvey B. Dodworth, "Band Music Then and Now," *American Art Journal* (July 17, 1880), 177.
- 31. Tenor, baritone, and bass instruments at the same B-flat pitch differed in bore size and expansion.
 - 32. "Hall Letters" 36.1, Mar. 9, 1846: E. G. Wright in Boston to D. C. in New Haven.



Figure 7. B-flat tenor Ebor Corno, J. Lathrop Allen, Norwich, Conn., HFM 28.18.61. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

If Wright played almost every night from December 1 to March 23, dancing was obviously a very popular form of entertainment in Boston, especially since several other bands existed. Not surprisingly, dancing was equally popular in rural New England, but maybe for a more practical reason. In a letter of January 10, 1849, after traveling with D. C. and Rhodolph to play for dances in Barnet, Weathersfield, and Windsor, Vermont, their sister Lucy commented that "they do nothing up here for amusement except dance—and that they have to do in order to keep warm."33 During the winter of 1845–46 Rhodolph played with a number of dance masters in New Hampshire and Vermont, most likely on clarinet, flute, and violin. Shorter trips were by horse and carriage or sleigh, longer distances by train. Among the events he specifically mentioned were dancing schools, cotillion parties, and balls in Concord, Hanover, Haverhill, Lebanon, Lyme, and Newport, New Hampshire; and Barre, North Springfield, Springfield, Union Village, Waterbury, and Woodstock, Vermont—all places within a fifty-mile radius of Lyme.

The winter of 1848–49 was again spent playing for dances in Vermont and New Hampshire. Lucy wrote:

The boys have just returned from a tour of 4 days in Vt. Playing for Balls & c. They are doing a snug little business their usual price \$10 per night. R. has got him a splendid sleigh and D. a beautiful horse—\$100 worth a fine black pony. 34

The following season also, from after his wedding in December 1849 until the end of March 1850, Rhodolph again played for dancing in western Vermont with R. E. Whitcomb (1819–55?), a dancing master and bandleader from Burlington and Middlebury, Vermont. Hall boarded in Middlebury, traveling by train, stage, or his fancy sleigh and his brother's fine pony, Betsy (or Betts), all over the area. Balls and dances mentioned were in Burlington, Shoreham, Monkton, Vergennes, Sudbury, Shelburne, Hancock, Bridport, Castleton, Northfield, and Randolph, Vermont; Crown Point, New York; and Keene and Lebanon, New Hampshire. Except for Keene, all were within fifty miles of Middlebury. Business was not always as snug as Lucy described it, however. Sometimes the train ran off the tracks:

^{33. &}quot;Hall Letters" 95, Jan. 10, 1849: Lucy in Hartford to Sarah in New Haven.

^{34. &}quot;Hall Letters" 97, Feb. 17, 1849: Lucy in Lyme to Sarah in New Haven.

I was nocked out of an 8 or \$10.00 job night before last by the running off of the Locomotive between Middlebury [and] Vergens. Were to play at Shelbern, but had to stay in the cars until Sunrise in the morning very cold in the bargain. 35

Or even worse, he lamed the horse:

Betts was in good trim until Yesterday she trod on some damned thing or other and stuck in her near hind hoof and pricked her pretty bad. So I am obliged to leave her here and take the stage to Middlebury and cars [i.e., a train] from there. 36

After D. C. became leader of the Lowell (Massachusetts) Brass Band in 1849, Rhodolph found it increasingly convenient and lucrative to play with them, and officially joined the group in 1851. They had their own dance season around Lowell, and the larger population of the area allowed them to play many more jobs with fewer transportation problems. The following winter Rhodolph wrote:

We play for five dances and balls this week besides brass band rehersal and we reherse brass band Sunday night. Kate has got homesick and lonesome at my being absent on engagements so much and thinks she may as well be at Lyme, N. H. as in this city of spindles. \dots ³⁷

Summer Bands

As mentioned above, Hall played during the summer of 1847 with the Boston Brigade Band under Jim Kendall. This was still a brass and reed band, unlike most of the military bands of that time, which had already changed to an all-brass instrumentation. They played for several military companies, including events such as training, excursions, and parades. President Polk visited Boston that summer and Hall described the event in a letter to his sisters:

Time and tide waits for no man (or woman), and it continues to rain upon the just and unjust. I can swear to the latter, as it rained on Polk as well as myself yesterday and day before. But I had little the nastiest time of it, as I had to march in the mud and make music, while he rode, under an um-

^{35. &}quot;Hall Letters" 128, Feb. 7, 1850: Rhodolph in Sudbury to D. C. in Lowell.

^{36.} Ibid.

^{37. &}quot;Hall Letters" 173, Feb. 19, 1852: Rhodolph in Lowell to Lucy and her husband Samuel Johnson and Sarah in New Haven.

brella and listened to it. . . . We not only had to march in the mud but the horses in front spattered mud and water all over us. Our white pants were a sweet looking thing of course. We played for the dinner at the Revere House, did not get through until $^{1}\!/_{2}$ past 10 o'clock in the eve. Went to Charlestown to escort the President yesterday. He went to Lowell in the afternoon.³⁸

Over the Fourth of July week the band played with several fire companies on two-day trips to Troy, Albany, and New York City. They went for a week with a military company to Bangor and Portland, Maine, July 15, then played for Dartmouth College commencement July 28. They also played for commencements at Harvard on August 25, and at Yale sometime in September. At the Dartmouth concert Hall made his first professional appearance as soloist. After the concert he wrote:

My solo came off very fine Jim said it was first rate &c. that I got it off in good shape, much better than he was expecting And the band all hit me on the back and shoulder saying, "Good old boy" "Thems um" "That's the way to hit um" &c And the audience gave me the clap first rate. Cheered me more than they did T. Ryan. My solo was more conspicuous as I did not have so heavy accompnyment.³⁹

The marketing and fund-raising department of a professional band of this period was the serenade band, a smaller ensemble made up of the best players who serenaded prominent citizens to honor them and in hopes of winning their support. Often the people serenaded would provide refreshments. In a letter written ten days earlier Hall described the Boston Brigade's serenade band and an evening of such activities:

Night before last had a nice Supper at 12 o'clock than had to Serenade to about 8 or 10 places, among them were the United States Hotell whare we had to go in and take some Death preventatives just to keep the Soul & Body together &c. The last place was the Revere House whare Polk stoped, thare we had a Band Brekfast about daylight with Champaigne Accompanaments &c. High old time, shouldn't wonder, they were some of the Bo Ho Hoy Hoys that had the Do. I got home to Roxbury at ½ past 5 o'clock in the morn. We have 8 in our Serenade Band (more when we like) and the way we

^{38. &}quot;Hall Letters" 69.1, July 1, 1847: Rhodolph in Roxbury to Sarah and Lucy in New Haven.

^{39. &}quot;Hall Letters" 74, Aug. 1, 1847: Rhodolph in Lyme to D. C. in Louisville, Kentucky. The piece he played was the one he had asked his brother to send for the occasion (see above at n. 27). Nothing is known about T. Ryan, but he evidently also played a solo on the Dartmouth commencement concert.

play is not to be beaten or very easy imitated. Jim's Cadenzas on the B Clarionett are not to be sneezed at. He makes me play consiterable melody, dialogues and responces with him, and he gives me now and then a solo.⁴⁰

The "cadenzas" and "dialogues and responces" mentioned here suggest that there was some improvisation in the serenade band's performances. The earlier instance where Hall was expected to "vamp" along with the Boston Brass Band even though he did not know the music suggests that improvisation occurred in the full band as well. Hall's dance band experience probably helped prepare him for this sort of playing. The 1847 summer season ended in September with more military engagements, a brigade muster on the Boston Common September 15, and a military encampment for cadets.

Hall had been leader off and on of the Blues Band in New Haven, Connecticut, but in 1849 he took the position of leader of the Roxbury (Massachussetts) Brass Band, playing the lead and solo parts on E-flat bugle or cornet. He was to be paid \$100 for the season from June to November "for only rehersing, and being with them on important occasions, on which times I draw Leaders pay. . . . They are to let me off when I can get a good job else where." In the same letter he explained that the city had raised \$200 to pay them for one concert a week, and the Norfolk House (a hotel or boarding house) enough for another, assuring them of two paid concerts per week for the summer season. Certain holidays like the Fourth of July could get very hectic under these arrangements. Hall described his schedule for July 4, 1849, to his brother:

The Roxbury Band have engaged to play for a fire company, to escort them to Boston Comon for a collation. Leave Roxbury a 4 oc' a.m. Return at 8 or $^{1}/_{2}$ past . . . then Flags Band are anxious that I should go in with them to play for the city of Boston (which amounts to \$10.00). They play for the Floral Procesion, they want me all day if I were not engaged, but, any time that I can meet them. . . . Wright was after me Thursday eve. And Wright & Burditt were on to me yesterday (as I was in Boston). And the band sent Weston to Roxbury to engage me, for just what part of the day that I could be with them. 42

It is unclear what Hall did the summer of 1850, though he had offers from several Boston bands, as well as from Roxbury, Lowell, and New

- 40. "Hall Letters" 71, July 22, 1847: Rhodolph in Roxbury to D. C. in Cincinnati.
- 41. "Hall Letters" 106, June 21, 1849: Rhodolph in Roxbury to D. C. in Lowell.
- 42. Ibid. Benjamin A. Burditt was a Boston musician, instrument dealer, composer and arranger of military music, and instructor of military bands.

Haven. D. C. had been leader of the Lowell Brass Band since 1849, and for the summer of 1851 Rhodolph joined him there. He was evidently doing very well because his response to another offer to lead the New Haven Band was:

I do not like to play in the street well enough to play for a small salary, and shall not this season unless I am well paid for it. If they want me sufficient to pay \$450 for six months or at that rate per month I should come, with a privaledge of playing for commensment in case I got one to play for, & c.⁴³

For coming to Lowell the band presented Hall with a silver keyed bugle. (They had given his brother D. C. a gold one the year before.) Rhodolph seemed well pleased in describing the instrument:

The new instrument is done that has been making for me, it is a smasher no mistake. Takes them all down for splendor can not find its equal in the world. . . . it cost \$150.00 and is the "Barnum Bugle" tis thought the "Jeny Lind" of bugles. 44

Figure 8 shows an exceptional-quality E-flat keyed bugle by E. G. Wright, Boston, of about the same date as Hall's "Jeny Lind" bugle.

In 1853 D. C. was engaged as leader of the Boston Brass Band and Rhodolph as second leader and soloist. Rhodolph wrote: "We are, or D. and the Boston B. B. are rehersing every week . . . , and I am Complimented with 2nd or, assistant Leadership."⁴⁵ D. C. had been offered the job as early as January 1852: "He [D. C.] has been urged to take Flagg's place in Boston Brass Band as leader. Ned Kendall offered to play second E-flat to him, &c."⁴⁶ At least on a couple of occasions during that year D.C. substituted as leader when Kendall or Flagg had other engagements.⁴⁷ With this move the Hall brothers and their friend David L. Downing, a player of string bass and lower brass and a conductor, took leadership of the finest band in Boston, following in the footsteps of Ned Kendall,

- 43. "Hall Letters" 159, Mar. 21, 1851: Rhodolph in Lowell to Lucy in New Haven.
- 44. "Hall Letters" 161, Apr. 4, 1851: Rhodolph in Woburn Center to Lucy in New Haven.
- 45. "Hall Letters" 195, Apr. 3, 1853: Rhodolph in Lowell to Lucy and Samuel in New Haven.
- 46. "Hall Letters" 170, Jan. 30, 1852: Rhodolph in Manchester to Lucy in New Haven. Edward (Ned) Kendall was at this time the foremost American keyed bugle soloist (see note 24 above). Eban Flagg, also a fine keyed bugle soloist, was Kendall's successor as leader of the Boston Brass Band.
- 47. "Hall Letters" 187, Oct. 27, 1852: Rhodolph in Lowell to his parents, sisters, and D. C. in New Haven.



Figure 8a. Keyed bugle in E-flat, probably very much like the one presented to Rhodolph Hall by the Lowell Brass Band in 1851, inscribed on a gold medallion: "E. G. Wright, No. 115 Court Street, Boston," an address where Wright worked from 1848 to 1852, silver with 12 keys, telescopic tuning device, and fitted case, HFM 75.19.1. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.



Figure 8b. Detail of Wright keyed bugle showing bell and inscription.



Figure 8c. Detail of Wright keyed bugle showing lead-pipe decorations and tuning device.

Joseph Greene (also a fine keyed bugle soloist), and Eban Flagg. Although Rhodolph played less and less with them after 1860 as his other commitments increased, D. C. remained their leader until the 1880s.

Having arrived at the top of their profession, the Halls began to make the most of it. They had special Boston Brass Band advertising stationery made (fig. 9), and in October 1854 both had their portraits painted (by an artist whose name remains unknown) with their instruments and wearing Boston Brass Band uniforms (fig. 10a).⁴⁸ The instrument Rhodolph held for the portrait is of some interest for it seems to be a composite of a keyed bugle and a cornet (fig. 10b). The first two and last four keys of a 12-keyed bugle can be seen, but the painting also clearly shows the valve slides of a cornet. Whether he actually played such an instrument or was simply trying to show his capability on both instruments is not clear. That it could be the former is suggested by a trade card illustration showing him standing next to the display of just such an instrument (fig. 11). Clearly visible on this instrument are three rotary valves and their valve slides together with keys 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12 of a 12-keyed bugle.⁴⁹

If their schedule had been hectic at Lowell it was now more so, for the group played almost every day either as the full band of eighteen members (figs. 12 and 13) or in smaller ensembles of ten or six. Members of the band also formed a Quadrille and Concert Band of five members for smaller concerts and dancing (figs. 14 and 15). The band often played in New York and in other New England cities and occasionally went on tour. In 1857 they left Boston June 25, joined the Cleveland City Greys, and went as far as Detroit.⁵⁰ They also sometimes combined with other bands for large events, as in the 1858 concert Rhodolph described thus:

We had a glorious 5th [the 4th fell on Sunday that year, but was evidently celebrated on the 5th in deference to religious activities] in celebration the finest I ever saw in Boston or else where. The Monster Concert on the Common in the morning was all could be expected the particulars you have read no doubt. The four bands i.e. 72 musicians (all brass) played well. Hail Columbia with Lt. Artillery accompaniment. The 6 canon came in just right.⁵¹

- 48. "Hall Letters" 215, Oct. 25, 1854: Rhodolph in Boston to Lucy in New Haven.
- 49. A full discussion of instruments with both valves and keys can be found in my article "Brasses with Both Keys and Valves," this JOURNAL 2 (1976): 69–85.
- 50. "Hall Letters" 247, July 5, 1857: Rhodolph in Cleveland to Sarah and her husband Robert Spear in Brunswick, Maine.
 - 51. "Hall Letters" 255, July 28, 1858: Rhodolph in Boston to Lucy in New Haven.

Boston Man. Oct 7t 1855 Salett Eming Sieter Jose how your roy kind Boston Brass Band. invitation to your Fitting Last Thomas The Monhors of the Rosses Dans Basis take this method attendance had it become duty letter friday night & Hould have come Dut I show of returning thanks to their numerous Parsons and Tanness. for the rathernous which has been so kindly heatowed upon them, and of assuring them that no pulse will be appred in columning to retain the name posteron they aspire to, via: Evices mould better to visit son about home of being the Front and Barr Dane Barr in New Houses. We have added to our already Lause Consumon of Euric, all that is of the kind likely to become revenue, and have adopted from the Chances Convenues all such as one be well adopted to a News Band. We have taken particular pains in our selection of Music, for COLLEGE COMPRENCEMENTS, CLASS EXCEPTIONS, PROMENADE CONCERTS, LEVERS, &c. REPENADUS, WEDDERGS, Au-Great care has also The next of your assemblies, by ging one weeks written notice you may been taken in preparing ourselves for this department. MILITARY & PIREMEN'S PARAGES, PROCESSIONS, &C. We have added inspely to our list of Military Music, from defend whom swing as many chasing as the lost European and American Componers. Pic-Nie and Dancing Purits can be supplied with pay number of Phone. Applications for the Band, made to D. C. HALL, No. 212 Wannerson Steams, or D. L. DOWSING, Sc. 20 Person Street, will be promptly attended to for a Benefit Concert at Music Hall Boston B Blass Bands viz. Bonds Brigade to Bosox, May 9th, 1855. Boston Brass together. Brush of Lam Clock a veticen Musician. Can you not come and stand be been for Montpelier It reducing

Figure 9. Boston Brass Band advertising stationery used for "Hall Letters" 223, October 7, 1855, BFRC 1604: 5–9. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

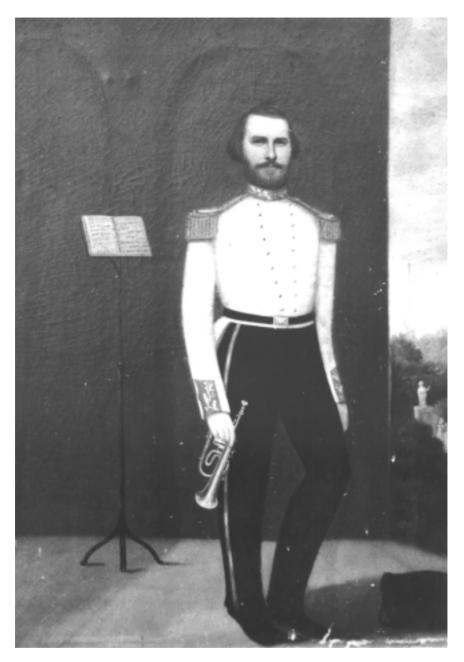


Figure 10a. Rhodolph Hall, portrait with instrument in his Boston Brass Band uniform, photo used with permission of the Converse Free Library, Lyme, New Hampshire.



Figure 10b. Detail of Rhodolph Hall portrait showing his instrument.

Similarly, two years later he wrote:

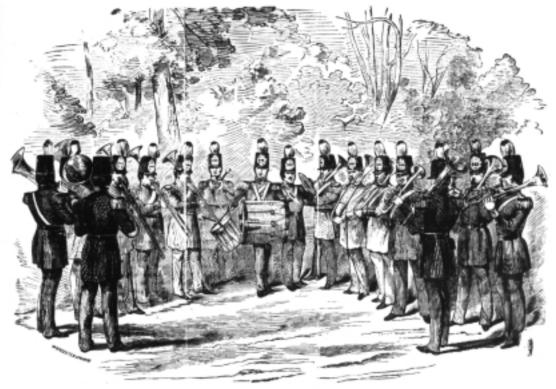
Tonight we play for a grand political concert at Boston Theatre, Music Hall, & Tremont Temple in which four of our bands take a part viz. Germania, Hall's Boston Brass, Brigade, & Gillmores. We all play (two of our best) pieces at each place alternately, while one band is playing at one of the places, the other is passing between the places to take their place. ⁵²

As their activity grew, the band was increasingly identified with the brothers as Hall's Boston Brass Band or simply Hall's Band (fig. 16).

52. "Hall Letters" 263, Oct. 24: 1860: Rhodolph in Boston to Lucy in New Haven.



Figure 11. Rhodolph Hall holding his gold cornet, standing next to the display of a valved and keyed bugle. Trade card, Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604:5-9. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.



BOSTON BRASS BAND.

Figure 12. The Boston Brass Band in a lithograph from *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, August 9, 1851, 225.



Figure 13. Boston Brass Band concert program, August 3, 1853, Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604: 5–6. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.



Figure 14. Hall's Quadrille and Concert Band: from left to right, D. C. Hall, Rhodolph Hall, S. K. Conant, G. W. Adams, and J. M. Bullard. Photo used with the permission of The Lyme Historians, Lyme, New Hampshire.



Figure 15. Hall's Quadrille and Concert Band program, February 19, 1859, Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604: 5–6. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

GRAND CONCERT

AT THE

CONG'AL CHURCH, MIDDLEBURY,

THURSDAY EVE, AUGUST 15, 1867.

-	,
	PART I.
1.	OVERTURE—Il Tancredi,
	HALL'S BAND.
2.	SOUNDS FROM HOME WALTZES,
3.	, QUI LA VOIE,
	Mrs. H. M. SMITH.
4.	GOLDEN ROBIN POLKA
5.	SELECTIONS FROM MARTHA
6.	DOUBLE CONCERTO, (for Busile and Cornet., "Ditanti Palpitti," from Rossini's Opera Il Tancred.
	Mesers, D. C. and R. HALL.
	PART II.
	OVERTURE—Le Bouffe et Tailleur,
8.	Mrs. H. M. SMITH.
9,	SOLO for Cornet. Air and Variations,
10.	WALTZ - Erinvering au Dresden, Gungl.
11.	SERNADE—"Sing, Smile, Slumber,"
12.	GALOP-Sturmoogel,
15.	80L0—for Clarionet,
14,	FINALE QUADRILLE—" Mocking Bird" Introducing popular Melodies and imitations of Birds and Farm yard Quadrupeds, Scotch Bagpipes, Sleigh Ride, &c. &c
Doors open at 7	

Figure 16. Program of Hall's Band concert, August 15, 1867, in Middlebury, Vt., Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604: 5–7. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

Saratoga Springs and Long Island Steamships

Although Hall's Band usually numbered sixteen to eighteen men, it must have drawn from a far larger pool of musicians to cover the multitude of events at which they played. One of their more consistent places of employment was Saratoga Springs. Beginning in 1860 Saratoga is mentioned regularly in their correspondence, which reveals that each year D. C. took a band there early in August and stayed into September, playing matinees, concerts, and dances for guests at the resort hotels. Rhodolph played solos and led the band in D. C.'s absence. Here is his description of the 1862 season:

It is very gay here now and will continue through Aug. The best season ever known so say the Landlords. A ball was given at U.S. Hotel last night. We have one tonight at the Union. Band of 12 largest band, and acknowledged the best by all ever at Saratoga. We furnish at Union and Congress Hall, both from 4 to 5 p.m. alltogether in the lawn at Union Hall from 5 to 6 o'clock p.m. at Congress Hall. And in the evening we play 6 pieces at Union Hall & the other 6 pieces at Congress Hall for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours for dancing. Among the distinguished guest have been Comodore Vanderbilt & Lady, John G. Saxe, & numerous others which I canot mention. 53

The only mention of the Civil War raging in the South at this time is the following from the same letter:

"Hurrah!!" for the successes of our Federal Army. The little emblem you sent me is beautifull, but discretion tells me not to mix with politics at a place like this as people of all temper & places & principals come here to be cured. . . .

In 1863 one of their patrons was moved to poetry by their playing:

Of all on this terrestrial Ball.

None greater is than D. C. Hall;

And Rhodolph too with hair so curled,

Are greatest in this lower world.

Music from them and all the boys

Fill thousand hearts with mighty joys;

And sounds the sweetest in the land

Come streaming from that golden band.

G. W. Dartt, Lima, N. Y. Saratoga, August 12, 1863⁵⁴

^{53. &}quot;Hall Letters" 272, July 30, 1862: Rhodolph in Saratoga to Sarah in Baltimore.

^{54.} Unidentified clipping from the Whitcher collection, probably from a hotel newsletter or flyer.

Sarah (Hall) Spear (1817–95), another sister to whom Rhodolph occasionally wrote, was at Saratoga to attend a benefit concert for D. C. on August 24, 1865, and described the setting for evening concerts in Congress Park:

The park was illuminated beautifully and the band pavilion is in the middle of the lake with the reflections of the gas and Chinese lanterns on the banks and trees made a fairy-like scene or a paradise.⁵⁵

By 1866 Rhodolph had added a few extra jobs to the usual Saratoga fare:

I am blowing the Calls for the Races here now, all alone every day at the Race Cource. It does not interfere with the Hotel business; also play in the Opera house $1^{1}/_{2}$ hour every night untill the "Hops" commense at the Hotel &c. I must make a dollar when I can you know but the harder I work the poorer I grow I believe.⁵⁶

There were several other bands playing at the various hotels in Saratoga and occasionally they joined for concerts (fig. 17). Playing for dancing at Saratoga also probably provided Rhodolph the opportunity to play clarinet, flute, and violin in addition to brass. He was certainly still playing flute at this time, for we learn in a letter of September 9, 1867, just after the Saratoga season, that he "left two flutes in two cases, of black leather covers with a leather strap buckled around them" in Baltimore at the house of his sister Sarah.

Some of the early engagements D. C. and Rhodolph had played when they first went to Hartford were on steamboat excursions from Hartford to New London, Stonington, and Norwich, Connecticut, and Sag Harbor, New York. Many years later another continuing engagement contracted by D. C. Hall, for which Rhodolph often played when not touring, was with bands on the steamships between New York and Providence, Rhode Island, or Fall River, Massachusetts. At that time the best route from New York to Boston was by steamer to Fall River, and then by train to Boston. They first engaged on the steamers in 1869:

- D. C. has taken an engagement on the Bristol line of Steamers, Long I. Sound, for the next 2 months, commence next week. 2 Bands of 11 men in each. I should like to take charge of one of them if I felt well enough, as he doubtless would like to have me.⁵⁷
- 55. "Hall Letters" 292.1W, August 24, 1865: Sarah in Saratoga to an unknown person, written on the back of the concert program.
 - 56. "Hall Letters" 306, July 26, 1866: Rhodolph in Saratoga to Sarah in Baltimore.
- 57. "Hall Letters" 325, Sept. 7, 1869: Rhodolph in Bellows Falls, Vt., to Sarah in Boston.

GRAND MATINEE MUSICALE!



AT THE

LELAND OPERA HOUSE.

SARATOGA SPRINGS,

Thursday August 29th, '67,

At 12 o'clock, M.,

By the Combined Artists of the UNION, CLARENDON & TEMPLE GROVE BANDS.

The whole under the direction of D. C. HALL.

PROGRAMME.

1. OVERTURE—Les Diamans de la Couronne
2. VIQLIN SOLO -7 he DreamSimon Mr. J. W. Kennedy.
3. VALSE—Uber Land und Meer
4. CLARINET SOLO—Aria and Variations
5. FANTASIE—Les Deux MagetsBoiullon Temple Grove Band.
6. MELEPHONE SOLO—Air Varie
7. OVERTURE—Il Barblere di Siviglia
8. GALOP—Der Sturmvogel
9. CORNET SOLO—Aria and Variations
10. FINALE—(By Particular Request) The Mocking Bird Quadrille, Variations, Scotch Bag Pipes, Sleigh Ride, &c SEREXWEIGLES Orchestra.

Figure 17. Program of a concert of combined bands at the Leland Opera House, Saratoga Springs, N.Y., August 29, 1867, Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604: 5–7. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

Potter & Judson's Print, "Daily Saratogian" Office.

D. C. continued leading the steamer bands until 1888, a total of at least 20 years (fig. 18), while Rhodolph continued to play on the steamers every summer he was available until his death in 1878. In 1876 Rhodolph was presented with a medal for his service:

The many friends of Mr. Rhodolph Hall, the "Gold Cornet Player," will be gratified to learn of a gift to him of a gold medal, set with diamonds, by members of the band of which he has been band master, on the Sound steamer "Providence" for the past season. On one side of the medal are handsomely engraved the names of the band, twelve in number, and on the other side, "Rhodolphus Hall—Band Master—Steamer Providence—Season of 1876," around a cluster of thirteen diamonds in the center; each member being represented by a diamond. The medal is of fine gold and the diamonds of the "first water." The presentation was made a pleasant "restative" in the program on board the boat Saturday evening Sept. 23rd. 58

Circuses

Rhodolph's first circus tour was in Ned Kendall's band with Spaulding's Circus, from December 14, 1846, to January 11, 1847, around Albany, New York. There were ten in the group, including Kendall, Rhodolph and D. C. Hall, David L. Downing, and Dan Emmett (1815–1904) of minstrel show fame. Playing a circus in the winter in New England must have been brutal. Here is Rhodolph's description:

We have a performance every Saturday afternoon & eve. Occasonally or once a week we have to parade in the streets about the city. First time was before sleighing we came out on horse back. Bass drum and all 10 of us. Attracted great attension. I will give you a sketch of yesterdays performance. We came out in the streets from 10 o'clock a.m. untill 1 p.m. Afternoon performance commenced at 2 o'clock p.m. Evenings performance at 7 out at $10^{1/2}$ after that, Spalding, (the conductor) wanted us to go and Seranade. Serandaded the new Governor, he was unwell however, so we did not get a peap at him. Sent word for us to call for what we like on his expence next went to the Mayors Blowed him up. He called on a colation & shampaign. ⁵⁹

The tour evidently lost money, and at least four of the musicians, Kendall, D. C., Rhodolph, and Downing, were discharged after only five

^{58. &}quot;Hall Letters" 349.1W, Sept. 23, 1876: handwritten sheet apparently once enclosed in a letter, evidently Rhodolph's notes on receiving a gold medal from the band of the steamer *Providence*.

^{59. &}quot;Hall Letters" 53, Dec. 20, 1846: Rhodolph in Albany to Lucy and Sarah in New Haven.

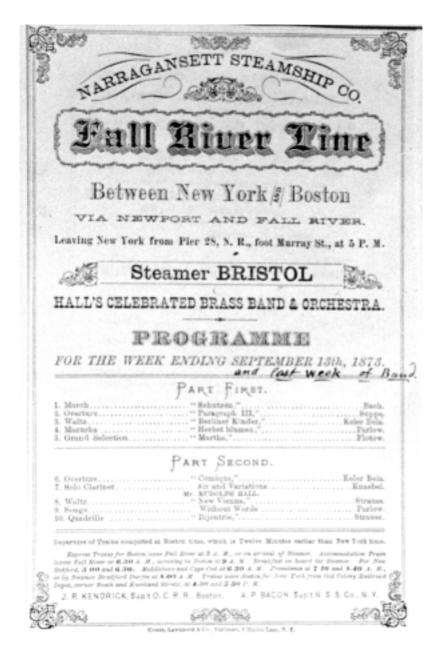


Figure 18. Program of Hall's Brass Band & Orchestra on the steamer *Bristol*, 1873, Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604: 4. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

weeks. Rhodolph had made \$93 in addition to room and board, and had enjoyed the experience and the travel.

The following April D. C. was hired again to play with Kendall in Spaulding's renamed North American Circus, but, to Rhodolph's great disappointment, he was not. The spring tour began in Albany and worked its way west and south over the summer. Finally, at St. Louis late in October, D. C. wrote to Rhodolph that Spaulding now wanted him to join them for the winter season in New Orleans at \$60 per month. After eleven days by carriage and steamboat he reached them at Vicksburg, Mississippi, on November 23. Upon arriving in New Orleans Rhodolph described some of the excitement:

The next sight we saw that amused us, was our walk through the Catholic Buring Place, or whare they put them in Brick holes built up like a Brick Oven all above the surface it being Mud and watter Beneath. . . . The stores pretty much all were open and doing a Big Business. There were also horse Races & Bull fights. But we did not attend them. But this was the Opening night of the National Ampatheatrre. We attended there, as Spalding is one of the proprietors. A part of our company performed. Theaters are open just as much Sunday night here as they are 4th of July or any other night. The Amphatheatre was cram jam full the first night, about 12 or 1500 people. 60

At this time Rhodolph switched from his Ebor Corno to cornet, for he wrote:

I have sold the Ebrocorno that Paid \$25.00 for, sold it for \$28.00, have Purchased the \$75.00 Silver Cornett that I sent to D. last Sumer from Boston. . . . Spalding has got the Band a Splendid New Uniform Throughout, Coat Cap and Pants. Kendall is engaged to Travel So there is Three Silver instruments along side by Side. Cut a mighty swath, I assure you. 61

Ned Kendall and D. C. Hall on silver keyed bugles and Rhodolph on his silver cornet all dressed up in their new uniforms at the front of the band must have been splendid indeed!

After the winter in New Orleans the circus began moving north. Traveling mostly by steamboat, they appeared at Memphis, Nashville, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Booneville, Independence, St. Joseph,

^{60. &}quot;Hall Letters" 82, Dec. 13, 1847: Rhodolph in New Orleans to Sarah and Lucy in New Haven.

^{61. &}quot;Hall Letters" 84, Mar. 5, 1848: Rhodolph in New Orleans to Sarah and Lucy in New Haven.

Quincy, Peoria, Davenport, Milwaukee, Chicago, and Detroit, to name just a few of the major cities. The tour ended in Cincinnati in November. Rhodolph really enjoyed the traveling and wrote the following to his sisters from the furthest point west:

Western or Indian Teritory. Longitude $17^{2}/_{3}$ W. Latitude 39. In the Forest shaded by a wild Apple tree, alone, laying upon the grass, on my left side, feet west, head resting upon hand and elbow. My Travelling guide and map of the U.S. in front of me &c, &c, &c. Tuesday 10 o'clock a.m. Dear Sisters, It is not to surprise you that I have chosen this Romantic situation, inhabited by Shawnees scarse half civilised. Traversed by Buffalos & Woolfs, Black & Rattle Snakes, Massasoggas Lizards and other venimous vermins too Numerous to mention. I say it is not to surprise, or instruct, that I have chosen these accomodations of Addressing you, in these few moments of leisure, Rather more to answer your very kind request and at the same time Amuse you a bit if possible. 62

The Magic Echo

Sometime in the late 1850s Hall became interested in echo effects. Edwin P. Dimick, a descendant of the Hall family, gave this account:

It was a great pleasure for Mr. Hall, when at his home in the summertime, to take his cornet in different places. He would play very loud and stop very suddenly and listen to the vibrations through the hills and valleys. There was one particular spot up the hill in front of his house where he could hear three distinct echoes through the woods across the valley. This was the real birthplace of the magic echo. ⁶³

The first use of this idea in concert appears to be an effect created with a bugle quartet in the programs of the Old Folks Concert Troupe on a tour through the Midwest and South from the fall of 1859 to spring of 1860. An advertisement for the troupe published in the Albany, New York, *Argus* for September 2, 1859, is the first known mention of the magic echo in print: "The HALL BROS. / By request, / "The Magic Echoes!" 64

Hall evidently took the idea of the magic echo a step further in the spring of 1861 when he somehow acquired a cornet with a fourth valve

^{62. &}quot;Hall Letters" 87.1 W, June 13, 1848: Rhodolph in Indian Territory (Kansas) to Sarah and Lucy in New Haven.

^{63.} Dimick, "Hall Brothers," 3.

^{64. &}quot;Grand Afternoon Concert," Albany, N.Y., Argus, Sept. 2, 1859, p. 3, col. 2.

and an echo attachment that could be fitted to the fourth valve slide. Although it is possible that he acquired it during a tour to England later that year, it is more likely that he bought it from a firm in the United States or had it made by his brother's instrument-making shop sometime before he left for England.

Several European echo instrument designs are known from this period and earlier. Joseph Kail's *Echomaschine* of 1846⁶⁵ seems to be the first valve-controlled echo device invented for brasses. Reginald Morley-Pegge said of it that "Kail is also credited with having invented some sort of echo device, controlled by a valve, which could be attached to any brass instrument, evidently the ancestor of that erstwhile military band horror, the echo-cornet." The *Echocornet* of 1853 and the 1859 patent of an *Echobogen* by Friedrich Adolf Schmidt⁶⁷ also seem to be inventions of this type. The latter has been described by Herbert Heyde: "One of the models [of cornet] that was loved by soloists was the echo cornet constructed by F. A. Schmidt in Cologne in 1859. A change-valve directs the air-stream into an echo attachment, a process which considerably dampens the tone." There is also an illustration of the echo device from the patent drawings (fig. 19).

John August Köhler's Patent Harmonic Cornopean also was introduced in 1859. The following notice appeared in the *London Sunday Times* on September 11 of that year:

Köhler's Patent Harmonic Cornopean.

J. Köhler respectfully calls the attention of professors of music and amateurs to his newly invented Harmonic Cornopean. This instrument is precisely the same both in tone and fingering as the ordinary cornet, with the addition of a fourth valve.

When the fourth valve is used, it diverts the passage of the wind into a second bell (which can be detached from the cornet at pleasure) and causes the tone to become muted, or made soft so as to form a most beautiful echo, and when accompanied by the piano, has a most striking and novel effect. The advantages that this cornopean possesses over all others, are—

^{65.} William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 198–99.

^{66.} R[eginald] Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn* (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960), 108.

^{67.} Waterhouse, New Langwill Index, 355-56.

^{68.} Herbert Heyde, *Das Ventil-Blasinstrument* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1987), 207, 251, and Abb. 42b on p. 296. Translation by Rick Schwartz.

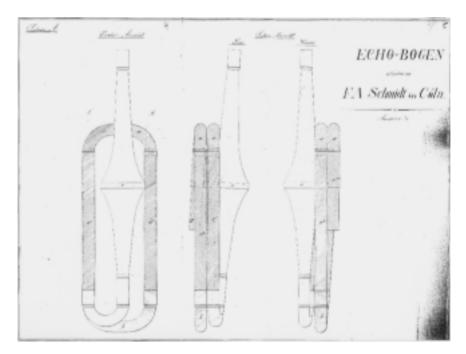


Figure 19. Echo attachment drawing from German Patent 9960 granted to Friedrich Adolph Schmidt on September 25, 1859.

1st.—That a most perfect echo can be produced without altering the pitch of the instrument.

2nd.—That a performer can practice without causing any inconvenience to other parties, as by using the fourth valve the tone becomes so much softened that no person can hear it unless in the same room, and is as soft as a flute.

3rd.—The Harmonic Cornopean can be used in the same way as an ordinary cornopean, as the fourth valve has no effect upon the instrument so long as the performer does not use it. In a concert or ball room this cornopean has a most pleasing effect, and J. Köhler can with confidence recommend it to the musical world as the most perfect invention ever introduced. Price £10 10s.69

No examples or illustrations of these inventions were found other than the Schmidt patent drawing.

69. "Köhler's Patent Harmonic Cornopean," *The London Sunday Times,* Sept. 11, 1859, p. 1, col. 4.

The earliest American mention found so far of a brass instrument echo is in the following passage from *Dodworth's Brass Band School*, published in 1853. (This is also the first source to mention Dodworth's Ebor Cornos and over-shoulder instruments.)

Many of the great improvements made in Brass Instruments originated from experiments and inventions of the Dodworth Family, among which may be named the Ebo [sic] Corno (or York Horn) and Cornetino—instruments which probably gave rise to the Sax Horn (a later invention, so called by Europeans); the bellback instruments; the round form, bell up; the chain or string rotary valve; the application of the cutoff or trill valve; the movable embouchure mouthpiece; the echo, &c., &c.⁷⁰

The earliest surviving American instrument with an echo attachment is an E-flat cornet by Graves & Co., Boston, dating from 1851, in the collections of the National Music Museum, Vermillion, South Dakota (fig. 20). It is thought, however, that its fourth valve and echo attachment were added sometime later. Without the echo attachment, the added valve functions as a normal fourth valve, lowering the pitch of the instrument two and a half steps, the same as the combination of valves 1 and 3. The tube for this valve is shaped like a long U bent double and has a tuning slide on the lower bend of each leg (fig. 20a). This configuration allows insertion of the echo attachment into one of the inner legs of the valve tube while retaining the use of the tuning slide on the outer legs (fig. 20b). The echo attachment has a dummy slide or lug fitting into the other inner slide tube as well, evidently for more support. With this arrangement the echo attachment can be shorter because it uses nearly all of the fourth valve tube, and it can be tuned easily in relation to the normal instrument using the outer fourth valve slide.

Probably next in date are cornets offered in the 1861 catalog of Isaac Fiske, of Worcester, Massachusetts, with a fourth valve "used to change the key of the instrument from B-flat to A, also, for the attachment of an Echo. . . ."⁷¹ So far no examples or illustrations of Fiske instruments have been found.

Two more American echo cornets survive from the early 1860s with smaller and more compact echo attachments, both made by D. C. Hall, Boston. One is in the collections of the Henry Ford Museum and

^{70.} Allen Dodworth, Dodworth's Brass Band School, 81.

^{71.} Illustrated Catalogue of Musical Instruments manufactured by Isaac Fiske, Worcester, Mass. (Worcester: Edward R. Fiske, 1861), 7.





& Co., Boston, inscribed: "PRESENTED/ Graves & Co., Boston, echo attach-TO/R[euben] M. Hobbs / by the / ment side. Citizens of Saco / June 18, 1851," brass with silver and German silver trim. fourth valve and echo attachment added later, shanks and crook to D and C. National Music Museum, The University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S.D., no. 5257. Photo by Simon Spicer.

Figure 20a. Echo cornet in E-flat, Graves Figure 20b. Echo cornet in E-flat,

Greenfield Village (fig. 21) and the other at the Brass Players Museum in Springfield, Massachusetts (fig. 22). The fourth valve slide on these instruments is made in exactly the same way as on the Graves described above. Given the similarities, the Graves fourth valve and echo could well have been added by D. C. Hall's shop in the 1860s. These American echo



Figure 21. Echo cornet (crooks missing), D. C. Hall, Boston, brass, German silver trim, copper echo attachment, three Allen rotary valves and one Vienna rotary valve for the fourth valve slide or echo attachment, HFM 28.18.122. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.



Figure 22. Echo cornet with crooks to B-flat, A, and G, D. C. Hall, Boston, German silver, four Allen valves. Photo used with permission of The Brass Players Museum, Springfield, Mass., CO128.

cornets do not appear to be based on any knowledge of European efforts. They are not at all like the Schmidt patent drawing, and all have the advantage of fully functional fourth valves when the echo attachment is removed.

It is interesting to note the difference in proportions between the Graves echo cornet (fig. 20) and the D. C. Hall instruments (figs. 21 and 22). The former has the conical expansion of a valved bugle or flügelhorn, while the latter are as cylindrical as a modern trumpet. Most American makers in the 1860s made cornets in two or three different proportions or "calibres," identified in their catalogs as band or orchestra instruments. Isaac Fiske explained this practice best in his 1861 catalog:

I have patterns for three different sizes of calibre, for all the instruments I make; that is, three sizes for E-flat cornet; three sizes for B-flat cornet, & c. The large and medium sizes are intended expressly for brass bands, the small size for orchestra.

A cornet of small calibre, it is well known, will not give a tone of sufficient volume to be heard at any great distance in a brass band, and to remedy this, the performer will often force his instrument until he spoils the tone and produces a harsh disagreeable noise. A cornet with large calibre gives a large rich volume of tone, which is heard at a great distance, without any unusual effort on the part of the performer to be heard. It is musical in the distance, and not disagreeable in the immediate vicinity.

But a cornet of large caliber is not effective in orchestra; as the quality and volume of tone is such that it will not blend with string instruments, but overpowers them and stands out alone.⁷²

From the early 1860s through the rest of his career Hall used a small-"calibre" orchestral model echo cornet in C with crooks to B flat and A in his solo work, and it is on this design that his gold cornet was made. The bore of these instruments at the valve tubes ranges from 10.9 to 11.2 mm, and their tube length of about 110 cm is just about half cylindrical and half conical.

The magic echo continued to be popular, and sometime during the years 1862 to 1865 D. C. Hall had his instrument-making shop produce an entire set of echo instruments for the Boston Brass Band. Surviving in the Henry Ford Museum collection are the previously mentioned cornet (fig. 21), two alto horns, a ballad horn, a valve trombone, a baritone (fig. 23), and a B-flat bass. The D. C. Hall catalog of 1864 shows illustrations of these instruments, but not the echo attachments. Under "Orchestra



Figure 23. Baritone echo instrument, D. C. Hall, Boston, copper, four Allen valves, HFM 28.18.118. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

Instruments," "No 13, C & B-flat Cor., new style," is an illustration matching the echo cornets in the collections of the Henry Ford Museum and the Brass Players Museum. The fourth valve slide tubing shown on the illustration is exactly the same and would accept the echo attachment. D. C. Hall's instrument-making shop became Hall & Quinby in 1866 and evidently continued to make echo instruments. An echo cornet signed Hall & Quinby that once belonged to Rhodolph is displayed in the Converse Free Library, Lyme, New Hampshire (fig. 24). Another echo cornet, this one in B-flat and circular in shape, is in a private collection (fig. 25). It is inscribed "Made by Hall & Quinby, Boston, for Georgie Dean Spaulding," and dates from 1866–75. Its proportions are similar to the previous examples, but the fourth valve, to which the echo attaches, is a half-step valve. The removable echo attachment is also circular, making one and a half turns, and ending with a closed bell with 3 mm hole similar to the other Hall and Hall & Quinby echo instruments.

Concert Tours

In 1844 P. T. Barnum set the scene for touring attractions in the United States with his Swiss Bell Ringers (who were really English, but Barnum could get away with anything). In the same year Daniel Emmett toured England and the United States with his Virginia Minstrels. The enthusiasm for such promotions, genuine or not, was to provide Hall with direct employment as well as with ready venues and a business model for running his own tours.

Hall's first concert tour was with Ned Kendall, Dan Emmett, and a small group of entertainers following the closing of the circus tour in January 1847. They were, as he described them:

6 of us that play as Brass Band, & one HINGHISH [English?] Lady that sings verry well. She is wife of D. D. Emit of of our Band. he was leader of the negro minstral Band in the Ampitheatre in N.Y. She sang songs thare and in the Ampitheatre in Albany this winter.⁷³

As near as can be determined, the group consisted of Ned Kendall and D. C. Hall, keyed bugles; Rhodolph Hall, cornet or possibly alto Ebor Corno; David L. Downing, bass (string bass and/or bass tromba-

^{73. &}quot;Hall Letters" 56, Feb. 21, 1847: Rhodolph and D. C. in Buffalo to Lucy and Sarah in New Haven.



Figure 24. Echo cornet with C shank and crooks to B-flat and A, Hall & Quinby, Boston, brass with German silver trim, four Allen valves. Photo used with permission of the Converse Free Library, Lyme, N.H.

cello or bass saxhorn⁷⁴); Dan Emmett, ophicleide and violin; and his wife (name not mentioned) who sang. The sixth player is not identified, but probably played a tenor instrument, such as trombone or tenor trombacello or saxhorn. The tour began with concerts in Albany late in January and proceeded to Troy, Schenectady, Amsterdam, Little Falls, Rome, Syracuse, Auburn, Waterloo, Geneva, Canandaigua, Rochester, Batavia, and Buffalo. They then turned around and concertized back along almost the same route to Albany.

From late August 1859 to the spring of 1860 Rhodolph was on a tour with the Old Folks Concert Troupe through the Midwest and South. It was on this tour that he began using echo effects. The following review gives an interesting description of the Old Folks Troupe and mentions the magic echo:

74. Saxhorns were a family of valved brass instruments invented by Adolph Sax and patented in France in 1843. They were made in all sizes from soprano to contrabass, alternating at E-flat and B-flat pitches. Their conical proportions and Berlin piston valves made them very playable and homogenous in sound, and they were copied by manufacturers in many countries.



Figure 25. Echo cornet, circular shape, entirely of brass, inscribed: "Made by Hall & Quinby, Boston, for Georgie Dean Spaulding." Private Collection. Photo by the author.

Seldom have our citizens been favored with a richer treat than the "Old Folks' Concert" last evening. The City Hall was literally packed. The quaintness of the costumes, the old fashioned style of the music, the primitive character of the performers throughout, gave to the entertainment a charm which captivated all present. The powdered wigs of the men, and the droll head-dresses of the women; the knee-breeches of the former and the consumptive skirts of the latter; the air of unmistakable antiquity which pervaded the actions and appearance of the performers; irresistibly carried one back to former days.

Of the excellence of the music we cannot speak in too high terms. In no instance was harmony sacrificed to quaintness. Although many of the "tunes" were eminently homely, they were sung with remarkable spirit, expression and musical precision. "Rest, Spirit, Rest," brought the tears to many eyes. The Bugle Solo by Mr. Strong was the most wonderful performance upon that instrument to which we ever listened. "The Dearest Spot on Earth to Me is Home," by Miss Jenny Twitchell, was sung with marvelous sweetness. The "Magic Echo," a bugle quartette was worth going many leagues to hear. Everybody went home delighted. We hope the "Old Folks" will call upon us again, and favor us with more "old tunes." Like Oliver, we cry for more.⁷⁵

The tour continued more than six months, until the middle of March 1860. They played concerts several times a week in dozens of towns, large and small, along a route including Providence, Albany, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Memphis, New Orleans, Mobile, Atlanta, Columbus, and Charleston. For once Hall did not say what he was making, but his usual price at this time was about \$25 per week and expenses.

The Old Folks Concert Troupe had talked about going to Cuba after their southern swing the winter of 1860, but evidently either they decided not to go, or Hall decided not to go with them. After the summer in Boston, however, he was engaged to tour Cuba by another group, Rumsey and Newcomb's Minstrels. In a letter to his sister Lucy written October 24, 1860, he explained that he was to leave for New Orleans as soon as possible, and sail for Cuba November 20. He was engaged at \$25 per week and expenses for himself and his wife until July 1, 1861. He said he knew the company and that they were responsible, but in addition

I have taken the engagement partly for my health. I have suffered intensely with my throat from colds. I fear my broncal tubes are affected. . . . I feel

⁷⁵. Unidentified newspaper review from the Whitcher Collection, probably the fall of 1859.

confident that I had better spend the winter in Havanna than to blow my very life away in Boston this winter. 76

Little did he know how unhealthy this trip would turn out to be, especially for his wife, Kate. In a letter written January 2, 1861, he described the terrible events of that tour:

We buried two men of our Co. at Havana; both died of Yellow Fever, one the third day after he was taken and the other the fifth day. Katie was the first sufferer with it. The Doctor gave her up as lost, so did everyone in our house. But I Had hopes as long as life. While our Co. were burying one of the men I was watching to see Katie breath her last as the Dr. said she could not live but an hour or two, as she had the black vomit. She had at the time vomited $4\frac{1}{2}$ days every 15 minutes. I watched with her every night, and attended to her daytimes not knowing for 4 days that it was the Yellow Fever. Thank God she recovered, which is a miricle, a case rarely known in the Yellow Fever.

Three more of the company, including Mr. Newcomb, also were stricken, but recovered. They left Havana December 20, were four nights at Güines, five nights at Matanzas, and about five nights at Cárdenas. On January 3 the troupe returned to Havana and then to New York while Hall went back to Matanzas to continue caring for Kate until she could travel. They finally returned to Boston sometime in February, and by April 29, just as the Civil War began, Hall had rejoined the company as it headed north to Canada.

After late April and May stints in Portland, Maine; Halifax, Nova Scotia; and St. John's, New Brunswick, the Rumsey and Newcomb company decided to tour England. Following some serious soul-searching, Rhodolph and Kate decided to go with them at \$30 per week and expenses. Initially they engaged only for four to six weeks in case things again went awry. The Civil War had just begun, and although Hall was nearing forty years of age, it was a good time for him to be in England. The group arrived in Liverpool June 24 and, after a few days rehearsal, opened July 1 at Clayton Hall on Clayton Square, Liverpool, as reported in a brief notice in the Liverpool *Courier* for July 6, 1861:

The Clayton Hall — This popular place of entertainment is now occupied by Rumsey and Newcomb's minstrels, who have recently arrived from America. The troupe numbers seventeen persons. They have met with great success.

76. "Hall Letters" 263, Oct. 24, 1860: Rhodolph in Boston to Lucy in New Haven. 77. "Hall Letters" 263.1W, Jan. 2, 1861: Rhodolph in Cárdenas, Cuba, to Lucy in New Haven.

A more extensive description of the show followed a couple of weeks later:

Rumsey and Newcomb's Minstrels. The repertoire of this troupe seems inexhaustible. Weekly we have novelties introduced all replete with the humour and comicality which so particularly characterise this company. . . . The brass band of the company appears to great advantage in the 'Gipsy Chorus,' from the 2nd act of the 'Trovatore;' and the anvils are made to play an important part; some hot poker business is very amusing, and the rendering of the music is one of the best features in the performance.

... 'Rudolph Hall' has, for a time substituted a clarionet concerto for the cornet, and it is enough to say he is as good in the reed as he was in brass. When to these varied attractions are added the usual songs, refrains, and choruses of the opening part, other humourous sketches, and the ever favourite 'Dixie,' it causes no surprise that the house should be crowded every night, even in this warm weather.⁷⁸

From Liverpool the company moved to London, where Hall's use of the magic echo was first mentioned:

Among the most remarkable of the performers is Mr. Rhodolph Hall, formerly leader of the Boston celebrated Brass Band. This gentleman played a solo called in the programme "The Magic Echo," on the cornet, with such exquisite skill and feeling that a silence, such as we never before remember in any public assembly, was kept by the delighted auditory during its performance, to be broken at the end with the most deafening and enthusiastic applause.⁷⁹

From this time on Hall appears to have left the minstrel troupe and begun a series of solo performances capitalizing on the novelty of the echo cornet. By October he had become, in the eyes of the press at least, a sensation:

A New Musical "Sensation."—Mr. Rhodolph Hall (from America), the celebrated leader of the famous Boston Brass Band has made two appearances in London—the first at the Alhambra, where he played his original aria, with variations (on the cornet a piston) entitled "The Magic Echo," and produced a sensation never surpassed by his masterly execution and wonderful command of his instrument. Mr. Hall was listened to with breathless attention, honoured with a tremendous encore, and called for the third time before the curtain, again to receive the warm and universal plaudits of the crowded audience. Since then Mr. Hall has appeared at the Oxford Musichall, where his performance was as cordially received and his success equally

^{78.} Unattributed newspaper clipping in the Whitcher collection, probably from the Liverpool *Courier* about July 22, 1861.

^{79.} London Sunday News, Aug. 11, 1861.

triumphant. We understand there is a negotiation on foot for this distinguished artist to appear at the Crystal Palace. We hope this may be the case. We are confident, were this gentlemen's musical abilities known on this side of the Atlantic, he would obtain the same celebrity he has enjoyed for years in the United States, that of being the best player of the day. We shall have much pleasure in recording Mr. Hall's future movements.⁸⁰

Besides the Alhambra and the Oxford Music Hall mentioned above, Hall is known to have performed at the New Royalty Theatre and the South London Music Hall over the fall and winter. The most detailed descriptions of his playing were: "The great novelty . . . of the evening, was the execution on the magic-bugle of a beautiful aria, with exquisite echoimitations . . ."81 and, three months later:

For beauty and accuracy none have ever equaled him in bugle instrumentation. In the beautiful pieces of 'Home, Sweet Home,' 'The Light of Other Days,' 'Lo! Here the Gentle Lark,' 'The Last Rose of Summer,' and other similar pieces, none who have heard them can forget the pathetic beauty which shines throughout the whole of Mr. Hall's performances.⁸²

Although his instrument in these quotations is called a "magic-bugle" or "bugle" it seems likely that these terms were loosely used for whatever soprano brass instrument he was playing. It is likely that he used the keyed bugle for some of the solos, but the echo attachment could have worked only on the cornet, since it attached to a fourth valve slide that keyed bugles do not have. Edwin P. Demick remembered Hall saying about his echo performances in England:

I used the magic echo several times to their astonishment. Some of the musicians asked if I would allow them to try my cornet. I kept the small echo attachment concealed in my hand then gladly passed the cornet to them. 83

His final performance in London was much talked about in the *Court Circular*:

Mr. Rhodolph Hall is to make his appearance on Monday Evening next at the Queen's Concert Rooms, when he will perform a solo on his magic bugle. The concert is given by the Band Committee of the West Middlesex Rifles, and is under the patronage of several highly distinguished personages. . . . Mr. Hall's performances have ensured for him the highest approba-

^{80.} The Court Circular, London, Oct. 19, 1861, 135.

^{81.} The Court Circular, London, Nov. 16, 1861, 202.

^{82.} The Court Circular, London, Feb. 22, 1862, 123.

^{83.} Demick, "The Hall Brothers," 3.

tion wherever he has appeared, and we rejoice that his valuable services have been secured for Monday Evening next, when his musical abilities will no doubt win for him the appreciation of all who will then be present.⁸⁴

The next week the following review appeared in the same publication:

Queen's Concert Rooms—The great attraction of the evening was the performance of a solo on the magic bugle by Mr. RHODOLPH HALL, whose graceful and artistic execution won for him the most enthusiastic applause. At the termination of the solo, Mr. Hall was recalled, and from the effective and beautiful style in which the air had been played, was honoured with an encore. During Mr. Hall's sojourn in the metropolis, he has frequently displayed his unrivalled talents, and all who have had the pleasure of hearing the surprising effects produced by him, have accorded him their warmest praise. We much regret that he is shortly about to depart for America, but trust the day is not far distant when he is again to visit England.⁸⁵

It is clear in these reviews that the audiences were applauding Hall's musianship, not his technical skills or his mechanical devices. Whether on keyed bugle, clarinet, or echo cornet he was able to give his hearers something to which they responded. In finding this voice or channel of musical expression he truly became a soloist.

The publicity from England made Hall somewhat of a celebrity at home, and for the next several years he exploited his new-found abilities and the fame of the magic echo in tours around the eastern states, Canada, and California. During the winter of 1863–64, as the Civil War continued, Hall toured with the Blaisdell Swiss Bell Ringers through Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada at \$50 per week and expenses (fig. 26). In the spring of 1864 he and Kate sailed to California with the same group, touring through innumerable small and large towns in California and Oregon.

In March 1865 Hall left the Bell Ringers and toured with his own small concert and dance group until November 1865. The group consisted of an agent with a buggy going ahead; Hall; William Hayward, a singer and comedian; either Mr. Caldwell or Joseph Beebe, violin and cornet; and sometimes a bass singer, Chas. H. Wilkinson. The performers traveled with a "pair of nice horses and four seated Barouche or Carieall." They gave concerts of music and comedy followed by

^{84.} The Court Circular, London, Mar. 29, 1862, 202.

^{85.} The Court Circular, London, Apr. 5, 1862, 215.

^{86. &}quot;Hall Letters" 291, May 29, 1865: Rhodolph in Shasta, Calif., to Lucy in New Haven.



Figure 26. Handbill of the Blaisdell Brothers Swiss Bell Ringers for performances in Philadelphia, December, 1863, Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604: 5-9. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

dancing (fig. 27). A program from this tour shows Hall performing the following items:

- 3. Clarionet Solo . . . Theme and Variations, selected;
- 6. Wonderful Skill and Ventriloqual Instrumentation on the Magic Bugle, by the Champion Bugler of America, Rhodolph Hall;
- 11. An Amusing Solo on . . . That Tin Whistle;
- 13. Grand Double Concerto, arranged for Two Cornets presenting a Musical Novelty never before attempted on the Pacific Coast, introducing a complete Double Echo, perfectly enchanting.⁸⁷

Here there are two echo cornets, and he seems to have added the tin whistle to his accomplishments. A California reviewer had this to say about the concert:

As for Hall, it ain't enough to call him the champion bugler of America. We think he must be the champion, on that instrument, of the world. And then, he is some immense on the penny whistle, that if your boots don't fit you close, he'll raise you clean out of them.⁸⁸

Traveling was dangerous in many ways, and it is a marvel that Hall endured his extensive travels with as few problems as he did. After the yellow fever epidemic in Cuba, an incident in Moor's Flat, California, came nearest to a tragic ending. A fire swept through the hotel where he and his company were staying, and they were wakened only just in time to save themselves and their equipment.⁸⁹

All told, Rhodoph and Kate were in California for eighteen months. First with the Blaisdell Swiss Bell Ringers, and then as Hall and Hayward, Hall had performed in dozens of California, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington towns. Those mentioned in his letters include San Francisco, Downieville, Sacramento, Stockton, Placerville, Moore's Flat, Grass Valley, Marysville, Red Bluff, Shasta, Los Angeles, Eureka, Sonora, and Santa Cruz, California; Carson City, Virginia City, Washoe City, Silver City, Dayton, and Gold Hill, Nevada; Portland and Corvallis, Oregon; and Walla Walla, Washington. They returned to Boston in the middle of November 1865.

^{87.} Frank Oakman Spinney, "A New Hampshire Minstrel Tours the Coast," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (1941): 242.

^{88.} Unidentified newspaper review, Whitcher Collection, possibly from the Moor's Flat, Calif., newspaper about May 18, 1865.

^{89. &}quot;Hall Letters" 291, May 29, 1865: Rhodolph in Shasta, Calif., to Lucy in New Haven.



Figure 27. Hall & Hayward handbill for performances in California the summer of 1865. Collection of Mrs. Harold E. Whitcher, formerly of Hamden, Connecticut.

The Civil War had ended six months before, and had only been mentioned once in the Hall letters. With all the activity of bands joining up everywhere it is curious that Rhodolph and D. C. remained completely apart from any activity related to the war. In age both brothers reached their forties during this period.

In June 1866, after his return to Boston, Rhodolph's friends presented him with a gold cornet in C (fig. 28). It was made of solid gold except for the valve assemblies which were gold-plated brass, and was elaborately engraved. Now preserved at the Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, the instrument has no echo attachment with it, but it was made with a fourth valve slide configuration allowing the use of the same type of echo attachment found on the other echo cornets. The instrument was presented at a concert in Boston June 9, 1866 (fig. 29) and was often featured in subsequent concerts.

As gleaned from all of the surviving programs, Hall's repertoire included the following compositions:

- Aria and Variations by S. Knaebel, played on cornet, keyed bugle, or clarinet
- Double Concerto for Bugle and Cornet "Di tanti Palpiti" from *Tancredi* by Rossini, arranged by Knaebel, often played with his brother D. C. on keyed bugle
- · Aria from La Donna del Lago by Rossini arranged by Grafulla
- Polonaise duet for Saxophone and Clarinet by Hamm
- Duet for two bugles: "Giomo d'Orrore," from Semiramide by Rossini
- Solo Aria and Variations (Echo Bugle), probably his own composition or arrangement
- Duetto "Vesper Hymn" by Haydn
- Songs, including Home Sweet Home; The Light of Other Days; Lo, Here the Gentle Lark; and The Last Rose of Summer.

Many programs did not identify a specific composition, saying simply "Solo" or "Duet," but even given the possibility of several more solo compositions, it was not a large repertoire. Being on tour much of the time allowed him to play the same things on many different occasions. In addition, he undoubtedly knew and played many dance tunes which were seldom identified.

For the rest of his career Hall continued performing with many concert groups, including the Filomeno Troupe, Hall's Boston Concert Company, and Camilla Urso (violinist), with whom he made another California tour overland in 1869 (fig. 30); the Peak Family Bell Ringers, who paid him his highest salary (\$75 per week) and traveled as far as



Figure 28a. Gold cornet presented to Rhodolph Hall June 9, 1866, Hall & Quinby, Boston, four Allen valves, decoratively engraved, HFM 72.54.1. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.



Figure 28b. Detail of gold cornet showing the bell and inscription.



Figure 28c. Detail of gold cornet showing the back bow, lead-pipe, and valve slide engravings.

	BOSTON MUSIC HALL.
I	resentation Concert,
	REODOLPH HALL,
	On Saturday Evening, June 9th, 1866,
N	liss Adelaide Phillips.
	DR. C. A. GUILMETTE. William H. Clarke. George Whiting. M. Carpenter. Brothers Suck.
	Halls' Band D. C. Hall, Leader.
	Part I.
1	Grand Officteirs de St. Coules
	MISS ADELAIDE PHILLIPPS.
	DB. QUILMETTE. Dontern. **DE. QUILMETTE.** **Tresentation of Gold Cornel to Rhodolph Hall.**
	Estada, Gold-Compton Martin secoff 1 3 5 1 CROPCE MISS PHILLIPS. CROPCE
•	Double Concerts for Gold Engie and Tornet, "Di Tanti Palpiti," from Rossin's Opera of Tornetti, KERMEL MILL David Accompanioned. MESSES, D. C., & B. HALL.
	Part II.
	7. Grand Organ. ot. Transcription. Miscorry
	n. Monu Cant, "The tiambler's Wife,
	DR. GUILMETTE. 8. Sole for Cernet. Air and Variations. Lenexoge. MR. REODOLPH HALL.
	C. Cavatina. "Nobil Nignor." Negarnots,
1	 Grand Scena Dramathyne. "Parin with Heronty". Accompanied by Mr. Whitey on the Greet Organ and the Bredlers Such. D.B., GUTLMETTE.
1	A. Maccion, "Marcin Functor," from Don Scientists,
	The Plane and it this County is furnished by Moson, Chickening & Sons, age Tokon (d.M), with Everyol Sonia. age Decre open at 7; Congest to tommone at 5.

Figure 29. Program of gold cornet presentation concert, June 9, 1866, Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604: Box A. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

TINION HALL Friday Evening, Feb. 19, 1869.
HALL'S BOSTON CONCERTS
These Choice Musical Entertainments will be given by the Company of World- renowned Artistes on roots for California comprising
CAMILLA
The Great Classical Violinist, Why will perform upon the Violin which was presented to have by M. Mirriment, interests and for which have as warded the first modal.
at the recent Paris Exposition. MISS
Graziella RIDGWAY,
THE TALENTED VOUNG SOPRANO, Will appear and sing beautiful Songs and Bullads.
Mr. RODOLPH HALL
THE EMINENT CORNET PLAYER, Who will perform upon the Magnificent Gold Cornet, presented to him by his
friends.
Mr. D. C. HALL,
THE DISTINGUISHED BUGGE SOLOIST. And Leader of Hall's famous Hoston Brass Band. The beautiful Gold Hugle open which Mr. Hall performs was the gift of his numerous admitzers, and azzept the Cornet played by Mr. Rhodolph Ball at these Concerts is the only gold musical instrument in the world.
Mr. CHAS. E. PRATT
THE WELL-KNOWN SOLO PIANIST AND ACCOMPANIST. Who will perform most pleasing selections.

PROGRAMME
PART FIRST.
1 Bl Gi.E SOLO-Cavatina from "La Gazza Ladra,"
Mr. D. C. HALL.
2. SON: La Primevera - "Spring-Time."
S. PIANO SOLO "Traviata"
Mr. CHAS. E. PRATT.
4. VIOLIN SOLO =Fantasic on Thome
CAMILLA URSO.
5. CORNET SOLO=" Magic Echo."
Mr. RHODOLPH HALL.
the second control of
PART SECOND.
6. 80NG- Beautiful Erin. GLOVER
Miss CRAZIELLA RIDCWAY.
(With Violin Obligate by CAMILLA URSO.)
7. PIANO SOLO-" Caprice de Concert.",
Mr. CHAS. E. PRATT,
- indiana - indi
Miss. GRAZIELLA RIDGWAY. 9. VIOLIN SOLU—"Witches' Dance."
5. VIVISIA SOLIO-" STRORES DARGE
CAMILLA URSO.
10: DUO-For Bugle and Cornet-Variation on "Di tanti palpiti," Rostvi
Messrs. D. C. and R. HALL.
Doors open at 7 1-4 o'clock: Concert commences at 8.
The Go'd Cornet played at these Concerts, is from the celebrated man- ufactory of Mesars, Hall & QUINBY, Boston.
MM - 1 - 4 - 50 0 1
,
For Sale by Devendorf & Kosboth,
RECORDER PRINT, AMSTERDAM N Y.

Figure 30. Program of Hall's Boston Concerts with Camilla Urso, February 19, 1869, Hall Family Papers, BFRC 1604: 5–7. From the Collections of Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village.

Colorado in 1870–71; and Nellie Daniels' Swiss Bell Ringers. For the last five years of his life he was a widower, following Kate's death on February 6, 1873; there are no letters around this time to explain her early passing, probably just short of her fortieth birthday.

Conclusion

Rhodoph Hall was a very versatile musician, with solo abilities on clarinet, keyed bugle, and cornet as well as competence on violin, flute, and a few other instruments, but that in itself was not unusual. Most, if not all, of the professional musicians he played with were capable of

doubling on several instruments as needed for the variety of work they did. More importantly, his career documents in the life of one soloist the training of musicians, how bands were led, the variety of jobs they played, some of the instruments used, and the pay they received.

His performances also reveal something of the change from mixed woodwind and brass bands to all brass. His artistry on the clarinet was no less than on the keyed bugle and cornet, and for a few years in the late 1840s he played with James Kendall in the Boston Brigade band, possibly the only band of the time remaining as a mixed ensemble. He began playing keyed bugle in 1843, but was soon playing cornet as well. He continued to play clarinet and both brass instruments throughout the rest of his career, but began to favor the cornet over the keyed bugle, especially in his later years. He may even have played a brass instrument with both valves and keys for a time. The duality of his ability on brass instruments is shown in the painting he commissioned in 1854 and in the gift instruments he received.

The references to Hall's use of trombacello and Ebor Corno in 1846 and 1847 are some of the earliest known for these instruments and the only descriptions of them being played. These were attempts by American makers to extend the valved brass family to the larger instruments and were contemporary with the first saxhorns. They were not very successful because of their narrow proportions and clumsy valves, but show that American makers were active and working toward a complete family of brass instruments at about the same time as European makers.

Hall's extensive use of the echo attachment beginning about 1861 is also of interest in the history of that device. From the surprise of reviewers in the United States and in England it seems that it was new to them. The presence of a whole set of echo instruments in the Boston Brass Band in the mid-1860s was certainly unique.

Hall's letters are also of some value in documenting the economic position of musicians in New England at that time. Working as a sideman in brass bands in towns such as Hartford, New Haven, Roxbury, Lowell, and Boston, he usually earned from \$1.50 to \$12.50 for each engagement, and as a dance musician from \$4 to \$12 per evening. There were occasions such as college commencements and Fourth of July celebrations when he earned as much as \$25 for an engagement. The average of about \$7 per concert or dance was still many times the working man's daily wage. With circuses and concert troupes Hall earned from

\$15 to \$75 per week plus expenses (usually for both himself and his wife), an enormous salary for the time, comparable to some of today's pop musicians.

Hall is not remembered for any one great accomplishment. He was not a very successful bandleader, having led only small town bands early in his career, and did very little arranging or composing. Neither was he a musical instrument maker or dealer, and his letters give us only a few hints about instrument development going on around him. His solo repertoire was quite limited, and yet we know by the success of his tours and the response of reviewers that he was a fine musician. Music, it is said, is an ephemeral art, and during Hall's career there were no recordings. He played and his music was heard and enjoyed, but then it was lost until the next time. Nothing survived except some letters, programs, dance cards, and reviews. Still, from these we can discern that his was a significant career, in which an early free-lance musician took advantage of the freedom and opportunities of the United States to exploit his talents without the restraints of musicians' guilds, courts, the church, or the military. Taken all together the career and accomplishments of Rhodolph Hall were most remarkable, and we are fortunate that the letters revealing them to us have been preserved.