The eternal symphony afloat: the Transcendentalists' quest for a national culture
Scott Gac

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In 1821, a dynamic eleven-year-old fashioned a box to store her work and writing equipment. The box was painted beautifully--according to the artist's own description--and a letter from Margaret Fuller's mother noted that her young daughter "thinks 'some' of sending it to England to convince the people there that Americans are not entirely destitute of genius" (qtd. in Capper, Margaret Fuller 54). Fuller's desire to impress American cultural development upon the world never did cease. Nearly twenty years later, she explained why, "There is always great pleasure in any entertainment truly national" ("Entertainments" 50). Despite her inspired effort as a child, Fuller rarely, if ever, experienced this pleasure from her own countrymen. An American culture--that is, some kind of unique and unifying tradition--was precisely what Fuller and her Transcendental colleagues thought shamefully lacking in their time. From John Sullivan Dwight to Henry David Thoreau, there persisted a hope, at times an expectation, that a national culture would cure the nation's ailments. Orestes Brownson charged that "society as it is, is a lie, a sham, a charnel-house, a valley of dry bones" (46), a uniquely American culture embracing architecture, literature, painting, sculpture, music, and even conversation was to make this valley habitable once again.

Concerned that the debates over slavery, religion, and the removal of Native Americans threatened the integrity of American life, the Transcendentalists turned to culture. This is of little surprise for during the 1830s and early 1840s cultural life in America was a burgeoning new frontier. Culture underwent a momentous transformation as cultural productions moved from relative obscurity to the heart of American society. From an elite convention and a collection of eclectic performances, culture developed into a profitable industry that reinforced and challenged the values of middle America. Ralph Waldo Emerson noted this shift in his journal with a statement representative of his time: "we are in a world for culture" (qtd. in Wilson 6).

As culture created a public social arena that was heretofore unknown in America, it, in effect, became a national ritual. (1) Singing, reading, card playing, and piano playing, all became staples of leisure time activity. On weekends, entire days could be spent in the home with friends and neighbors reading aloud favorite passages from a popular novel and belting out beloved tunes. These occasions were social and entertaining, but they also helped shape the way in which people viewed and understood the world around them. In the parlors of American homes this ritual played out with increasing frequency during the antebellum era.

Women played an integral part in this transformation, claiming a public voice through culture—a process that altered the balance of gender relationships in the United States. The connection between women's predominance over the home and the cultural activities which grew out of this environment are well documented. At the fore of this revolution was music. Training in music became a staple of young women's education that also featured topics such as reading, composition, spelling, calisthenics, and limited instruction in subjects like mathematics. This training ensured that women, at the very least, would develop into excellent consumers, if not producers, of culture.

Women's contribution to culture → educated in music to develop other areas → also a staple in Europe, yes?
In the 1840s, culture quickly developed into an invaluable part of public campaigning as well. From political parties to reform movements, Americans who needed to gain the public's attention increasingly relied in some way upon culture. (2) The noted campaign of William Henry Harrison of 1840 featured the song "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too." Temperance advocates and abolitionists were also active in their use of culture, from theater to music and novels, in promoting their messages. It is of little surprise then that the Transcendentalists sought salvation through culture and made a concerted effort to control this new public space defined by a variety of cultural activities.

"What would the Puritan fathers say, if they could see our bill of fare here in Boston for the winter? The concerts, the opera dancing, which have taken place of their hundred headed sermons, how would they endure?" asked Fuller ("Entertainments" 46). (3) An excellent question, for as she implied, the jocular entertainment of the mid-nineteenth century mocked the harsh Puritan spirit against which the Transcendentalists rebelled. Culture provided the loosely knit group of intellectuals an opportunity to wear down the restrictive traditions of their Puritan predecessors and simultaneously to fill the spiritual void created by their religious rejection. Little attempt was made to hide how sacred culture came to be viewed by the Transcendentalists. Dwight, billed as the "transcendental pope of music" (Lowens, "Writings" 71), wrote: "There is always a calm Sabbath of the soul in the complete enjoyment of true music, filling the breast with light and love" ("The Religion" 310).

Many in the Transcendental movement hoped for culture to be more than just a surrogate religion. Culture as a means to capture or demonstrate a national spirit, it was assumed, would unite Americans by linking to the nation's Revolutionary past and reviving the future. Fuller approvingly cited the lectures of Alexander Kinmont—a young Scotsman whose ideas gained in popularity following an untimely death in 1838—that culture must "correspond with this new state of our social condition .... Good music, good songs, good paintings, which were all new, and truly native, would do more to cure the fanaticism, and intemperance of the land, than all those artificial societies instituted for such purposes. There is a blank in the public mind, which requires to be filled up" ("Entertainments" 71). (4) This blank—America's cultural void—proved to the Transcendentalists that the national spirit as exemplified in the "political acts of the worthies of the Revolution"—Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison—had gone astray ("Entertainments" 71). The national culture proposed in New England of the 1840s was to be consistent with the legacy of America's Revolution—opposed to tyranny and conformity and for equality and liberty. Ironically, the "political worthies" were the very men responsible for equating politics with mechanism—which through the balancing of factions as written in the Constitution assumed that no uniting force, such as that which the Transcendentalists sought in culture, could successfully endure.

Still the Transcendentalists hoped to revive the promise of America as declared in 1776. This vision increasingly came under fire as the rhetoric of equal opportunity never evolved into a condition of equality for many as the nineteenth century progressed. Since one of the only exceptions to this pattern was the realization of universal white male suffrage—achieved in all states except Rhode Island by 1840—the country's progress was called into question. This vision, a powerful ideological expectation of a bountiful future, "fed on the distance between fact and promise" (Bercovitch 4), and by the late 1830s the promise looked more like an impossibility than a probability. As a group, the Transcendentalists were disturbed by the lack of a cohesive and national character consistent with their intellectual needs. Emerson, appalled by the sheer banality of the Federal government's policy concerning Indian removal, condemned Martin Van Buren in a letter written in 1838, stating that the office of the chief executive
and also the "name of the nation" would be severely tarnished if the President sanctioned "this instrument of perjury." ("Letter" 105). The Transcendentalists were equally appalled at the existence and perseverance of slavery. Nothing threatened the New England perception of progress more during the nineteenth century than the system of servitude within the nation's southern bounds.

Margaret Fuller diagnosed one additional disorder in America, the restrictive expectations of women in public life. She wished to break the gender divide in which, to borrow from Ann Douglas, "boys were brought up to run the world, and girls were trained to read novels." ("Margaret Fuller" 39). Fuller found the division of the sexes unworkable: "There is no wholly masculine man, no purely feminine woman" (Woman 69). Fuller's disagreement with separate roles for American men and women was a problem that was solved by her theory on the arts. She attributed the genius of artists to their capacity to simultaneously employ their masculine and feminine traits (Woman 69, 101; "Entertainments" 59). Thus she held that art demonstrated life after the collapse of the gender divide. In particular, music depicted the "link between human and divine, matter and spirit..." (Memoirs 275). So it comes as no surprise that Fuller often led the Transcendentalists in their call to develop American culture. For the Transcendental movement, this call pledged to correct all of America's inequalities by teaching citizens unity and harmony instead of greed and factionalization.

The Transcendentalists believed that the character of a people directly translated into their artistic production. The arts were thus a measure of national integrity. One of the few things that this New England circle agreed upon concerning culture was that America had yet to make a unique or worthy cultural contribution. Although in the twenty-first century we look back at the Transcendentalists as a high point in American life, they were not so self-assured. "For us we have nothing of our own... a few pale buds is all that we yet can boast of native growth, because we have no national character of sufficient fullness and simplicity to demand it" (Fuller, "Entertainments" 49). Dwight, who developed into the country's foremost music critic, observed, "Musical as yet we are not, in any true sense. We have no composers; no great performances in our churches; no well-endowed and thorough academies to train the artist, or to educate the public" ("Social" 74). The one genre declared uniquely American was the lecture, but even this was seen as in its infancy, just developing as a cultural force (Fuller, "Entertainments" 50). So the need to explain the perceived cultural void often occupied a preeminent place in the Transcendentalists' thoughts. They remarked that American culture was in its formative years and found the problem to be that Americans were a people not quite settled into a democratic way of life. This explained why cultural production in this country had yet to live up to its Revolutionary splendor. Fuller expressed this unrealized cultural potential best just before she set sail for Europe: "I go to behold the wonders of art, and the temples of old religion. But I shall see no forms of beauty and majesty beyond what my country is capable of producing in myriad variety, if she has but the soul to will it; no temple to compare what she might erect in the ages" ("Farewell" 355). In an address to the Harvard Musical Association in 1846, Christopher Pearse Cranch was convinced that "we are in fact barely beginning to wake up, as from a lethargy, and join in sympathy with the great musical culture on the other side of the Atlantic" (qtd. in Rider 118). Clearly laying out the break between the "fact," America's cultural void, and the "promise," the nation's cultural possibilities, the Transcendentalists attempted to focus the American vision of progress upon cultural output.

Potential has yet to be realized hence the need for a national culture:

There was no agreement, however, over when America's latent talents in the arts might come to fruition. Cranch represented the pessimism of the group, at times almost resigned to the impossibility of a national culture:
Let us not fear the charge of imitation.... We must imitate while we continue in this state of pupilage. Foolish critics talk of the want of a national music in America. A national music is the spontaneous growth of ages of insulated life and feeling. It is impossible that American music can do more than reproduce the music of other ages. ... We are too much a nation made up of others. (qtd. in Rider 119)

In the end, Cranch's disagreement with his peers was not over if, but when, a national consensus could be achieved. Contrary to his belief that a national culture was in the distant future, most of the Transcendentalists impatiently awaited the moment "when we too shall be made new by a sunrise of our own, when our population shall have settled into a homogeneous, national life, and we have attained vigour to walk in our own way, make our own world, and leave off copying Europe" (Fuller, "Modern Drama" 102).

Artists of all persuasions were to help the United States become a self-reliant nation. No longer entranced by the "courtly muses" of Europe, America was to "take out" and fulfill the promises of the Revolution. Culture and independence was now included in the definition of American progress. "The artist must employ the symbols in use in his day and nation, to convey his enlarged sense to his fellow-men," wrote Emerson in an essay from his First and Second Series ("Art" 201). This "enlarged sense" was a glimpse at the universal spirit that the Transcendentalists believed all art to reflect. Through these impressions of the universal, a national culture would form around a unified citizenry and, as a consequence, embody the character of America.

Culture served another purpose as well: one that was less about pointing at what one's mind should be thinking and more with correcting the pervasive greed they saw enveloping the nation. Here, the Transcendentalists' ideas for a national culture were more concerned with recapturing the unity of the Revolution by turning Americans away from the unbridled pursuit of money. Elizabeth Peabody wondered "how many of the growing evils of our society would be crushed, as they are taking root" if instead of studying how to become wealthy, Americans studied the arts ("Dorian" 109). And George William Curtis yearned for the day "we have an American mind, as well as an American System, and, [are] no longer under the sad necessity of exchanging money for thoughts" (qtd. in Rider 67). Positive and harmonizing, a national culture was to combat many troubles which separated Americans; however, the Transcendentalists could never agree upon what would appropriately constitute this culture.

The Transcendentalists--and this is one of the few agreed upon points--believed that music reigned supreme. Though there was no consensus over what type of music best suited their purpose--the arguments ranged from instrumental to vocal, and from art music to popular music--music was, in the words of Dwight, "a universal language, which Asia and America alike may comprehend with no interpreter and no dictionary but the heart, out of which and to which proceeds all music" ("Social Significance" 74). Cranch held that listening to music delivers us "through chaos and through night, and seeming dissonance to concord and light" ("Ormuzd" 524). While all of the arts, especially poetry, were deemed capable of expressing the universal sentiment so vital to Transcendental thought, music excelled at bringing audiences "into infinity" (Fuller, "Entertainments" 53). Fuller came right to the point: music is the most important branch of culture in our age (qtd. in Saloman 18). Thoreau penned, "When I hear a strain of music from across the street, I put away Homer and Shakespeare, and read them in the original" (qtd. in Rider 284). "Music seems to contain every other art, but no other art wholly contains
music," stated William Wetmore Story (qtd. in Lowens, Music 255). Music's position at the top of the cultural pyramid was secure because of its perceived communicative ability, an important part of which was its status as, what Fuller called, a "living art."

To the Transcendentalists, and to nineteenth-century Americans in general, experiencing music was rarely a solitary or an antisocial activity. More than a half century before the invention of recorded sound, music in antebellum America had to be played live. Whether at home cuddled around the family's piano or in a large concert hall, unless the music was live, it did not exist. Music represented "a living form rather than a dead monument to the desires of genius" (Fuller, "Lives" 150) because it was not hung on a wall, or read from a page, but actively engaged both its audience and its immediate creator. Emerson stated that "true art is never fixed, but always flowing" ("Art" 208) and Dwight wrote that music is motion and it is nothing else ("Music" 28). In this manner art was consistently expressed the eternal evolution of society. Music, more so than any other art form, allowed for "extempore performances" that complemented the Transcendentalist belief that "our spontaneous action is always the best." While Emerson declared that "a great man is a new statue in every attitude and action" ("Intellect" 188), only music was adept at capturing the infinite possibilities of the moment.

Music, as well as sculpture, painting, and architecture, was inviting to the Transcendentalists because they were suspicious of language. The "hundred headed sermons" of the Puritan tradition left these New Englanders cold and weary, seeking refuge in the warmth and emotion of the more abstract arts. "Words are such cold and lifeless things" ("Music of Nature" 582), penned the poet Cranch, while Fuller celebrated that music clambered "far beyond where words have strength to climb" ("Lives" 151). As Charles Capper has pointed out, the American Transcendentalists were attracted to Fuller's conversations because their spontaneity and fluidity seemed to them to mimic the deeper spiritual truths that written or 'frozen' language could never capture ("Cultural Reformer" 515). This held even more truth for their inclination towards the arts. Music's attractiveness to the Transcendentalists hardly precluded the promotion of other art forms. Thus Emerson could claim that now "the art of sculpture is long ago perished to any real effect" ("Art" 207) but ultimately agree with Peabody's statement that "the feeling expressed is of far greater importance than the vehicle in which it is conveyed" ("The Word" 3). The purpose of an American culture was to show people how to live in harmony with the universal nature of life, which did not necessarily mandate a musical endeavor. No more proof of this is needed than the cultural products of the Transcendentalists themselves. Active in literature, lecture, and conversation, none of them abandoned these "inferior" art forms in favor of musical careers. In spite of their hierarchical classification of artistic genres, in the end it is clear that, for a majority of the Transcendentalists, all kinds of art were to aid them in their quest to improve the quality of American life.

Such openness did not extend to the traditions these art forms were to represent. Among European, Native-American, and African-American traditions, high and popular culture, and nature the Transcendentalists developed no coherent conception as to who or what was to create a national culture. Culture was to be a preeminent force in American society, but the Transcendentalists wavered on further details. They never deeply analyzed what a call for a unifying culture would encompass. Instead those in the movement held four different ideas about what the best American culture would represent. Each of these visions was espoused by the various members at different times with one exception. Dwight was wedded solely to the European high art tradition and thought that an American culture could only grow out of the traditions of the Old World.
The most inclusive view of a national culture was put forth by Fuller. She praised Native-American music, acknowledging the beauty and function of the "Winnebago courting flute" (Summer 106). "It is always thus with the new form of life; we must learn to look at it by its own standards" (22), she wrote in Summer on the Lakes, and Native Americans most certainly retained their own unique standards in Fuller's mind. She conceived of Indians not as Americans, but rather as a separate and distinct society. The same held true for her findings of black culture in America. Fuller admitted that "Jump Jim Crow," is a dance native to this country," but that the "African race... are relieved by their position from the cares of government" ("Entertainments" 52). She offered the latter in part as an excuse for why the "Caucasian race" had accomplished nothing culturally creative in America. But distinctive traits and traditions were not a barrier to being a part of the larger American society. When reviewing a work of Frederick Douglass, Fuller agreed with both Alexander Kinnmont and William Ellery Channing that "if it could be assimilated with those of us imported from Europe," black culture would greatly aid American development and character ("Frederick" 122). With her version of assimilation, Fuller proposed the most comprehensive vision of American culture held by any of the New England Transcendentalists—the character of America would consist of a blend of different groups that retained their individual identities, yet still formed a larger "American" whole.

Blond of different cultures to form a "whole"

Fuller never expressed contempt for what we would classify as folk or popular culture as a few of her Transcendental colleagues did. Crancel claimed that "No penny trumpets, such as children use, No barbarous Indian drums, so twanging lutes, No buzzing Jews-harps, no Pandean flutes" are found in transcendent music, and that only the refined instruments of Europe which played "wondrous symphonies" ("Music" 236) mattered. As the nineteenth century progressed, Dwight gradually became more scornful of what he called the "low" in music. He held that anything outside of the grand European tradition was "vulgar, coarse, illiterate" trampling all of the righteousness of art music "under foot" ("Heated Term" 109-10). He feared the "natural affinity... between rowdiness and brass music," and found popular and ethnic art forms to be against the "refining, humanizing, and exalting" characteristics of what he felt was worthy ("Alleged Decline" 270). The only redeeming quality that Dwight could find in these "vulgar," cultural traditions was that they taught people the skills he believed necessary to comprehend his "high" art.

In opposition to this privileging of the European high art tradition, Theodore Parker virulently spouted another notion of American culture. According to Parker, the finest national culture would be an expansion of the popular entertainments of the day. By the time he was at Harvard, Parker had already developed a distaste for the fine arts. "You disturb me with your music," he exclaimed, while noisily sawing a piece of wood until his friends, Dwight and Curtis, ceased practicing a flute duet in the next room (qtd. in Cooke 9). Certain that the European art tradition was effeminate and therefore inferior, Parker endorsed a resolutely masculine and utilitarian ideal of culture. When he launched his Massachusetts Quarterly Review, he hoped it would be a "Dial with a beard" (qtd. in Higginson 161). The Review was to discuss morals, theology, politics, philosophy, and literature, avoiding deliberations over the fine arts. Parker once bitterly complained, "Men talk to me about the 'absence of art' in America (you remember the stuff which Margaret Fuller used to twaddle forth on that theme, and what Transcendental nonsense got delivered from gawky girls and long-haired young men)" (qtd. in Rider x). He preferred cattle shows and mechanics' fairs to the opera or the theater, saying that one must "think with the saint and sage, but talk with common men" (qtd. in Wilson 13). This clarifies why he favored "the coarse arts which feed, clothe, house, and comfort people" (qtd. in Rider x). Confident that America
was manly, utilitarian, and located in bovine exhibitions, Parker powerfully proposed his idea of what a national culture should contain.

The elitism that pervaded the fine arts in America went against Parker's firmly held belief that the ultimate goal of culture was to elevate everyone—the "test of a scholar's power is his ability to raise men in their development" (qtd. in Wilson 13). While Transcendentalists like Dwight would argue that only the high art tradition had uplifting powers, Parker saw the elitist tendencies of the fine arts as crippling this ability. Yet Parker's choices were restrictive as well. The cultural endeavors that he promoted were chosen in part as a reaction to the increased opportunities available to women in public life. The creation and cultivation of sentimental life in America opened the door for women to exercise power differently and more publicly than ever before, so Parker's selection of a utilitarian popular culture heralded back to the days of the household economy in America. His cultural analysis, more so than that of other Transcendentalists, linked culture and the household economy in a direct fashion. If culture and the household economy were one and the same, there would be "no need to choose between" women wielding cultural power and "domesticity" (Ulrich 23-24). Women's work was not threatening to the nineteenth-century construct of separate spheres. If it was kept in the home, Parker's espousal of such a utilitarian culture, a revival of the "age of homespun," allowed him to celebrate the contributions of men and women in cultural productions, while not upsetting his belief that the place for women was in the home. Increasingly, female writers, singers, lecturers, and others involved in and around culture would spoil the delicate balance that Parker sought. 

The final conception of culture was located within nature. Curtis theorized that "men and nature and art all seek to say the same thing" (qtd. in Rider 5). American composer Charles Ives stated with admiration, "Thoreau was a great musician, not because he played the flute but because he did not have to go to Boston to hear 'the Symphony'" (51). And while he did often travel to hear the symphony, Thoreau was equally adept at discovering an orchestra within nature. In his journal he wrote, "My neighbors have gone to the vestry to hear 'Ned Kendal,' the bugler, tonight, but I come forth to the hills to hear my bugler in the horizon" (qtd. in Rider 267). Emerson most certainly would have agreed with Thoreau, for he too celebrated art in babbling brooks and in the cries of children ("Thoughts" 36-51).

The debate over a national culture was ultimately fruitless. Cultural productions of all types became so pervasive in antebellum America that locating and celebrating one strand of culture to identify as national was an impossible mission. Yet the Transcendentalists tried to tie American progress to the development of a national culture. Here the notions of freedom, justice, growth, and love were to reign supreme. The traits which Fuller celebrated in her "great composers"—self-reliance, rule breaking, harmony, spontaneity, a disdain for money, and the ability to make quick and clear decisions—were to be seen as a "talisman of hope" ("Lives" 203). By locating deficiencies in American culture, the Transcendentalists endeavored to provide Americans with a new vision to strive towards.

Their ideological formulation of culture as savior, which they understood themselves to be a part of through their writings and lectures, was an effort to teach Americans how to create an undivided nation. This vision was marred not only by the lack of a coherent cultural formula, but by a glaring tension between their belief in the universal nature of art and the very call for a national culture itself. If the music of Beethoven was transcendent, why would one need an American equivalent? Dwight, who consistently bemoaned the lack of American musical life, illuminated this tension when he looked back on the cultural pursuits of the prior decades: "The great music has been so much followed and admired
here, not by reason of any great musical knowledge in said followers, not because we have any technical musicianship or proper musicality, but purely because the music was great... ("Music as a Means" 313). Nonetheless, at a time in which culture was fast becoming, in the words of a recent Emerson biographer, a "state to be achieved, a status to be acquired" (Cayton 618), for the Transcendentalists, it was a means to improve the nation. Clearly not radical individualists, the Transcendentalists viewed culture as central to their brand of social reform—a unique attempt to improve society through their collective effort to change [people's lives by changing their minds] (Capper, "Cultural Reformer" 509).

Once Fuller had lashed out against elitism and sought "a more equal, more thorough, more harmonious development" (Summer 147) through culture. By 1847 she was dreadfully disenchanted with the Transcendentalists' cultural project: "Art is not important to me now" ("Letter" 271). One of the strongest supporters of an American national culture, now in Europe, was more concerned with the state and condition of people and politics than with how culture might influence these variables. While other members of the group, most notably Dwight, continued to uphold and reformulate culture as a means for reform, what can be called the Transcendentalist quest for a national culture closed by the 1850s. Unable to manage the vast cultural expansion of antebellum America, the Transcendentalists would no longer strive to hear "the eternal symphony afloat" (Cranch, "Why??" 86).

The City University of New York
New York, New York

Notes

(1) James Carey explains that to view an event as a "ritual" shifts focus away from an analysis based upon the sending and receiving of information and towards the idea that a cultural event, such as a musical performance, portrays and confirms "a particular view of the world." Cultural productions become less about pure information (What do the lyrics to a certain song say about American life in 18437?) and more about the forces and issues that made it relevant to its place and time (20).

(2) While there were many and varied cultural productions prior to the 1830s, there was a marked difference after this time: "The difference is one of range and scale: by the 1830s and 1840s a staggering number and variety of entertainers and performers, purveyors of this or that kind of lore or doctrine, agents or missionaries of one society or another, and peddlers of some cultural good or another were courting their way from town to town across New England and New York" (Scott 68). With the great increase in cultural activity, culture then became a site, a public forum, in which a variety of public debates were waged. Two examples from the era were the class and ethnic conflicts at the opera and the reform singing of the Hutchinson Family Singers—perhaps the most popular musical troupe of the 1840s—who vocalized their support of temperance and abolition. All of the new found uses for culture brought up "questions of ownership, access, and governance" (Giroux 10). Unraveling the answers to such questions helps towards understanding how power was used to regulate the issues that framed everyday life. "Culture makes a claim on certain histories, memories, and narratives" (Giroux 10), a facet that the Transcendentalists were well aware of and tried to manipulate.

(3) This sentiment was shared by a number of Transcendentalists. Dwight wrote: "The sublime sincerity of that wintry energy of self-denial having for the most part passed away, and the hearts of the descendants of the Pilgrims having become opened to all worldly influences, why should not they also be visited by the heavenly corrective of holy, enchanting music, which is sure to call forth and to nourish germs of loftier affection" ("Music" 33).

(4) Fuller's understanding of a "national culture" was based largely upon her reading of Kimon's Twelve Lectures on the Natural History of Man, and the Rise and Progress of Philosophy, especially pages 326, 340-43.

(5) Women will increasingly control the fund raising and initial drives to develop orchestras in several American cities, in effect becoming the driving force behind cultural endeavors. In literature, the trend is well documented. Parker was hardly alone in his fear of women gaining power in the cultural realm. For instance, the move to place women in positions of power in the American Anti-Slavery Society caused a fractious divide.
Works Cited


SCOTT GAC, a graduate of Columbia University and The Juilliard School, is currently a Ph.D. candidate in history at The Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He is finishing a dissertation entitled "The Hutchinson Family Singers and the Culture of Reform in Antebellum America."

Gac, Scott

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