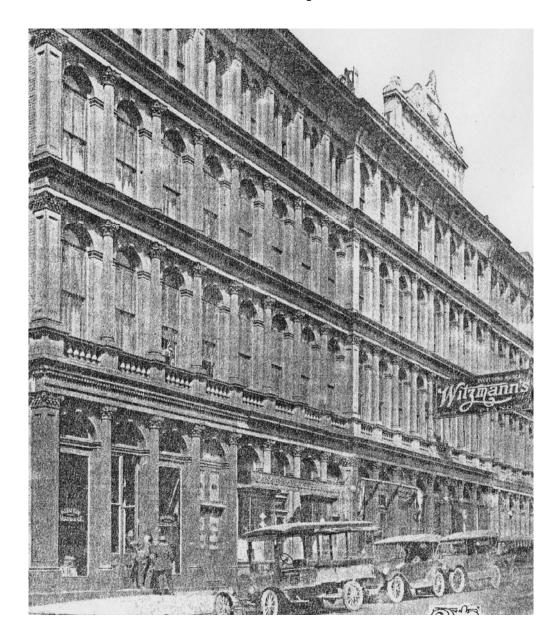
Everything Musical: E. Witzmann & Company and Music in Memphis Society

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Memphis in the latter part of the nineteenth century was a city of contrasts, a place where old traditions and new ideas interacted and merged. The traditional practices of a Tennessee frontier town blended with the customs and cultures of newcomers and

immigrants, creating a rapidly changing and growing society. New commerce and technology bolstered the dominance of agriculture and King Cotton, making Memphis a center of trade not only for the Mid-South region, but the entire nation. All facets of the city became a juxtaposition of its rural past and metropolitan development, including its economic infrastructure, political structure, social and leisure activities, and progress in the arts.

The population of Memphis was diverse, both before and after the yellow fever epidemics of the 1870's. Former slaves made up a large part of the population, and there were substantial groups of immigrants from Germany and Ireland, as well as smaller groups from Switzerland, France, and England. While each of these groups brought distinctive cultural elements, including religious denominations and social customs, the German immigrants in particular held on strongly to their former way of life. They formed social and charitable organizations such as the Memphis Maennerchor, whose mission was "to cultivate friendship and social feeling among those of German descent, as well as to perpetuate German song and German language, and customs."²

One group that Memphis lacked, however, was a "Southern aristocracy," or upper echelon of established, white Memphians, due to their relocation during the yellow fever epidemics.³ As a result, Memphis' social pyramid, while possessing clear socio-economic criteria, lacked the old blood of other Southern cities such as Atlanta, Savannah and Charleston. Similarly, politics in Memphis were relatively open: in the mid to late nineteenth century, African Americans and immigrants often ran in elections for public

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¹ Gerald M. Capers, *Biography of a River Town: Memphis, Its Heroic Age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 108.

²John McLeod Keating and O.F. Vetter, *History of the City of Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee* Vol.2 (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason, 1888), p. 288.

³ Capers, *Biography of a River Town*, p.193.

office.⁴ Tennessee officials such as J. B. Killebrew, Commissioner of Agriculture, tried to convince Europeans to immigrate to Tennessee through pamphlets, including *West Tennessee: Its Resources and Advantages* and *Tennessee: The Home for Intelligent Immigrants*.⁵ The Tennessee government did not view immigrants as a burden or a threat to the system, but as helpful and necessary for growth. The population of Memphis grew exponentially from 1880 to 1900, from 33,000 to 102,000.⁶

The Memphis economy, extremely powerful and far-reaching before it plummeted as a result of the yellow fever, rebounded quickly in the early 1880's. Cotton and transportation, the pillars of the local economy, remained important and were bolstered by technological and engineering developments like the rail bridge over the Mississippi, which was completed amid much fanfare in 1892. In addition to traditional economic strongholds, the growing and diverse population led to an increase in other sectors. Banking became particularly strong in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century: in 1887, Memphis had twelve banks, including three German banks, with combined capital of over three million dollars. The yellow fever's toll on the city also led to the emergence of a substantial healthcare sector in Memphis, which continues to play a major role in the local economy today. During the late nineteenth century, Memphis also improved its road systems and implemented public agencies, including a board of health.

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⁴ Beverly Bond and Janann Sherman, *Memphis in Black and White* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2003), p. 65.

⁵ J.B. Killebrew, *West Tennessee: Its Resources and Advantages: Cheap Homes for Immigrants* (Nashville: Tavel, Eastman and Howell, 1879).

⁶ Capers, *Biography of a River Town*, p. 216.

⁷ Bond and Sherman, *Memphis in Black and White*, p. 66.

⁸ Keating, *History of Memphis*, p. 243.

⁹ Capers, *Biography of a River Town*, p. 210.

The cultural and artistic endeavors in Memphis also changed greatly in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. Before 1880, there was little support among members of the community for "high art"; therefore, most performances featured vaudeville and folk-derived music and theatre. However, as business successes generated the rise of a middle class, the demand for refined culture, opera and chamber music greatly increased. Musical societies such as the Mendelssohn and Beethoven clubs promoted European Classical music through both amateur concerts and professional guest artists. The introduction of frequent and accessible Classical music concerts was primarily initiated by the German immigrants, and this musical awakening mirrored the transformation of Memphis from a provincial river town to a metropolitan city at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Many facets of Memphis in the late nineteenth century, such as the relative openness of its society, its potential for growth, and its increased cultural awareness, made it an ideal place for entrepreneurs and businessmen of many backgrounds.

Furthermore, because music played an increasingly important role in the lives of Memphis families and the social history of the city as a whole, there was a strong demand for music merchandisers and distributors. One such businessman who benefited tremendously from the situation in Memphis was Emil Witzmann, a highly educated German immigrant who settled in Memphis in 1866. In 1872 Witzmann founded E. Witzmann & Company, a music store that sold pianos, organs, and other instruments, as well as publishing the sheet music of local composers. Over the course of its forty-nine

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¹⁰ Kay Ferree Myracle, *Music in Memphis*, 1880-1900 (Master's thesis, Memphis State University, 1975), p. 57.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 10

¹² Capers, *Biography of a River Town*, p. 229.

year history, Witzmann & Company became the largest piano distributor in the South, its traveling salesmen selling pianos to customers as far away as Texas. By examining the history of both the company and its owner, one can see the problems and benefits associated with doing business in Memphis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, the history of Witzmann's store in many ways parallels the history of music in Memphis. Why did Emil Witzmann choose Memphis as the site for his business, and how did the city and the business interact? The remainder of this paper will discuss Witzmann's impact on Memphis music, economics, and society, as well as the ways in which his music store became one of the most successful business ventures of the region.

General Social History of the Piano

In order to contextualize the story of Witzmann's business, one must first understand the place of the piano in the social history of nineteenth century America. When the Germans began to immigrate to the Mid-South area in 1848, they brought with them ideas about the importance of music and other forms of high culture. On the subject of the significance of the German immigrants, Arthur Loesser writes:

They made strong, permanent focuses of German musicality in the country . . . indeed; the United States became, on this musical level, a German province. The Germans did not merely promulgate their tastes and their melodic idiom; more notably, they brought a particular attitude toward music as an art, a devotion to it as a serious, infinitely valuable pursuit. ¹³

Many piano makers, most notably Wilhelm Knabe and Henry Steinway, came to the United States and opened piano factories after learning traditional methods of piano making in Germany.¹⁴ In addition, many German immigrants, including Witzmann and

¹³ Arthur Loesser, Men, Women, and Pianos (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), p. 491.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 493.

H. G. Hollenberg in Memphis, came and started piano selling businesses. From production to sales to performance, German immigrants revolutionized the business of music both in the United States as a whole and in the Mid-South area.

The Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century caused an explosion of growth in the piano industry. Due to advances in design and production, pianos could be made much more cheaply and efficiently. One of the most important manufacturing developments of the time was the specialization of factories: one company would exclusively make soundboards, while another would make piano keys, casings, or hammer mechanisms. 15 While the companies that made low to moderately priced pianos used such parts, companies making top quality grand pianos such as Steinway made all of their parts in one factory, thereby assuring that the integrity and quality of the instruments remained high. 16

This varied use of mechanization led to another important change in the piano industry: for the first time, instruments of different qualities and values were easily available to the public. This innovation made pianos, which were in the past reserved for those of great wealth and importance, available to families of moderate means. The average price of a piano in 1880 was \$200.00, which, while still a large sum, was within the means of the middle class. 17 In the late nineteenth century, the typical customer for a dealer like Witzmann was not an extremely wealthy family or an institution such as a church or school, but a family looking for a moderately priced upright piano for the parlor.

¹⁵ James Parakilas and Cynthia Adams Hoover, *Piano Roles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 53.

16 Ibid., p. 67.

¹⁷ Craig H. Roell, *The Piano in America*, 1890-1940 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), p. 74.

Another significant area of growth in the music business was the development of the reed organ, also called the cabinet organ or melodeon. The Kimball and Mason & Hamblin companies, particularly, manufactured large numbers of these organs in the late nineteenth century. The average reed organ in 1880 cost only \$100.00, thus making an instrument in the home possible for those who could not afford a piano. Such organs made up a significant portion of Witzmann's sales. From 1887 to 1903, Witzmann sold 1,658 new and used organs.

The retail sector of the piano industry was progressive and powerful at the turn of the century. On Manufacturers and dealers signed contracts giving a particular dealer rights to sell a brand exclusively in a region. The piano industry was one of the first in the nation to allow the purchase of merchandise on credit. In addition, the industry revolutionized the advertising business with its national ad campaigns. These breakthroughs, coupled with huge growth in demand, made the piano industry one of the most lucrative and stable in the nation. As a result, powerful entities such as the American Piano Dealers' Association had a significant impact on anti-trust and copyright legislation at the turn of the century.

The piano stood as a symbol of Victorian values and morality in nineteenth century America. For the typical American family, the piano suggested respectability and comfort. The Victorian parlor was the center of the home, and the piano was the center of a parlor.²² As more and more Americans had money to spend on leisure and material

¹⁸ Loesser, Men, Women, and Pianos, p. 519.

¹⁹ E. Witzmann & Co Ledger Book, 1887-1903 (Witzmann-Gamble Papers, Memphis-Shelby County Room, Memphis Public Library). [Note: The Witzmann-Gamble Papers are in the process of being catalogued at the time of this paper.].

²⁰ Roell, *The Piano in America*, p. 60.

²¹ Ibid., p. 63.

²² Parakilas and Hoover, *Piano Roles*, p. 285.

comforts, a piano became a sign of economic and social status. The piano also symbolized the Victorian emphasis on hard work and perseverance: learning to play the piano is a difficult and time-consuming task, and society expected young Victorian ladies to practice for several hours a day, even if only for the enjoyment of family members at home. Belle Wade (1863-1947), Witzmann's sister-in-law, kept a diary in 1878 when she was fifteen years old. In her diary, she spends a considerable part of each entry detailing her practice times and music lessons. On February 21st, she wrote, "I practiced for fifty minutes this morning and one hour and ten minutes this evening." She took music lessons twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays.

During the Victorian period, piano playing and most other forms of music were primarily a woman's activity. Teaching music was one of the few respectable professions open to women, primarily because the piano and domestic life were closely linked - a woman could teach piano without ever leaving her home. ²⁵ During the period from 1880 to 1910, approximately half of the music teachers listed in the Memphis city directory were female, both married and unmarried. ²⁶

In addition, making music was an essential part of a Victorian woman's duty to create a welcoming and happy home for her husband and children. Many piano ads from the time feature scenes of domestic bliss, with a woman at the piano in the center of the

²³ Roell, *The Piano in America*, p. 3.

²⁴ Belle Wade's, Diary, 1878 (Witzmann-Gamble Papers, Memphis-Shelby County Room, Memphis-Shelby County Public Library).

²⁵ Roell, *The Piano in America*, p. 17.

²⁶ Polk's Memphis City Directories, 1880-1910. [Note: The City Directories, which were originally published as separate volumes, are now kept on microfilm in the Memphis Public Library History Department].

room. Some ads feature the piano as a part of courtship, showing a young man and woman kissing at the piano after a song.²⁷

As a consumer-driven culture replaced Victorian values in the early twentieth century, piano companies adapted their business strategies in order to survive. New technologies such as the Ampico and Pianola player pianos made beautiful piano music a part of life without years of hard work and difficult piano lessons. Dealers used innovative forms of advertising to promote the new instruments. Witzmann, for example, sponsored a concert in which a piano concerto was played by a piano virtuoso accompanied by an Ampico player piano. While this new technology kept the industry afloat, the piano still had to compete with inventions such as the phonograph. At this time, advertisers stressed the permanence and sound financial investment of a piano: while technology would come and go, the piano was the traditional center of the home, a timeless piece.

Biography of Emil Witzmann

Emil Frederick Augustus Witzmann, son of Frederick Witzmann and Marie Henkel Witzmann, was born on August 7, 1841, in Kranichfeld, Germany. A a child he attended the Realschule of Saalfeld. He left Germany for Paris at the age of sixteen.³⁰ According to an advertisement that contains a biography of Witzmann, published shortly

²⁷ Roell, *The Piano in America*, p. 107.

²⁸ Parakilas and Hoover, *Piano Roles*, p. 65.

²⁹ Concert Program for a "Morning Musicale," May 12, 1920 (Witzmann-Gamble Papers, Memphis-Shelby County Room, Memphis Public Library).

³⁰ Witzmann Family Papers (Witzmann-Gamble Papers, Memphis-Shelby County Room, Memphis Public Library).

after his death, he never returned to Germany.³¹ An earlier source, however, claims that he studied business and manufacturing in Germany as a young man.³²

Upon his arrival in Paris, Witzmann became a student at the Sorbonne, and later graduated with high honors. He remained in Paris for six years, after which he moved to Madrid, where he taught modern languages and music for a year. Witzmann then relocated to London. In London, he met William King, a British teacher living in Memphis who later convinced him to immigrate to the United States. Some of King's students from the Mid-South area traveled to study with Witzmann while he was still living in Europe, providing him with important connections in America. Some of these former students from Europe eventually became customers at Witzmann & Company. At the time Witzmann immigrated to the United States, after living in countries throughout Europe, he spoke seven languages fluently.³³

Witzmann arrived in the United States in 1866. He filed his petition for naturalization in the Common Pleas Court of New York on September 7, 1866, and immediately settled in Memphis, due to his connection to William King. ³⁴ Upon arrival, he began teaching music and languages at several area schools, most notably at the Armour Institute for Women and Memphis Female Seminary. While maintaining a music studio, he began buying used pianos and renting them to his students. He officially incorporated his piano sales company in 1872, but continued teaching for several years afterward. ³⁵ As late as 1878, Witzmann is listed in the city directory as teaching French

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Witzmann's Petition for Naturalization, 1886 (Witzmann-Gamble Papers, Memphis-Shelby County Room, Memphis-Shelby County Public Library).

³⁵ Commercial and Statistical Review of the City of Memphis, Tenn. (Memphis: Reilly and Thomas, 1883), p. 174.

and German at Memphis High School. His teaching paved the way for his initial success in business: in the early years of his store, the connections that he made while teaching music formed the foundation of his company's customer base.

According to a statistical report on business in Memphis, Witzmann remained in Memphis through the yellow fever pestilence in the 1870's; however, no personal records from the time are extant.³⁶ The city directories list his home address during this time as being the same as his business address. Belle Wade's diary from this time frequently mentions Witzmann: she speaks of him ordering music for her, visiting her family, and writing her a note when she did not feel well. It is evident that even before he married her sister, he was close to the Wade family.³⁷

In 1885, Witzmann married Susan Lang Wade, a graduate of the Armour Institute and the daughter of an important Memphis family. The Wade family traced its roots back to Devonshire, England and was closely affiliated with Second Presbyterian Church in Memphis. The marriage took place on December 30th, and the Rev. William Boggs of Second Presbyterian Church officiated.³⁸ Shortly before his marriage, Witzmann moved out of his residence at his store to a new home located at 498 Shelby Street. Emil and Susie Witzmann had two children: Mary Louise, who was born in 1891, and Henry Wade, who was born in 1895.³⁹

The Witzmann family was heavily involved in Memphis social and charitable societies and was progressive regarding race relations. They were also known for being generous with their household staff, both by paying them more than was typical for the

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Belle Wade's Diary, 1878. Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

³⁸ Emil Witzmann's Marriage License. (Public Records, Memphis-Shelby County Library, 1885).

³⁹ Witzmann Family Papers (Witzmann-Gamble Papers, Memphis-Shelby County Room, Memphis Public Library).

area and by teaching them about savings, property management, and investment. In 1897, thirty-one years after his arrival in the United States, Witzmann officially became an American citizen.⁴⁰

As his company grew, Witzmann became known as a wealthy Memphis businessman and prominent citizen. His children attended school in the Northeast: Henry Wade attended Yale University and Mary Louise went to Dana Hall in Wellesley, Massachusetts. In addition, he built a home in Central Gardens at Peabody Street and Belvedere Street in 1912. Witzmann was a member of the Knights of Honor, the National Piano Dealer's Association, the Business Men's Club, and the Memphis Country Club. Susie Witzmann was extremely active in both church and charitable activities and was the head of the Home for Incurables in Memphis.

Emile Witzmann died in 1914. Although he had been chronically ill for at least two years, his death was unexpected, according to his obituary in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*. Witzmann was respected in Memphis both as a businessman and as a person. Several years after his death, an article about the company in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* stated, "Most of the city's musical history is closely interwoven with the old firm, for Mr. Witzmann had a unique and distinctive personality which won for him friends throughout the Memphis territory." His body was cremated and buried in Elmwood Cemetery in Memphis, and his family's plot serves as a testament to their wealth and influence. An extremely large stone, inscribed with the family name, is in the

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⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² "Emil Witzmann Dies, Was Memphis Pioneer," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, 23 November 1914.

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⁴⁴ "South's Oldest Music House Will Liquidate," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, 9 April 1921.

center of the plot. It is located in the front of the cemetery, in a clearly wealthy section, near the plot of former Memphis mayor E.H. Crump.

General Chronology of Witzmann & Company

After several years of selling used pianos in addition to teaching, Witzmann leased a warehouse and acquired three new pianos in 1872, thus beginning his company. 45 He began his company with a partner, Henry Seyfert, who was a music professor and Witzmann's colleague at Memphis Female Seminary. The store's name in the beginning was Seyfert & Witzmann, and they only sold new and used pianos in their first year in business. Seyfert fled Memphis, however, during the yellow fever epidemic of 1873, leaving Witzmann to manage the store by himself. According to a Memphis business guide published in 1883, Witzmann's business skills and musical knowledge allowed the store to survive the difficult times during the 1870's, even though pianos were a luxury item. 46 None of Witzmann's records from the time remain; however, the store seems to have remained open throughout the epidemics and resulting population drop.

In 1877, Emile Levy of Little Rock, Arkansas, became Witzmann's business partner. According to a Memphis business guide, he was responsible for all sales in the state of Arkansas for the company. 47 During his years with the Witzmann Company, Levy and his family held residences in both Little Rock and Memphis. In addition to being a businessman, he was also an active musician, helping to form the Wagner club, a

 $^{^{45}}$ Commercial and Statistical Review, p. 174. 46 Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

concert organization.⁴⁸ In 1888, he assisted in a concert held at Witzmann's recital hall, providing piano accompaniment for a local vocalist.⁴⁹

A deed from 1883 details the purchase of a building from William Goodwin at the corner of Second Street and Adams Street in downtown Memphis. ⁵⁰ It is not clear whether he bought the building he was already leasing, or if he bought an adjacent building to expand his business. It is evident, however, that the business had grown enormously, allowing him to invest a large amount of money in the property. In 1883, Witzmann was selling to the entire Tri-State area, as well as to customers in Alabama, Kentucky, and Texas. His sales between 1880 and 1883 totaled between \$75,000 and \$100,000 each year. At this point, his business consisted of both instrument sales and music publications. He was the only dealer in the region who sold Steinway, Weber, and Wheelock pianos. ⁵¹ While his sales area stretched across the entire region, a large portion of his business came from within the city limits. Witzmann & Company was located across from Calvary Episcopal Church, in the heart of downtown Memphis, which was at the time the center of all commercial activity in the area.

In 1891, Witzmann and Levy dissolved their partnership due to the end of their contract and the mutual agreement of both. Witzmann paid Levy \$1650.00 for his share of the business, becoming the sole owner of E. Witzmann & Company. While business varied from year to year, the business grew during the years from 1890 to 1900. During this time it established its reputation as one of the premier music houses below the Mason-Dixon Line.

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⁴⁸ Myracle, *Music in Memphis*, p. 79.

⁴⁹ Concert Program, 1888, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

⁵⁰ Building Deed, 1883. Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

⁵¹ Commercial and Statistical Review, p. 174.

⁵² Letter of Dissolution of Partnership, 1891. Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

Witzmann & Company's Business Practices

The Witzmann & Company ledger book, which details every purchase of a piano or organ at the store from 1887 to 1903, offers a valuable picture of the scope and growth of Witzmann's business over a sixteen year period. In addition, this book chronicles the day-to-day operations of the store, noting shipment schedules, damaged goods, piano rentals, and storage statistics.⁵³

As one would expect, trends in Witzmann's piano and organ sales over this period reflect the population growth in Memphis at the time. In 1890, the population of Memphis was 64,000 and Witzmann sold 223 pianos and organs. In 1900, Memphis' population had jumped to 102,000, and Witzmann's total sales for the year numbered 380 instruments. For comparison purposes, Amro Music Store, the largest of its kind in the area and the only music store currently located within the city limits of Memphis, sells approximately 800 pianos a year in a metropolitan area of over a million people. 55

As seen on the following chart, Witzmann's business did not grow at a steady rate: the number of instruments sold varied greatly by year. ⁵⁶ There is, however, a general upward trend, reflecting the growth of his store over this period of time.

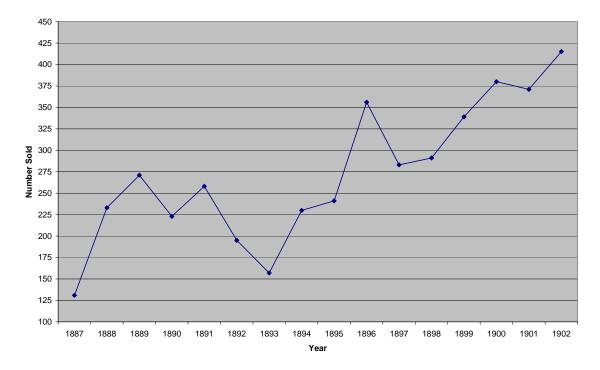
⁵³ Witzmann & Company Ledger Book, 1887-1903.

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Interview with Rick Jeffries, Amro Music, Memphis. 24 July 2006.

⁵⁶ Witzmann's Ledger Book, 1887-1903.

Pianos and Organs Sold by Year



One of the most prominent changes shown on the graph occurs between 1891 and 1893, when Witzmann's piano and organ sales plummeted. Upon first glance, it is surprising that business would struggle in the 1890's in Memphis, when the city's population increased by several thousand each year. It is likely that this huge drop in business for Witzmann was a result of the departure of his partner and Arkansas associate, Emile Levy, who brought in a large amount of business from west of the Mississippi River.

Throughout his years selling pianos, Witzmann sold a wide variety of brands, often as the exclusive dealer of a brand for the Mid-South region. Some of his best-selling makers included Laffargue, Knabe, Wheelock, and Kimball pianos. He also sold lesser numbers of pianos by makers including Steinway, Kranich & Bach, and Mason &

Hamlin pianos.⁵⁷ His organ sales consisted of small melodeons, the majority of which were manufactured by the Kimball Company. While many of the pianos sold by Witzmann were made by companies owned by people of German descent such as Knabe and Steinway, all seem to have been manufactured at factories in the United States, not shipped from overseas. Most pianos sold were uprights; Witzmann sold less than one grand piano per year.⁵⁸

Witzmann's business began with the resale of used instruments, and he maintained this practice throughout his years in business, selling both used pianos and organs.⁵⁹ The vast majority of the used instruments were traded in by individuals, the value of the instrument going towards a new instrument. Witzmann also resold repossessed instruments, as well as instruments that he simply bought from the previous owners for cash. An undated used piano price sheet describes a variety of used instruments at a wide range of prices, beginning with an "ebony upright – small size, two pedals . . . an old instrument but a bargain at \$75.00." The most expensive piano on the list is a Laffargue upright, in excellent condition, for \$275.00.60 The terms listed for sale on any used piano were five percent cash and payments to suit. The advertisement ends by stating that the full purchase price of a used piano could be put towards a new piano for up to a year after sale, thus establishing the idea that a used piano was a stepping stone to a more expensive new instrument.

In addition to instrument sales, Witzmann had several other sources of income related to pianos and organs. He rented pianos to individuals, as well as to organizations

 $^{^{57}}$ Witzmann & Company Ledger Book, 1887-1903. 58 Ibid

⁶⁰ Used Piano Price Sheet, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

such as schools, religious orders including the Sisters of Mercy, and social clubs, noting these in pencil in his ledger book. ⁶¹ Because he erased rental records after the return of the instrument, it is impossible to ascertain how frequently he rented them out. He did not have instruments that were used exclusively as rentals, but simply loaned out instruments directly from his regular stock.

Witzmann also stored instruments in his extensive warehouses, often for long periods of time. In his storage ledger, he writes the cost per month of storage, the only time in his ledger where he records any prices.⁶² Storage prices depended on the size of the instrument, as well as the length of the storage contract. Witzmann also provided moving and shipping services for a supplementary fee.

One issue involving Witzmann's business that arises upon an examination of the ledger book is the practice of piano stamping, which involved taking a low quality piano and stamping it with a brand meant to encourage sales. The brand on the piano was not that of the manufacturer; therefore, the consumer did not know the origins of his or her piano or the quality of the company that made it. Piano stenciling was not illegal; however, many dealers abused it, marking their pianos with names such as "Steinway" and "Steinweg" in an attempt to pass them off as top quality instruments. Witzmann's ledger book recounts an incident early in his business where he accepted what he thought was a Steinway piano for resale; it turned out to be a poorly made instrument stamped with the Steinway name. Witzmann himself engaged in stamping during at least one period of his business: from 1900 to 1902 he stamped generic pianos with his name,

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⁶¹ Witzmann & Company Ledger Book, 1887-1903.

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Loesser, Man, Woman, and Piano, p. 526.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 527

⁶⁵ Witzmann & Company Ledger Book, 1887-1903.

"Witzmann," in an attempt to establish a house piano. 66 This venture was unsuccessful, however, and well-known brands such as Knabe and Laffargue continued to be his best-selling pianos.

Witzmann & Company also contributed to music education and programs in the Memphis community. In the early years of the business, Witzmann and his partner Henry Seyfert taught music lessons in studios located in the same building as the retail store. ⁶⁷ When the business grew to the point that Witzmann stopped teaching, other teachers, such as Christopher Philip Winkler, both worked as clerks and taught lessons at the store. Witzmann sponsored concerts and recitals, featuring solo pianists and chamber ensembles. A program from 1888 tells of a recital that took place in the hall at E. Witzmann & Company. ⁶⁸ While no other records concerning this hall are available, it shows that he had a facility large enough for in-house concerts and recitals featuring local amateur artists.

Witzmann's Publishing Business

In addition to selling pianos and other instruments, E. Witzmann & Company printed and sold sheet music. The first record of a piece printed by Witzmann, a vocal solo with piano accompaniment by J. Resch and John Rutledge titled "Sweetheart, Tell Me Why," is from 1880.⁶⁹ While no comprehensive record of Witzmann's publishing business is extant, the American Memory collection of sheet music publications housed in the Library of Congress contains a sampling of pieces published by Witzmann early in his business, mostly from 1880 to 1884. These thirty-one publications, which were

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Commercial and Statistical Review, p. 174.

⁶⁸ Recital Program, 1888, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

⁶⁹ The American Memory Collection, Library of Congress http://memory.loc.gov/ammem

written by several composers, are not complex concert pieces, but easy-to-play songs and pieces clearly meant for use in the home by women and children.

The collection consists of sixteen pieces for solo piano, one choral anthem with piano accompaniment, and fourteen vocal solos or duets with piano accompaniment. All except three pieces use programmatic titles; the three that do not are dances. The topics of the titles and texts include the home, nature, and love, and are clearly meant to appeal to the women who made up the majority of amateur musicians in the nineteenth century. In addition, several of the pieces, such as "Dolly's Birthday: A Nursery Tale" and "Pussy Cat, Pussy Cat: A Nursery Tale," both by Anton Strelezki, cater to young children just learning to sing and play the piano. To In keeping with the themes and associations of the pieces, many of the composers dedicated their pieces to women and children.

The pieces are of easy to intermediate difficulty. Almost without exception, they are in a simple meter and major key, with little to no technical difficulty. All are homophonic, with simple accompaniment figures in the piano part, and the vocal parts consist of mostly conjunct motion within a limited range. The three longest and most difficult piano pieces in the collection are by a woman, Mrs. Lou Dobbs. These pieces, titled "The Obelisk Waltz," "Valse Caprice," and "Dolly Dean," feature dense textures, numerous modulations, and fast tempos.

While most of the pieces feature original melodies and texts by local poets, arrangements of famous European Classical music, mostly melodies from operas, were also popular. Anton Strelezki arranged themes from the operas *Charles XII* and *Romeo and Juliet* for intermediate solo piano. In addition, Witzmann published a series titled *A Standard Collection of German Songs*, which included lieder by Franz Schubert. Such

⁷⁰ Ibid.

arrangements and series made Classical music, which was normally only heard by the elite of society in a concert setting, accessible to families of average means in their own homes.

The majority of the pieces are secular; however, works by C.P. Winkler and Wm. Stradella are religious in nature. Winkler's "Sabbath Musings, Series One and Two" are for piano or organ solo, and could be performed at home or at church. Stradella's "Te Deum," however, is a four-part choral anthem clearly meant to be part of a church service. This is the only Witzmann publication in the collection that is not meant for performance in the home, due to its larger scale.

The scope of Witzmann's publications is more evident in catalogs from later in the history of his business. A catalog from 1896, titled "Musical Novelties Offered by E. Witzmann & Co.", gives a more comprehensive view of the sheet music being published by the company. The vocal music section lists 116 songs that are available for purchase, most of them by John Rutledge and Anton Strelezki. All are in major keys, and some are duets or choruses. Witzmann also includes a number indicating difficulty for each piece, with one representing the least difficult pieces and seven representing the most difficult. The majority of these pieces are levels two and three, with four level four pieces in the section. There are no vocal pieces of difficulty levels five, six, or seven in the catalog, supporting the hypothesis that Witzmann's pieces are meant for use at home by amateur pianists, most of whom perform at a beginner's level. Prices range from 25 cents for a solo ballad to one dollar for a four part vocal piece by Stradella. Two sets of

⁷¹E. Witzmann & Co. *Musical Novelties Catalog*, 1896. Housed in the Middle Tennessee State University Center for Popular Music, Murfreesburo, TN.

vocal technical drills, "Clarini's Selected Exercises and Studies" and "34 Elementary exercises," are also offered.

The Instrumental Music Section consists of 130 pieces, primarily by the same composers listed in the vocal music section. While most of these pieces are at the beginning to intermediate level, there are also several level five and level six pieces, as well as four pieces written in minor keys. One notable feature of this section is the number of pieces written for those players with small hands. These pieces are labeled with the abbreviation *no oct*, meaning that there are no intervals in the piece of an octave or more.

In addition to the vocal and instrumental parlor music sections, Witzmann's catalog contains several sections of pedagogical material titled "Graded Music for Teachers," "Vocal Gems for Female Voices," and "Cantatas and Operettas." All three of these sections contain music that is clearly written for children, such as *Berry Pickers* by Bailey and *Santa Claus and Family* by Rosecranz. Witzmann advertises, "We have selected these from the many thousands advertised, and recommend them as being the best of their class."

Witzmann & Company sent these "Musical Novelties Catalogs" to teachers and schools in order to aid them in selecting music for their students. Witzmann urged teachers to order from his business, stating that "especial attention [is] given to Teachers' orders and selections." Additionally, he offered a complete sample copy of "Tripping through the Heather," a six hand piano piece by Eduard Holst, as well as ten- to twelve-measure samples of many other pieces. These samples, all of pieces originally

⁷² E. Witzmann & Co. *Musical Novelties Catalog*, 1896.

copyrighted by Witzmann, consist of both original melodies and arrangements of famous songs such as "Home, Sweet Home" and "The Last Rose of Summer."

A 1903 copy of the same publication advertises even more directly to teachers, offering to sponsor a studio competition. The advertisement states:

As a special inducement to encourage your pupils to study high class music, we offer . . . a handsome **Gold Medal . . .** as a prize to the pupil who can perform most perfectly the brilliant composition, entitled, "The Aeolian Harp and Fountain," by M.G. Wittman. Each teacher, in order to secure this prize, must enter a class of **Ten** pupils . . . and must buy the ten copies of this piece directly of us. 73

The advertisement offers the piece to teachers at half price, a further inducement to buy large amounts of the music for their students. The catalog also contains teachers' reviews of new method books for instrumental study. These catalogs for teachers highlighted only a small portion of Witzmann's printing and sheet music business: at its peak, this segment of the company made up a substantial portion of the business, with over 350,000 pieces of sheet music available on site in Witzmann's storerooms.⁷⁴

Witzmann & Company also sold band and orchestral instruments, as well as miscellaneous items such as metronomes and violin rosin. The 1896 catalog features an extensive list of products offered; however, no prices are given. The bottom of the page states, "It will pay you to write for prices. We keep only the best goods and guarantee everything we sell." It was of great importance for Witzmann to establish and maintain a mail-order clientele, as such catalogs allowed him to sell to a customer base located outside of the city. Because Witzmann's records of sheet music and orchestral instrument sales are not in the ledger book with the piano records, it is impossible to know how large

⁷³ E. Witzmann & Co. *Musical Novelties Catalog*, 1903. Housed in the Middle Tennessee State University Center for Popular Music, Murfreesburo, TN.

⁷⁴ Advertisement, 1919, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

⁷⁵ E. Witzmann & Co. *Musical Novelties Catalog*, 1896.

this portion of his business became; however, the elaborate advertisements and sheet music samples in these catalogs demonstrate that he invested greatly in this division of the company, even though the sale of pianos and organs was his primary source of income.

Customers at Witzmann & Company ranged from prominent Memphis families to middle class families from small towns in Arkansas and Mississippi. In 1887, Witzmann sold a Wheelock upright piano to Mrs. E.H. Crump of Holly Springs, Mississippi, the mother of future Memphis mayor and political impresario Boss Crump. He also sold both a grand piano (an extremely rare occurrence at Witzmann & Company) and an Aeolian organ to the Robert Churches, an extremely wealthy African-American family that made its fortune in the real estate business.⁷⁶

In addition to the individuals who purchased instruments from Witzmann, many churches, located both in Memphis and throughout the Mid-South region, bought pianos and organs. Churches such as Second Presbyterian, St. Mary's Episcopal, and Eudora Baptist appear in the company ledger book. In addition, many churches from outlying areas bought instruments, recorded only as a church and a town name in the ledger. Monastic orders including the Sisters of Mercy bought several instruments in the 1890's and 1900's. Schools also appear in the ledger, including public school districts and local colleges. In particular, St. Agnes' Academy for Girls bought and rented a large number of instruments throughout the history of Witzmann's store.

Because music in general, particularly piano playing, was a woman's activity at the turn of the century, many women bought instruments from Witzmann. Approximately

⁷⁶ E. Witzmann & Co. Ledger Book, 1887-1903.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

half of the instruments sold from 1887 to 1903 were sold directly to women, based on the names in the ledger book.⁷⁸ Even when the company sold an instrument to a married woman, the ledger book gave the woman's name, not the name of her husband. In addition, many of the instruments sold to men were likely bought for their wives or daughters: sales each year spiked leading up to the Christmas season, as well as in the weeks before Valentine's Day.

Witzmann's Employees

Other than the accounts previously given of Witzmann's business partners, very little information exists concerning the salesmen at Witzmann & Company. Several different people, including Witzmann himself, entered records into the piano ledger book, and salesmen would often write business histories with particular customers next to the piano entries in the ledger book. 79 A document labeled "Wanamaker's Contract," dated April, 1904, describes the commissions paid to piano salesmen. It states that for each \$10,000 of sales per year, a saleman received a salary of \$10.00 per week. Therefore, a salesman at Witzmann & Company who sold \$35,000 worth of merchandise in a year would receive \$35.00 a week, with sales figures and salaries being revised every six months. 80 Employees of the company generally seemed to stay for long periods of time: the four or five different handwritings in the ledger book remain constant throughout the years. According to a Commercial Appeal article, one of the employees of the store at the time of liquidation had worked for the company for twelve years.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Ibid. ⁷⁹ Ibid.

^{80 &}quot;Wanamaker's Contract", 1904, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

^{81 &}quot;South's Oldest Music House Will Liquidate" Memphis Commercial Appeal, 9 April 1921.

Competition and Advertising

From the beginning of Witzmann & Company, there were competing music stores in downtown Memphis. In 1872, five other music companies were located within a mile of Seyfert and Witzmann, including H.A. Benson and Co. and the Hollenberg Music House, the area dealer for the Chickering Piano Company. Numerous other music companies existed in the area; however, Hollenberg's and Witzmann's companies were the only ones that survived the difficult years between the yellow fever epidemics. Hollenberg became Witzmann's primary competition for the first twenty years of his business; however, they often worked together to fill orders. Witzmann's ledger book contains several entries where the company sent instruments to and received instruments from the Hollenberg company. Hollenberg's listing in the Memphis City Directory is gone in 1887; however, Witzmann's business records indicate that the company was still in existence.

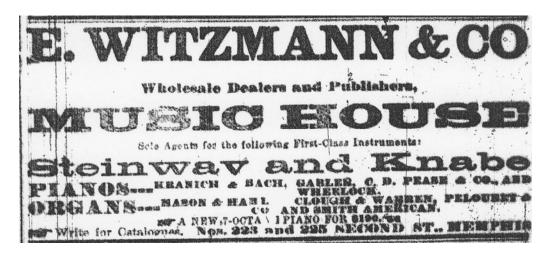
The number of music stores operating in Memphis in the 1890's and 1900's fluctuated by year, as many stores only survived for one or two years. Two other stores in this period remained open for longer periods of time: the Baldwin Company, which opened in 1887, and Houck and Company, which was first listed in the city directory in 1885. Houck was the exclusive Steinway dealer for the area (Witzmann sold them only for a short time in 1887), and was Witzmann's fiercest competitor for the period from 1890 to 1900, at one point placing an ad in the city directory on the page in the residence

⁸² Polk's Memphis City Directory, 1872.

⁸³ E. Witzmann & Co. Ledger Book, 1887-1903.

listings where Witzmann was listed.⁸⁴ By 1908, both Baldwin and Houck were no longer listed in the city directory.⁸⁵ Based on this information, one can infer that Witzmann's claim to be the oldest music house in the area was indeed true.

Because Witzmann's competition, while ever present, changed over the course of his business, his advertising techniques varied over the course of the business. A small advertisement from the *Commercial Appeal*, pictured below, typifies his early advertisement practices. The small ad, located on the bottom of one of the last pages of the paper, reads "E. Witzmann & Co, Wholesale Dealers and Publishers, Music House" and then lists the brands of pianos sold by the company. In small text, under the list of piano makers, Witzmann gives a price quote of \$100.00 for a new seven-octave upright. Clearly, this was the price for an entry-level piano by a lesser-known maker.



Exmaple 1: Witzmann's Advertisement, 1885

As both sales and competition increased in the early twentieth century, the company's advertisements became more varied and sophisticated. For several years,

⁸⁶ Witzmann & Co. Advertisement, *Memphis Daily Appeal*, 8 November 1885, p. 8.

⁸⁴ Polk's Memphis City Directory, 1904.

⁸⁵ Polk's Memphis City Directory, 1908.

Witzmann advertised in the sidebars of the residential pages of the city directory. In addition, he published magazines and informational brochures for teachers, as well as complete catalogs of his printed material for the general consumer. At the turn of the century, the front of his building had a large sign advertising the store as the place to buy "everything musical." Witzmann also sent letters by mail to previous customers, inquiring about their satisfaction with their instruments and offering to show them the latest technology, such as player attachments for traditional pianos. One of the company's more creative letters was addressed to men who had recently bought an automobile at a local dealership. In this unsigned letter, a salesman writes:

Noticing that you have purchased a new automobile and are preparing for pleasure in the out-doors, I beg to inquire if you are also prepared for the greatest of all in-door pleasures, MUSIC. A home is not complete without a piano. It not only adds to the furnishings of the house, but it is every man's duty to his wife and family to establish this instrument in his home of refinement and culture. 88

This letter gives an idea of the sophistication of Witzmann & Company's advertising techniques: it shows that they used creative means of finding target customers, such as advertising to those who bought automobiles, an expensive novelty at the turn of the century. Furthermore, this advertisement appeals to both the emerging consumer culture and the traditional Victorian culture: the first statement of the letter equates material goods such as the piano and automobile with pleasure. The second half of the letter, however, speaks of the duty to create a happy and welcoming home, one of the cornerstones of Victorian morality.

⁸⁷ Photo of E. Witzmann & Co, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

⁸⁸ Sales Letter, Undated, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

Witzmann's Death and the Liquidation of the Company

After Witzmann's death on November 22, 1914, his son, Henry Wade, daughter, Mary Louise, and her husband, Frederick Orion Gamble, all moved to Memphis to aid in the management of the store. Fred Gamble was particularly suited to this task, as he had been in the piano business for many years, rising to the position of vice-president of the American Piano Company, which owned both the Knabe and Aeolian brands. ⁸⁹ In addition, Gamble was an accomplished pianist and composer, and had invented several patented improvements on the player piano during his tenure at the American Piano Company. The store stationery from the time lists Susie Witzmann as the company president, Fred Gamble as the vice-president and manager, and Henry Witzmann as secretary and treasurer.

Immediately following Witzmann's death, the family struggled to keep the company afloat. In April, 1915, Susie Witzmann, acting as the executor of her late husband's will, sued her children and various other relatives for the right to act as the will stated regarding the company. The will called for the immediate settlement of all of Witzmann & Company's debts, which amounted to \$38,000. The will also stated, "I hereby authorize and empower my executrix or executor to sell any portion of my real or personal estate when deemed advisable, the proceeds of such sales to be reinvested," giving Susie Witzmann complete control over all assets, including the company. The most important part of the will, however, said, "When my son Henry attains the age of twenty-five years . . . I will and direct that a division of my estate be made." He

⁸⁹ Biographical Information, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

⁹⁰ Witzmann Lawsuit Record, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

therefore established that, in 1921, the assets and monies invested in the company had to be removed and given to his wife and children.

The lawsuit documents also speak of the financial condition of the store leading up to and following Witzmann's death. The court papers state that, due to the illness of Emil Witzmann and other problems, "E. Witzmann & Company sustained such losses during the latter part of the year 1914, as to entail a net loss from the conduct of the business for the past year." The court did not, however, believe that the company was lost: they appointed Fred Gamble to manage the business until further plans could be made. Even though the company was failing at this point, Witzmann's reputation as a Memphis institution influenced the decision of the court. The documents state that "aside from its large stock, running accounts, and established trade, [Witzmann & Company] has a high reputation and good-will which is a very valuable asset." Out of respect for Emil Witzmann, the court decided that actions would be taken to allow the company to function as successfully as possible until the division of the estate several years later.

In the years following the court's decision, the store continued to operate much as it had before Witzmann's death: with Fred Gamble as manager, sales increased despite the political tensions of World War I. Gamble maintained the store's practices of heavy advertising. A 1919 advertisement features an elaborate biography of the store's founder, emphasizing his American traits. It reads,

Emil Witzmann left Germany when he was 16 years old, even at that time not liking the policy of government. It must have been a strong dislike, don't you think, to have caused a boy of 16 to leave his friends, relatives, home and native land never to return and live there again. 95

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Advertisement, 1919. Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

This advertisement is the only indication in the entire history of the business that Witzmann's German heritage ever posed a problem. All earlier sources show that he successfully assimilated into American life almost immediately upon his arrival. This advertisement shows that Gamble followed the general trend of music companies in America at the time to portray themselves as a fiercely nationalistic industry, despite their strong German roots. A 1920 advertising agency bill shows the company spending \$93.57 per month on advertisements in twelve newspapers located outside of the Memphis area, in towns such as Batesville, Arkansas, and Grenada, Mississippi. 96

In 1921, Henry Witzmann reached the age of twenty-five, and the company began the process of dividing the estate. An unaddressed letter, dated April, 1921, states, "Aside from a definite provision for a division of the estate at this time, another clause of the will specifically states that certain monies be drawn out of the business." The letter continues explaining that the family could sell the company or open it to investors, but that they did not want to bring outside influence into what had always been a family business.

The company advertised the liquidation both in newspaper advertisements and on large posters that listed reduced prices on their pianos and other merchandise. They gave the heaviest discounts, up to sixty percent off the retail price, to those who would pay cash up front for the instrument. An article from the Commercial Appeal states that the liquidation sale, according to an employee, went even better than the family expected, with a huge response from the people of Memphis. 98 It also stresses that Witzmann's will,

Advertising Bill, 1920, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.
 Unsigned Letter, 1921, Witzmann-Gamble Papers

^{98 &}quot;South's Oldest Music House Will Liquidate"

not lack of business, was the sole reason for the liquidation of the store, and that the store had shown steady growth over the past few years.⁹⁹

After the liquidation was completed, Mary Louise and Fred Gamble moved to Puyallup, Washington, and bought farmland on which to raise their three children. With Ernest Stuber, a longtime employee of Witzmann & Company, Henry Witzmann opened another music store in Memphis, called Witzmann-Stuber, Inc. The store was not successful, and Witzmann later moved to Nashville, where he started a distribution company. Susie Witzmann died in Memphis in 1923. 101

The Importance of Witzmann & Company

The late nineteenth century brought a wave of virtuosic musical talent to the United States, and awe-inspiring artists such as Anton Rubenstein and Ignacy Paderewski astounded audiences in New York and Boston. These performers came to America as a direct result of piano dealers and manufacturers in the area who wanted great talents to create a musical culture in which many learned to enjoy and play music. These concerts truly did lead to an increased awareness and appreciation of music in areas of the country. E. Witzmann & Company had the same effect in Memphis: by offering a large quantity of musical instruments and publications to residents, the company had a huge impact on what type of music the residents of Memphis heard on a daily basis. While other companies of the period provided similar goods, none of them offered them at the quantity Witzmann did, nor for the duration that his store remained open. While other music stores closed after a short time in business, Witzmann & Company survived the

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Biographical Information, Witzmann-Gamble Papers.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Loesser, Men, Women, and Pianos, p. 531.

yellow fever epidemics, the loss of two partners, and periods of fierce competition. For much of its history, Witzmann & Company was one of the oldest and largest music houses in the southern United States.

Before Memphians heard Elvis Presley, Johnny Cash, and Rufus Thomas on the radio, they heard the music of Anton Strelezki at home and C.P. Winkler at church, played on a Knabe or Laffargue upright purchased at Witzmann's, the local piano store. The products and services provided by Witzmann had a profound effect on the unique musical culture of Memphis at the turn of the century. In making available "everything musical" for the citizens of early Memphis, Witzmann helped to lay the groundwork that made the city one of the musical centers of the United States in the twentieth century.

Appendix:
A Sample of Pieces Published by E. Witzmann & Co.
Housed in the Library of Congress Digital Archives

_		Publication	_
Composer	Title of Composition	Year	Genre
Arenal, Cayetano	Awake! Awake! Serenade	1884	Vocal Solo
Danks, H. P.	Heart's Sweet Song is Home	1881	Vocal Solo
Danks, H. P.	That Same Old Dream	1881	Solo With Chorus
Danks, H. P.	True To Thee	1881	Vocal Solo
Danks, H. P.	We'd Surely Miss the Baby	1880	Vocal Solo
Farmer, Henry S.	"Brown Eyes" Schottisch	1882	Piano Solo
Fitts, Mrs. Lou	Dolly Dean	1882	Piano Solo
Fitts, Mrs. Lou	The Obelisk Waltz	1881	Piano Solo
Fitts, Mrs. Lou	Valse Caprice	1884	Piano Solo
Marshall, Ben F.	Felicie Polka	1882	Piano Solo
Marshall, Ben F.	Harmocillia Waltz	1884	Piano Solo
Meyerbeer, Giacomo	Dinorah Waltz	1882	Piano Solo
Rutledge, John T.	Dolly Dean	1880	Solo With Chorus
Rutledge, John T.	Somewhere Over There	1880	Solo With Chorus
Rutledge, John T.	Sweetheart, Tell Me Why	1880	Solo With Chorus
Rutledge, John T.	You Gushing, Giddly Girls	1881	Solo With Chorus
Stradella, William	Te Deum	1881	Choral Anthem
Strelezki, Anton	By the Brook: Sketch	1884	Piano Solo
Strelezki, Anton	Dolly's Birthday: Nursery Tale	1882	Child's Piece
Strelezki, Anton	Don Quixote Galop	1882	Piano Solo
Strelezki, Anton	Dreams of Love: Ballad	1882	Vocal Solo
Strelezki, Anton	Pussy Cat, Pussy Cat	1882	Child's Piece
Strelezki, Anton	Slumber Song	1884	Piano Solo
	Reminiscence de l'Opera Charles		
Strelezki, Anton (Arr.)	XII	1882	Piano Solo
Strelezki, Anton (Arr.)	Gounod's Romeo and Juliet Waltz	1882	Piano Solo
Strelezki, Anton (Arr.)	Tarantelle from Francesca di Rimini	1882	Piano Solo
	The Dream That Knows No	.332	1 10110 2010
Taylor, Jos. F.	Waking	1880	Solo With Chorus
Waldteufel, E.	Far From Me	1882	Vocal Duet
Winkler, C. P.	New Recollections of Memphis	1884	Piano Solo
Winkler, C. P.	Sabbath Musings: First Series	1884	Piano or Organ Solo
Winkler, C. P.	Sabbath Musings: Second Series	1884	Piano or Organ Solo

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