

The “Dean of Memphis Musicians”: The Life and Work of Christopher Philip Winkler, 1824-1913

By Daniel Anglin

For more than fifty years, Christopher Philip Winkler influenced the music of Memphis, Tennessee. While musicologists and historians have focused their attention on the popular musical forms that emerged from the city during the twentieth century, Memphis, with a large number and wide variety of places of worship, has always had a thriving church music community. From 1855 to 1904, Winkler served several churches in the city, including St. Peter’s Catholic, St. Lazarus Episcopal, and Second Presbyterian, as well as Temple Israel, Children of Israel.¹ Throughout his life, Winkler composed a variety of works and, working with his friend E. Witzman, published a number of these compositions.² Most of his published works were solo piano pieces, but solo voice with piano accompaniment also accounted for a large number. Written between the 1840s and 1890s, these works display a compositional consistency. Through his compositions and his positions of leadership within the community, Winkler made a significant contribution to the musical life of Memphis. Despite his dominance of late nineteenth-century Memphis church music, Winkler has never received scholarly attention.

Early Life

Christopher Philip Winkler was born on March 26, 1824 in Gutenstetten, Mittelfranken in Bavaria, Germany, near Munich, and he was baptized at the Lutheran Church of St. John the Baptist on April 11, 1824.³ The family moved several times because of his father’s government-appointed teaching position. At age

¹ “Death Calls Dean of Memphis Musicians,” *The Commercial Appeal*, March 23, 1913.

² See the appendix for a complete list of Winkler’s works.

³ Baptismal record, St. John the Baptist Lutheran Church, Gutenstetten, Germany. Record is in the possession of the author.

seven, Winkler took up the organ while living in Hersbruck, and by the age of twelve, he had played at a large cathedral in Heidenheim, Hahnenkamm, where his mother reportedly heated bags of beans to warm his hands before he had to play.⁴ Winkler's older sister Emma, a musician in her own right, reportedly taught the children of Queen Victoria.⁵ Most likely, it was she who mentored her younger brother and urged him to enroll at the Royal Conservatory of Munich, where he eventually graduated third in his class.⁶ This school was

Courtesy of David Winkler.



Earliest known photograph of Christopher Philip Winkler, c. 1861, with his wife, Susan Margaret Bond Winkler, and sons William Bond Winkler (left) and Philip Mason Winkler (right).

under the direction of the court and probably headed by Franz Lachner at this time. Lachner worked for the court in Munich, served as the General Music Director for the Conservatory in the late 1830s, and composed in a similar style to that of his friend Franz Schubert. Although no longer in existence, the Royal Conservatory of Munich has loose ties to the present Richard Strauss Conservatory of Munich.

At the age of sixteen, Winkler came to the United States. In his Will and Testament of 1905, he recounted this trip of 1840: “Leaving home on foot and walking all the way to Bremen, . . . I took passage in a lighter for Bremerhaven and there was transferred with a big number of others, men mostly and a few women, to a brig which brought us after a voyage of fifty six days to Philadelphia, Pa.”⁷ After

⁴ Christopher Philip Winkler's Will and Testament, c. 1905, obtained from David Winkler, Nashville, Tennessee, and in the possession of the author.

⁵ Goldie Burgess to Dr. John E. Winkler, c. 1966-1968, obtained from David Winkler, Nashville, Tennessee, and in the possession of the author. Burgess was the daughter-in-law (wife of Marion Pope Winkler) and student of Christopher Philip Winkler.

⁶ Christopher Philip Winkler, “Music and Musicians,” *The Commercial Appeal*, 1890.

⁷ Christopher Philip Winkler's Will and Testament, c. 1905.

arriving in Philadelphia, Winkler spent six years in Virginia and North Carolina. His older brother Johann Adam Aigdius Winkler, who was also a musician and published composer, lived in Yancyville, North Carolina, and Christopher Philip spent much of his time with his sibling. In April 1841 both Christopher Philip and his brother became United States citizens.⁸ Johann Winkler went on to become a professor of music at Valley Union Seminary in Virginia.⁹ Later, when Johann Winkler went into the liquor business, his younger brother disowned him.¹⁰

Christopher Philip stayed in North Carolina and Virginia until the middle of 1845 when he took a new position in Jackson, Tennessee.¹¹ Hired to teach music and languages at the Female College in Jackson, Winkler traveled by buggy the entire length of North Carolina through Ashville, Knoxville, and Nashville.¹² These towns seemed extremely small to him, although he thought the country was beautiful. Until 1854 he taught at the Jackson Female College (later Lambuth College) and eventually became head of the music department. Apparently Winkler had grown tired of teaching some time before this, but his business ventures in Louisiana proved to be continuous failures. He moved to Louisiana at least once to pursue his mercantile aspirations, but this endeavor failed in large part because of the Louisiana yellow fever epidemic of 1853.¹³

On February 16, 1854, Winkler married Susan Margaret Bond, a student of his from the college. Bond had grown up on a plantation just north of Memphis, and in order for her to remain close to her family, the Winkler couple purchased from Bond's father a piece of property on the southeast corner of Dunlap and Poplar in Memphis. Wealthy and prominent, the Bond family owned a large plantation in the area near Bartlett, Tennessee.¹⁴

⁸ Naturalization records of J. A. E. Winkler and Christopher Philip Winkler, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, N.C.

⁹ J. A. E. Winkler, "Farewell! If Ever Fondest Prayer," (Baltimore: G. Willig, Jr.), 1850.

¹⁰ Burgess to Dr. John E. Winkler, c. 1966-1968.

¹¹ A possible Masonic influence might be found in Winkler's hiring in Jackson, Tennessee.

¹² "Masonic Sketch of Professor C. P. Winkler," *Fort Myers Press*, January 26, 1911.

¹³ "Masonic Sketch."

¹⁴ Goldie Burgess to Dr. John E. Winkler, c. 1966-1968.

Antebellum and Civil War Years

According to Winkler, at the time of his arrival in Memphis the quality and sophistication of Memphians' musical tastes stood in need of improvement. "When I came to the city, in 1855," he later wrote, "the prevailing style of music was 'Oh! Suzanna. Don't You Cry,' 'Old Dog Tray,' and 'My Old Kentucky Home.' Nothing else would go at concerts. The great moving power in those days were the choirs, although the music, except in the Catholic Church, was poor enough. There was very little improvement perceptible until after the war."¹⁵ In 1854, Winkler began teaching music at the Female College in Memphis, which later became St. Mary's Episcopal School. The first Episcopal school in the area, St. Mary's was directed by Rev. McPherson of Calvary Episcopal Church and was housed initially in Calvary Episcopal Church. Later, it rented space in the neighborhood until the Civil War. Winkler remained at this teaching position until 1867.¹⁶

Within a few years, Winkler took on another responsibility. In 1857 he became organist at Temple Israel, Children of Israel, then located on Main and Exchange. In 1883 the temple moved to Poplar Avenue between Second and Third streets.¹⁷ Winkler studied Jewish music before taking this job to learn the "peculiar character of the music of Jewish composers."¹⁸ Assisted by Leon Leopold, Winkler composed almost every service for the synagogue and had composed or arranged over 850 pieces by 1894.¹⁹

¹⁵ Winkler, "Music and Musicians," *The Commercial Appeal*, 1890. Winkler also noted some of the leading musicians in the city: "At that time some of our prominent musicians and singers were Nora Bradford (Chapsky), Mrs. Libbie Miles, Mrs. Jennie Boylan, Mrs. J. M. Keating, Mrs. Tomlinson, Miss Jennie Magenency, and her sister, Kate; Miss Sallie Lynch, Mrs. Voorheis, on the harp: Mr. Tomlinson, flute; Mr. Barbieri, guitar. Among the gentlemen singers were Peterson, Boyle, Gideon, Gage Bornemann, Bells. Mr. Ben Whaples, who died in 1866, was also a composer of music and a fine organist. This list would not be complete without the names of Leo Wheat, and Henry Farmer, one a fine organist and the other a flutist, who have obtained wide celebrity since then."

¹⁶ *Memphis Daily Appeal*, January 1, 1861. In 1861, the principal of St. Mary's, noted that "Winkler continues, as in years past, to control the music."

¹⁷ "Jewish Temple," *Memphis Public Ledger*, January 18, 1884. The organ at this new synagogue was a Hook and Hastings of Boston. It contained two manuals with twenty-six stops and 1183 pipes.

¹⁸ "Jewish Temple," *Memphis Public Ledger*.

¹⁹ "The Social Swim," clipping from unknown newspaper of Memphis, Tennessee, February 1894. Obtained from Lamar King, Memphis, Tennessee, and in the possession of the author.

The talents of these two men impressed the congregation to the point that on April 10, 1884, the congregation asked that the organ be played at every service.²⁰ The rabbi in 1889, named Lowenstein, reported that “The choir under the direction of Professor Winkler continues to charm all who attend our services.”²¹ During his forty-four years of service there, Winkler took only two breaks from his work at the synagogue. He went on a six-month vacation in the later part of his life to visit his son in Dewitt, Arkansas. The other break came during the Civil War.

Winkler’s activities during the Civil War, in fact, are unclear. During the naval battle for Memphis, fought on the Mississippi River during June 1862, a year after Tennessee seceded from the Union, the Confederate Army organized the Third Battalion Tennessee Infantry in Memphis. This was known as the Memphis Local Defense Battalion, and Winkler served as a private in company E.²² This battalion has no record of seeing action and was disbanded soon after the Battle of Memphis. At that point, Winkler may have left the city altogether. He remained in the city for at least part of the war, as newspaper sources reveal that he founded the Maennerchor, a men’s chorus, sometime between 1860 and 1865. Still, his exact whereabouts during the war period are difficult to determine. After conflict with the local authorities about its refusal to lower the Confederate flag, St. Mary’s School moved to Hernando, Mississippi, renting space from the Baptist Female College in 1863. The school stayed there until 1866. Winkler might have moved to Hernando with the school during this period, or perhaps to the Bond family’s properties in Dewitt, Arkansas, or their plantation north of Memphis. It is unlikely that the Winkler family stayed in town, as the Joe Bledsoe Census of 1865 has no record of the family in Memphis. The city directory also does not mention the Winklers again until 1866.

Some evidence supports the theory of Winkler moving to Hernando, at least until 1866. Although it does not mention Winkler specifically, an advertisement

²⁰ Ernest Lee, ed., “Temple Israel Parish Contributions,” *Our First Century*, (Memphis: Temple Israel, 1954).

²¹ Lee, “Temple Israel Parish Contributions.”

²² The United States Army Service Records, Film #M231, Roll 47.

published for St. Mary's School in 1865 from Hernando states that the price for music lessons for five months was thirty dollars. This was the same price of Winkler's lessons in Memphis.²³ Winkler could have taught in Hernando until 1866 when he was again listed in the city directory. No other music program is evident at St. Mary's until 1888 after the school moved back to Memphis, and Carrie Keating and Paul Schneider are listed as the music faculty.

Records also show that Winkler occasionally played the organ at Calvary Episcopal Church during this time. Located at the corner of Adams and Second, Calvary was considered the "mother" Episcopal Church for the Memphis region. Winkler was neither a permanent organist at Calvary at this time, nor was he a member or communicant of the church. Therefore, each record where he is present in the congregation suggests that he acted as a substitute organist. "Organist" written in parenthesis next to Winkler's name confirms this. Winkler was listed in the visitor's registry for a single day in 1858 and again in 1859.²⁴ No specific date was listed, however, for either of these engagements.²⁵ Calvary's records indicate that Winkler played the organ on two other specific dates, November 11, 1862²⁶ and December 9, 1863.²⁷ Since St. Mary's did not move until the end of 1863, and the Calvary log does not list Winkler playing after 1863, an argument can be made that Winkler did in fact follow St. Mary's School to Hernando, at least for part of 1864-1865.

As early as September 1865, Winkler served as the organist at St. Lazarus Episcopal Church, which was the fourth Episcopal Church to be admitted to the Diocese of Tennessee. Although admitted to the Diocese in 1867, the church existed

²³ Ellen Davies-Rogers, *The Great Book*, (Memphis, Tenn.: The Plantation Press, 1973), chap. 12. This advertisement was printed on the back of a Baptist Female College pamphlet.

²⁴ Calvary Parishioners ledger. Book 3EDR, p. 29 (book and page number refer to the organizational system by Ellen Davies-Rogers.); Calvary Parishioners ledger. Book 3, p. 32.

²⁵ *History of Shelby County and the City of Memphis*, (Nashville: Goodspeed Publishing Co.), 1887. The organ he played at Calvary was a small organ, which cost less than six thousand dollars.

²⁶ Calvary Parishioners ledger. Book 3, p. 39.

²⁷ Calvary Parishioners ledger. Book 3, p. 51.

at least three years before this time and was located on Madison between Third and Fourth Streets. When playing the inaugural concert on the First Baptist Church's organ on September 12, 1865, Winkler was listed as the organist at St. Lazarus.²⁸ Winkler, however, did not stay at this post long. In May 1866, St. Lazarus asked Major Henry Hampton to organize a choir and employ an organist.²⁹

The Post-Civil War Years

After the Civil War, Winkler began to increase his musical activity in the city. In the 1866 city directory, Winkler took out a personal advertisement that offered "Vocal and Instrumental lessons." He apparently offered piano, guitar, organ, and voice lessons. Winkler's residence, as well as a music store known as Katzenbach's, were listed as locations to leave orders. At that time, Katzenbach's was the only music store in town, located at 315 Main Street.³⁰ Other information compiled from the 1865 Bledsoe Census indicates that only two music professors were in residence in the city and only ten music teachers worked in Memphis. Winkler is not included in this list, but these statistics demonstrate the limited musical life of Memphis at this time. This advertisement is the only one that appears in the city directory, but photos and other newspaper accounts reveal that Winkler continued private music instruction throughout his life in Memphis. *The Great Book of Calvary Episcopal Church* states that almost all prominent singers received instruction from Winkler.

In the late 1860s, Winkler served as director of several important musical societies in Memphis. In 1866 he took over the Mendelssohn Society from Professor Sabatsky. Founded in 1865, this vocal club was credited with the highest

²⁸ "Something About the New Organ in the Baptist Church," *The Memphis Argus*, September 13, 1865.

²⁹ *The Commercial Appeal*, March 13, 1948; March 13, 1948; April 7 1948. Jefferson Davis, former President of the Confederate States, was a vestryman at this church and most of the parishioners were Confederate Veterans. There was much controversy over the church during and after the Civil War due to the "northern" Rector and mostly "southern" congregation. The yellow fever epidemic in 1878 destroyed the parish and the church was forced to merge with Grace Episcopal Church.

³⁰ T.M. Halpin, compiler, *Memphis City Directory 1866*, (Memphis, Tenn.: Bingham, Williams & Co. Publishers, 1866).

trained and most cultured musicians in the city. He held the position of director for three years until Ernest Perring replaced him. Later, he directed the Mozart Society, where he was preceded by Lee Herzog and succeeded by Morse Downs of New York. The Mozart Society birthed the idea of a “conservatory of music for Memphis,” which eventually became the Memphis School of Music.³¹ The Memphis School of Music later became the Music Department of Southwestern at Memphis (now Rhodes College). The Mozart Society is credited with giving the largest spring music festival before 1890. All of the city’s musicians worked together through the Mozart Society.

After the war Winkler began his lengthy tenure at St. Peter’s Catholic Church. Professor Ben Whaples, the organist-choirmaster at St. Peters, passed away in 1866, and Winkler resigned from St. Lazarus shortly afterwards. Winkler then began a lengthy tenure at St. Peter’s, sometime in either 1867 or 1868.³² The historically Irish Catholic Church located at the corner of Third and Adams was founded in 1840 and handed over to the Dominican order in 1846. The present stone building where Winkler played was built around the old church between 1852 and 1855. The St. Peter’s organ was built by Henry Erben of New York, N. Y. and had three manuals and two and one-third octaves of pedals. Twelve stops were on the great organ; ten stops were on the choir; eleven stops were on the swell; five stops were on the pedal, and the organ contained eleven mechanical stops.³³ The organ was made so that both bellows could be blown and all stops played at once. The two thousand pipes were built at a cost of \$8,500 with a \$1500 transportation cost. This massive organ was reportedly the most impressive in the West at this time.³⁴ Father Clarkson facilitated the contract for the organ and hired Winkler. Mrs. Ella Dyche also assisted Winkler in this position. Credited with having the best choir in Memphis, Winkler wrote or arranged most of the music performed at the church.³⁵ Because St. Peter’s had the best organ in Memphis at the time, people would come

³¹ Winkler, “Music and Musicians,” *The Commercial Appeal*, 1890.

³² “Musical Reminiscences,” *Morning News*, April 4, 1902.

³³ “The New Organ and the Choir at St. Peter’s,” *The Memphis Bulletin*, December 11, 1864.

³⁴ “The New Organ and the Choir at St. Peter’s.”

to the church just to hear it. Winkler orchestrated and arranged music to suit the singers of the all-volunteer choir, who brought great modern and classic works to the congregation and the community.³⁶

According to the city directory, Winkler began teaching at St. Agnes Academy in 1867-1868. This is the only year he is listed in this capacity. The most probable explanation for the one-year position is that part of the organist/choirmaster position at St. Peter's required a teaching position at St. Agnes. Changes in his contract or the difficulty of holding both positions might also account for his short-term employment. In 1869 Winkler also began working at Benson's Music store on 317 Main Street.³⁷ He did so until 1880 when he is listed as working at 294 Main, the location of H. G. Hollenberg, a company that published some of Winkler's compositions.

Winkler also served as director of the Opera Club, which produced such works as "Fra, Diavolo" which toured to Nashville, "Der Freischutz," and "Dorothy." Winkler wrote and orchestrated each part from a piano reduction.³⁸ "Dorothy" was supposedly orchestrated by hand in only one week's time. It is possible that other operas, even operas originally composed by Winkler, could have been performed. According to contemporary accounts, these operas "were not surpassed by professional troupes."³⁹

In 1872, Winkler began to work closely with an old friend, E. Witzmann, whom he had met in Jackson, Tennessee. An interview with a student of Winkler reveals that the two knew each other perhaps as far back as the Royal Conservatory in Munich.⁴⁰ According to the 1870 city directory, Witzmann was a language and music teacher at Amour Institute, and in 1872 he opened E. Witzmann & Co. with his partner E. Levy. The store was located in the Adams Building on 221 Second Street in Memphis. Initially, they only sold pianos, but eventually the store

³⁵ "Musical Reminiscences."

³⁶ "Musical Reminiscences."

³⁷ "Bygone Days," *The Commercial Appeal*, November 1, 1994.

³⁸ Winkler, "Music and Musicians," *The Commercial Appeal*, 1890.

³⁹ Davies-Rodgers, *The Great Book*, 434.

⁴⁰ Goldie Burgess to Dr. John Winkler, c. 1966-1968.

published music and sold music supplies, pianos, and organs. Soon, Witzmann began publishing Winkler's compositions. At this point, however, Witzmann was known as the business musician and Winkler as the "Nestor among the musical fraternity."⁴¹

In 1881 Winkler's house became annexed into the city and became 448 Poplar Avenue. In 1882 Witzmann & Co. was taken over by Emile Witzmann and Emile Levy, the daughters of the original owners, and the store continued to expand from 223-225 Second Street. This is also the first year in which music publishing is listed as a function of the business. In 1887 Winkler is listed as working at E. Witzmann & Co.

Courtesy of David Winkler.



The Professor with six female music students, c. 1900.

at 223 Second Street and residing at 457 Poplar. According to the records, Winkler lived with his sons at 92 Virginia Avenue in 1888.

In 1888, while still working at St. Peter's, Winkler organized a concert at First Presbyterian Church to display the new organ, made by Hook and Hastings of Boston. Both Winkler and his assistant Ella Dyche played this \$3,000 organ in the concert. It appears Dyche would play the organ in many of the choir pieces so that Winkler could either sing or conduct. Winkler played the Overture to *Semiramis*, *Traumerei-Reverie*, *Memphis March* (one of his own compositions), *Prayer and Triumphal March*, and many others. The St. Peter's choir sang the "Kyrie" from Mozart's *Twelfth Mass*. People lauded the concert as a huge success.⁴²

⁴¹ "Musical Reminiscences."

⁴² "An Inaugural Organ Recital," *The Memphis Daily Avalanche*, February 17, 1888.

In 1889, Second Presbyterian Church, then located at Beale and Main Street, hired Winkler for a one-year contract. The contract mentions him working for the Jewish synagogue, but not St. Peter's. The salary at Second Presbyterian was sixty dollars per month, with an additional five dollars for extra services. The church found that it was more economical for them to hire Winkler and a single cantor than to pay a large choir. Sometimes Winkler worked with a quartet and at other times with a soloist, but the elders of the church were always pleased with the music. Winkler was very strict with this choir and actually published a contract stating the duties and lifestyle mandatory for his singers. Winkler left this position sometime in early 1892.⁴³

In 1890 the Maennerchor, a choir society, presented C. P. Winkler with an ebony baton mounted with gold, engraved with the following: "Presented to Professor C. P. Winkler by the active members of the Memphis Maennerchor."⁴⁴ Louis G. Fritz welcomed Winkler: "Let me, nevertheless in view of the present exalted position of our chorus under the leadership of Professor C. P. Winkler, pay tribute to that man who, as the society's first director, with but the accompaniment of a simple guitar, instilled its members with an enthusiasm that perhaps surpassed their artistic efforts, but deserves the fullest recognition at our hands now."⁴⁵ As this is the final newspaper reference to Winkler's formal relationship with the Maennerchor, Winkler probably retired from this chorus at this time.

Winkler may have retired at this time from St. Peter's as well, before he contracted with Second Presbyterian. There is no mention of Winkler at St. Peter's between 1890 and 1894. At Christmas in 1890, Winkler played at St. Joseph's Catholic Church, located on George, near Shelby, and the church choir performed Giorza's *Mass, No. 3*. The choir, with new singers, was under the instruction of

⁴³ Second Presbyterian Session Minutes. 1889-1891. Winkler probably played in the new Second Presbyterian Church only a few times. The new church, located at Hernando and Pontotoc, contained the largest organ at that time in Memphis. Winkler's wife Susan moved her membership to Second Presbyterian from the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination. She is never mentioned at any other church where Winkler played. *Second Presbyterian Ledger*, 1889.

⁴⁴ *Memphis Daily Commercial*, July 21, 1890.

⁴⁵ *Memphis Daily Commercial*, July 22, 1890.

Winkler.⁴⁶ Easter at St. Joseph's lists the performance of Giorza's *Second Mass*. Singers Louise Steinbrecher, Lillie Smith, Laura Thomas, L. Pelegrin, J. R. Ryan, Oscar Barfus, Matthew Dillon, Matthews, and Anderson were listed by name.⁴⁷

In the later part of 1892 Winkler began to play organ at Calvary Episcopal Church. On October 18, Winkler played a wedding at Calvary⁴⁸ and then at the Easter services on March 26, 1893, Winkler conducted and Ella Dyche accompanied on the organ.⁴⁹ The second break from the Jewish synagogue occurred in July of 1893. For six weeks Winkler vacationed on his farm in Arkansas. Although there is no mention of a replacement for the Jewish synagogue, Dyche replaced him as organist at Calvary.⁵⁰ Winkler returned to both positions, but left Calvary early in 1894.

In early 1894 Winkler returned to St. Peter's, where he remained for the next seven years. Some of the choir's repertoire included Mozart's *Twelfth Mass*; Wilcken's *Ave Maria*; Giorza's *First* and *Third Mass*; *Date Sonitum Pastores*; Haydn's *Mass No. 2* in C; Rossini's *Stabat Mater*; and many of Winkler's original compositions.⁵¹ These original compositions were often settings of Psalms, but many were anthems, offertories, or sections of the mass. Winkler often composed settings for Vespers and of the *Magnificat*.⁵² Winkler consistently orchestrated the parts for small instrumental forces of about eight players for each mass. One account indicates that Winkler composed on a Thursday night, wrote out the orchestra parts Friday night, and performed the work on Sunday.⁵³

Winkler used his farm in Arkansas as his summer home, but would come back

⁴⁶ *The Appeal-Avalanche*, December 24, 1890.

⁴⁷ *The Appeal-Avalanche*, April 16, 1892.

⁴⁸ *The Appeal-Avalanche*, October 1892.

⁴⁹ *The Appeal-Avalanche*, October 18, 1892; March 26, 1893.

⁵⁰ *The Public Ledger*, July 3, 1893.

⁵¹ *The Commercial Appeal*, September 30, 1894; October 13, 1895; December 22, 1895; March 31, 1896; April 5, 1896; May 17, 1896.

⁵² *The Commercial Appeal*, May 30, 1897.

⁵³ *The Commercial Appeal*, April 2, 1899. A few choir members under the direction of Winkler include a Mrs. Plummer, Mrs. L. Steinbrecker, J. Hewitt, N. O'Donnell, N. Cunningham, N. Lunn, Mrs. Grove, Mrs. Mette, Mrs. Maydwell, Mrs. I. Eall, A. Dean, I. Pergeney, S. Viser, E. R. Johnson, W. Sonfield, J. F. Ryan, L. Hirsch, J. P. Carey, W. Wood, and S. M. Wright. *The Commercial Appeal*, December 23, 1894.

every fall to play for St. Peter's and the Jewish synagogue. Many times he would return with new compositions. By August 1896 the Jewish synagogue boasted of Winkler's twenty-two different complete services and thirty-plus anthems.⁵⁴ In 1901 Winkler retired from the Jewish synagogue and St. Peter's Church. He worked at Witzmann & Co. as a counter clerk until 1903, when he moved in with his son John L. Winkler at 216 Desoto Road. By 1904 he permanently moved to his plantation in Arkansas. Toward the end of his career, Winkler offered this assessment of the musical life of Memphis:

At the present time, while there is a good deal of advancement individually in instrumental as well as vocal music, there has not been lately . . . any concerted effort for the production of standard works. The energy that is frittered away in the formation of so many little clubs, while productive of good results in a small way, is subversive of great achievements. We have many fine singers, especially among the ladies, but a large number of them are unwilling to sink their individuality for the performance of great works. We have at the present time better orchestra facilities than at any time since 1878, and by using the orchestra here as a nucleus and bringing performers on such instruments as are not here (such as oboe, bassoon, etc.) we could perform the orchestra parts of any opera or oratorio.⁵⁵

Memphis music, in other words, had progressed quite a bit since his arrival in 1854.

A Freemason, Winkler devoted more time to this organization toward the end of his life. He attained the majority vote to enter the brotherhood on March 26, 1845, and in May of that year, while still in North Carolina, he was initiated into the order after passing the required trials. Winkler then immediately headed to

⁵⁴ *The Commercial Appeal*, August 31, 1896.

⁵⁵ Winkler, "Music and Musicians," *The Commercial Appeal*, 1890.

Jackson, Tennessee, where, as aforementioned, he worked as a music and language instructor. Due to the short amount of time between the trip and his initiation as a Freemason, the Masonic connection may have helped Winkler obtain his job there. Winkler described his life as a Mason in his “Masonic Sketch of Professor C. P. Winkler” written for the *Fort Myers Press* in 1911. St. Elmo Commandery knighted Winkler after successfully performing music for the Knights Templar convocation in Memphis. This was well after Winkler’s retirement in 1901 due to hearing loss. In spite of this hearing loss, Winkler furnished music for the Angerona Lodge, Royal and Select Council, St. Elmo, and other Commanderies. When Winkler agreed to perform music for the new Scottish Rite Masons in Memphis, he was immediately advanced to the thirty-second degree of Masons. Winkler was a member of Angerona Lodge Number 168, St. Elmo’s Commandery Number 15 of the Knights Templar, and Tennessee Consistory Number 1.⁵⁶

Winkler received much acclaim for his role in raising the musical standards of Memphis. A soloist dedicated her performance to Winkler as her teacher and friend during her 1896 performance of Rossini’s *Stabat Mater* in Memphis.⁵⁷ In addition to the ebon baton that the Maennerchor presented to him, Winkler received a piano from Temple Israel, a large rug from St. Peter’s, and a gold watch from the Mendelssohn Club.⁵⁸ The citizens of Dewitt, Arkansas, meanwhile, presented Winkler with a golden-headed cane for his fiftieth wedding anniversary. Known as the “Dean of Memphis Musicians,”⁵⁹ he returned to Memphis for a short time in 1909. A newspaper article announced his arrival to the entire community.⁶⁰ On March 22, 1913 Winkler died at the age of eighty-eight—just three days before his eighty-ninth birthday—while visiting his son William in Ft. Myers, Florida. Effie Henderson McAdow, granddaughter and student of Winkler, recalls “he died sitting in his rocking chair by the fire...his wife sitting next to him in a smaller rocker with

56 “Masonic Sketch of Professor C. P. Winkler,” *Fort Myers Press*, January 26, 1911;

“Death Calls Dean of Memphis Musicians,” *The Commercial Appeal*, March 23, 1913.

57 *The Commercial Appeal*, February 23, 1897. Another student named John Berger moved to New York and reportedly did very well singing in churches there.

58 Will and Testament of C. P. Winkler, March 8, 1903, obtained from David Winkler, Nashville, Tennessee, and in the possession of the author.

59 “Death Calls Dean of Memphis Musicians.”

her hand on his.” William Winkler had brought some ice cream. William’s wife “got up and fixed a dish for him [C. P. Winkler] and brought it and pressed it to his lips and he didn’t move. She touched his lips again and shook him, and she said, ‘O Willie,’ and my father went [over to him]... and he was dead.”⁶¹ His Will and Testament left most of all his belongings to his wife with a few exceptions, such as his violin, Masonic books, and gold watch.

Winkler’s Compositions

Winkler’s first works were published in 1848, only eight years after his arrival in the United States. He published many piano solo dances, at least one minstrel or “Ethiopian Song,” and solo voice pieces with piano accompaniment. His publishers included L. Lemaire, Cincinnati; P. Flavio, Memphis; Balmer and Webster, St. Louis; A. Fiot, Philadelphia; and James A. McClure, Nashville; and finally, E. Witzmann & Co., Memphis. His publishers follow a western trend, as Winkler moved west towards Memphis.

Examples of Winkler’s early piano works include the *Recollections of Memphis-Romanc*, *Bluff City Gallop*, *The Mountain Waltz*, and *Old Maid’s Polka*.⁶² The most common element in Winkler’s work is that of octave doubling. As seen in Example A, the first beat of each measure in both clefs is played an octave apart. The third beat in the second measure of the treble clef is also played in octaves. Measure one has octave A’s played in the treble clef and octave D’s played in the bass clef. These are the tonic, D, and dominant, A, which are highlighted by the repeated note at the octave. Example B also has the left hand on beat one playing two notes an octave apart—once again emphasizing the tonic F and the dominant C. In many of Winkler’s compositions the octave doubling highlights the tonic and dominant.

⁶⁰ “Music and Musicians,” *The Commercial Appeal*, November 14, 1909.

⁶¹ Author’s interview with Effie Henderson McAdow, daughter of William Winkler, granddaughter and student of Christopher Philip Winkler.

⁶² See appendix for a complete list of works



Example A: Christopher Philip Winkler, *The Mountain Waltz*,
(Cincinnati, Ohio: L. Lemaire, 1848), mm. 1-3.



Example B: Christopher Philip Winkler, "No. 1 Romance,"
Recollections of Memphis, (Memphis, Tenn.: P. Flavio, 1854), mm. 1-2.



Example C: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Old Maids' Polka*,
(Memphis, Tenn.: P. Flavio, 1852), mm. 1-4.

Example C shows one of the best examples of the repetition octave doubling. Each time a single note is played, one or both hands are playing two notes an octave apart. Measure one, beats one and two in the bass; measure two, beat one in the bass, and beat two in the treble; and measure four, beats one and two in the bass, all show the repeated octave being played. This technique could be directly related to Winkler's large hands. In addition beat two in measures two and three in the left

hand show an octave repeated above the root position triad. The bass consistently emphasizes the octave in these four measures.

These three examples demonstrate another Winkler trait. In Example A the first beat is played in a low register with a relatively thin texture—only two notes. The second and third beats are both richer and thicker in texture using a second inversion triad. Example B shows the same effect in the bass where the second half of beat one is a single C; beat two is a higher register F and A. This repeated pattern continues. Example C shows this same effect with a low, less-dense chord on beat one and a thicker chord on beat two. This waltz or simple-triple meter effect is common throughout Winkler’s early work. Most piano pieces were in triple meters with few exceptions.

In Winkler’s early art songs, the octaves are found along with arpeggios of triads. All of these triads are consonant. Most often, first inversion or root position arpeggios are used. In Example D, easily recognizable are the arpeggios of the G, B-flat, e-flat. The treble is once again playing the tonic E-flat in two octaves.

The image shows a musical score for a song. The top staff is the vocal line with lyrics: "Who art thou, beau-ti-ful be-ing That is". The bottom two staves are the piano accompaniment. The right hand plays a melody, and the left hand plays arpeggiated chords. The tempo/mood is marked "legato. p".

Example D: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Beautiful Queen*,
(Cincinnati, Ohio: L. Lemaire, 1850), mm. 5-6.

The image shows a musical score for a piano piece. The title "Simplice." is written above the first staff. The score is in 6/8 time and features a piano accompaniment. The right hand plays a melody, and the left hand plays arpeggiated chords. The tempo/mood is marked "Legato.".

Example E: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Thou Art With Me*.
(Memphis, TN: P. Flavio, 1848), mm. 1-3.

2:V When the ro - sy foot of morning

Dearest! thou art with me ever

Example F: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Thou Art With Me*,
(Memphis, Tenn.: P. Flavio: 1848), mm. 7-10.

Example E shows the arpeggios combined with another common effect Winkler used. Here the melody is being played in the right hand, and the accompaniment is entirely in the left hand. Winkler often would have the tonic of the chord hold while the chord is arpeggiated—third, fifth, root. This creates the octave being played once again in one hand. The triple meter is shown in Example F showing a consistency in composition between piano and vocal compositions.

These three characteristics listed above occur throughout Winkler's compositions. A late composition from 1910 seen in Example G shows these same aspects. All the measures show the octave doubling in the right hand, and the waltz-bass accompaniment figuration. Example H shows a work from 1886 from *Sabbath Musings*. This two series collection of sacred works was originally published in 1885 with vocal works being added later in 1886 and 1887. Example H, measure 3, shows the arpeggios where a single note is held while the broken chord is sounded below. Sometimes two notes, as is common in measures one and two, are held while melodic material is sounded above. The remainder of these pieces are also laid out in much the same manner.



Example G: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Royal Palm Theatre Waltz*,
(1910), mm. 1-6.



Example H: Christopher Philip Winkler, *The Fisherman's Prayer*,
(Memphis, Tenn.: E. Witzmann & Co.,1886), mm. 1-3.

A fourth compositional characteristic is found in Example G and I, combining octave doubling with an ascending or descending scale. This is the most common way in which he establishes tonality. This is often seen in Winkler's work at the very opening of a piece. Measure three in Example G starts the downward scale with the e2 and continues to G and g1. Although mostly seen in his middle to late work, even this piece in Example I from 1850 demonstrates the scale. Both right and left hands begin a downward scale to establish C Major, each hand playing two octaves. The right hand then proceeds to suggest the dominant of G. The left hand has now begun to play ideas reminiscent of a waltz-bass accompaniment figuration.



Example I: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Victory Quick Step*,
 (Cincinnati, Ohio: L. Lemaire, 1850), mm. 1-6.

Another composition of note is *Come Along Gals, Won't You Come*, subtitled “Ethiopian Song.” This minstrel song, seen in Example J, displays the waltz accompaniment style, alternating the thin and thick texture and the arpeggios, but is strikingly simpler in difficulty and thickness of texture. This is arranged for a four-part choir with piano accompaniment. Written in 1852, this is Winkler’s first example of part writing for voices. A style that is found in his later choir works is the use of parallel sixths and thirds for extended periods. This makes the piece very easy to learn, but less harmonically interesting.

Example J: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Come Along Gals, Won't You Come*,
 (St. Louis, Mo.: Balmer & Weber, 1852), mm. 25-27.

Example K shows an example of such consistent parallel thirds. This is a common characteristic found in Winkler's part writing, but there are exceptions to this simple style where the level of writing is more difficult.

The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a single treble clef staff with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are: "sim - plest form of speech That in - fact light can". The vocal melody consists of a series of chords, each with a third interval between the notes, creating a consistent parallel thirds texture. The piano accompaniment is written in two staves (treble and bass clefs) and provides harmonic support for the vocal line.

Example K: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Prayer*,
(Typeset manuscript, n.p., 1904), mm. 38-42.⁶³

Winker commonly used consonant triads with very few non-chord tones. When found, these non-chord tones are most often passing tones or neighbor tones with few, if any, exceptions. Chromatic modulation is rare, and when a modulation to the dominant or subdominant occurs, a full key signature change is shown. All modulations are accomplished through pivot chords and are usually only to modulate to the dominant, subdominant or relative mode. Example L shows an example modulating to the subdominant through a direct modulation. This occurs after a full cadence on F and then a new melodic idea beginning in B-flat. This becomes the dominant in the new key of B-flat. Some modal mixture is used in pieces, but these are used to help shift modes between major and minor keys.

⁶³ Accompaniment was written by David Winkler, great-great-grandson of C. P. Winkler, 2003.



Example L: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Lily Gallopade*,
 (Philadelphia, Pa.: A. Fiot, 1851), mm. 34-35.

A few stylistic exceptions in Winkler's compositions are the frequent use of complete dominant seventh chords most often in root position. Winkler often uses the thick texture of a full seventh chord in the Waltz. Example A, measures two and three show this trait. This also suggests that Winkler had large hands that were capable of playing virtuosity. The dominant seventh is also found as a third inversion with a missing fifth. This chord is seen in Winkler's compositions and is commonly used by other composers at this time. This characteristic creates a slight dissonance in the accompaniment by accenting the major second between the root and seventh of the chord, while remaining in the principle key. This creates a strong cadential feeling, and Winkler uses this at half cadences. Final cadences are the only times other chromatic chords are used. There are only a few examples of French-augmented sixth chords and German-augmented sixth chords in his compositions.

Winkler's overall compositional style, including harmonic choices, melodies, and genres, did not change significantly throughout his life. The melodies and overall formal plans began to become longer and more complicated, but this did not lead to harmonic innovations such as those taking place in Europe at this time. Winkler, however, preferred to adapt traits of the late Classical style and simplify it into a unique American style, which contained strong rhythmic features and simple harmonies.

Fond Memories, a nocturne written in 1877 is the most complex and "romantic"

sounding piece, although it is still much simpler than the European equivalent. Example M displays the second of four key changes in this work. The piece is mostly consonant but does have a freer style of composition than his other works.



Example M: Christopher Philip Winkler, *Fond Memories*,
(H. G. Hollenberg, 1877), mm. 65-69.

His later piano pieces hinted to an even earlier Baroque style of long spinning melodies with a clear harmony in broken chords. Even the virtuosity these pieces display hints to a Baroque style while still fitting in a sonata, rounded binary, or minuet and trio form. It is obvious by the contextual information that his music was simple for the masses to understand but also virtuosic in order to impress listeners.

His later piano pieces are consistent with his early pieces but are actually a step backwards in complexity from his middle compositions. This could suggest a trend of composers of returning to a simpler style in order to retain audiences. Harmonically, only the middle compositions contain augmented sixth chords or modulations to other than the dominant or subdominant. The use of seventh chords occurs in most of Winkler's works, but in the middle period of composition, these are found in third inversion in order to use the major second between the root and seventh to create dissonance. This practice is not found in Winkler's early or later compositions. Many of these later pieces were written as etudes for his grandchildren, which explains their simple formal design and lack of virtuosic elements. One inference is that during the middle period of composition the performer intended was Winkler himself. The pieces written early in Winkler's career were likely written strictly for publication and are therefore easily understood

and performed by the public. Later in his life his compositions were for family members who were beginners at the piano. Without many surviving examples of his literature for the Jewish synagogue or Christian churches, it is difficult to account for his compositional style during the years of church service.

Winkler's Legacy

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Christopher Philip Winkler was an integral figure in the development of a musical culture in Memphis, Tennessee. Winkler served as organist at almost every major church in Memphis during this time, and he profoundly shaped the music heard by the city's population, particularly its church-goers. Not only was his choir at St. Peter's Catholic Church the most popular to hear, each of his successive choirs were also highly acclaimed and drew large audiences. The particular influence of Winkler can be seen in his compositions, for not only did he perform the standard pieces, Winkler wrote music as well. The western frontier of Memphis, as described by Winkler, was primarily exposed to the popular music of the day. This music was simple harmonically and was most often a style of dance music. Winkler's music exhibited these traits but progressed beyond the standard "O, Susanna." Both his secular dance pieces and the sacred music he performed in the church elevated the tastes and shaped the preferences and expectations of Memphians. As one of only three music professors in the city at the time, Christopher Philip Winkler encouraged and satisfied the musical desires of Memphians while raising the level of their musical education. Among musically-inclined Memphians, his legacy should neither be ignored nor forgotten.

Appendix: Winkler's Works by Genre

Date	Title		Genre/ Orchestration	Publisher	Obtained
1854	<i>Le Reve</i>		Guitar	G. W. Brainard & Co.- Louisville	Library of Congress
	<i>Orpheus</i>	No. 1, 2, 3.	Guitar Solos		Not Recovered
	<i>Mozart's Twelfth Mass</i>	Arrangement	Orchestra	Manuscript	St. Peter's Church
	<i>Untitled March for E Major</i>		Organ	Manuscript	David Winkler
1848	<i>The Georgianna Polka</i>		Piano Solo	L. Lemaire- Cincinnati; G. P. Reed & Co.- Boston	Library of Congress
1848	<i>The Mountain Waltz</i>		Piano Solo	L. Lemaire- Cincinnati; G. P. Reed & Co.- Boston	David Winkler
1850	<i>Tonawanda Quick Step</i>		Piano Solo	L. Lemaire- Cincinnati; G. P. Reed & Co.- Boston	Library of Congress
1850	<i>Victory Quick Step</i>		Piano Solo	L. Lemaire- Cincinnati; G. P. Reed & Co.- Boston	Library of Congress
1851	<i>Lily Gallopade</i>		Piano Solo	A. Fiot- Philadelphia	Library of Congress
1852	<i>Old Maids' Polka</i>		Piano Solo	P. Flavio- Memphis, TN	Library of Congress
1854	<i>Recollections of Memphis No.1</i>	Romance	Piano Solo	P. Flavio- Memphis, TN	Library of Congress
1854	<i>Recollections of Memphis No.2</i>	Bluff City Galop	Piano Solo	P. Flavio- Memphis, TN	Library of Congress
1860	<i>Recollections of Memphis</i>	A Romanza	Piano Solo	Jas. A. McClure- Nashville 1889- E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Mississippi Valley Collection, Univ. of Memphis/ David Winkler
1877	<i>Fond Memories</i>	Nocturne	Piano Solo	H. G. Hollenberg- Memphis, TN	Library of Congress
1884	<i>Charity</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1884	<i>Evening Prayer</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1884	<i>Faith</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered

Date	Title		Genre/ Orchestration	Publisher	Obtained
1884	<i>Gratitude</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1884	<i>Heavenly Grace</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1884	<i>Hope</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1884	<i>Humility</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1884	<i>Morning Prayer</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1884	<i>New Recollections of Memphis</i>		Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Mississippi Valley Collection, UofM
1884	<i>Resignation</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1884	<i>Trust in Providence</i>	Sabbath Musings	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1902	<i>La Rose de Manila</i>	Valse brillante et facile	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	David Winkler
1902	<i>Panama Two-Step</i>		Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	David Winkler
1904	<i>The Golden Wedding March</i>		Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	David Winkler
1904	<i>The Herdsman's Call</i>		Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	David Winkler
1904	<i>The Return of the Heroes</i>	Grand March	Piano Solo	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	David Winkler
1907	<i>Le Chant angelique</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1909	<i>Heart Throbs</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1909	<i>La Seperation, l'absence et le retour</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1910	<i>Contentement and Cheerfulness</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1910	<i>Farewell to the Dying Year 1910</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1910	<i>Royal Palm Theatre Waltz</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler

Date	Title		Genre/ Orchestration	Publisher	Obtained
1911	<i>Dance of the Wood Nymphs</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1911	<i>La Solitude</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1911	<i>Surprise Waltz</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1911	<i>Waltz</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Blue Ribbon March</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Coon-Hollow</i>	Arrangement	Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Cross-purposes</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Dixie</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Duettino</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Ft. Myers Two-Step</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Get There Gallop</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>High School March-Two Step</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Isthmus Two-Step (Same as Return of the Heroes)</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>La douce Melancolie</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>La Felicite</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>La joyuse Gitana</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Pensees de Crepuscule</i>		Piano Solo	Theodore Presser Music-Philadelphia/Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>The Cuckoo-Alarm Clock</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>The Leaper of Jumber</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>The Matin Bell, The Chapel Bell</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>The Stars</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>Untitled March</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler

Date	Title		Genre/ Orchestration	Publisher	Obtained
	<i>Untitled March in Ab Major-Two Step</i>		Piano Solo	Manuscript	David Winkler
1902	<i>Grand Military March</i>		Piano, 4 Hands	Typeset by David Winkler	David Winkler
	<i>Out of the Deep</i>		SATB	Manuscript	Memphis/ Shelby County Room, Memphis Public Library
	<i>When Oppressed By Care</i>		Solo Voice/ Chorus	Manuscript	Memphis/ Shelby County Room Not Recovered
1886	<i>Prayer</i>	Sabbath Musings	Vocal Duet, Solo, Chorus	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1904	<i>Prayer</i>	Sabbath Musings?	Vocal Quartet	Typeset by David Winkler	David Winkler
1889	<i>Jesus, Savior of My Soul</i>		Vocal Solo, duet, quartet	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	David Winkler
1848	<i>Thou Art With Me</i>		Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	P. Flavio- Memphis, TN	Library of Congress
1850	<i>Beautiful Queen</i>		Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	L. Lemaire- Cincinnati; G. P. Reed & Co.- Boston	Library of Congress
1850	<i>I Think of Thee! Wilt Thou Think of Me?</i>		Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	L. Lemaire- Cincinnati; G. P. Reed & Co.- Boston	Library of Congress
1852	<i>Come Along Gals, Won't You Come</i>	Ethiopean Song	Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	Balmer & Weber-St. Louis	Library of Congress
1886	<i>The Fisherman's Prayer</i>	Sabbath Musings	Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	David Winkler
1887	<i>Faithful, O Father</i>	Sabbath Musings	Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1887	<i>Hear Us, O Father (Ave Maria)</i>	Sabbath Musings	Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN/ Typeset version by David Winkler	Library of Congress
1887	<i>Lord, in Thy Mercy. O Salutaris</i>	Sabbath Musings	Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered

Date	Title		Genre/ Orchestration	Publisher	Obtained
1887	<i>To Thee, O Father (Ave Maria/O Salutaris)</i>	Sabbath Musings	Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
1906	<i>I Am a True American Citizen</i>		Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	W. H. Willis & Co.-Cincinnati/ Chicago	David Winkler
	<i>Far from My Thoughts (Ave Maria)</i>		Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	E. Witzmann & Co.-Memphis, TN	Not Recovered
	<i>In the Cross of Christ I Glory</i>		Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	Manuscript	David Winkler
	<i>My God, My Father, and My Lord</i>		Vocal Solo/ piano Acc.	Typeset by David Winkler	David Winkler



These scenes of the Memphis Riot of May 1866 were published soon afterward in Harper's Weekly, a popular nineteenth-century periodical. Such images helped galvanize northern public opinion against the Memphis rioters.

Above: Newly freed former slaves flee from attacking whites. Below: Rioters burn a schoolhouse for freedpersons.

