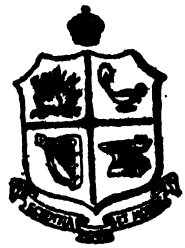

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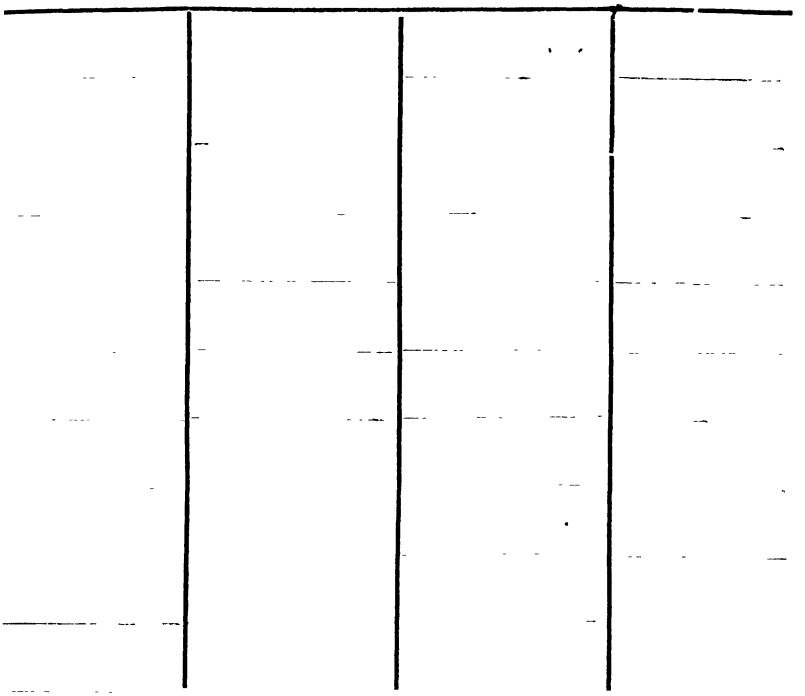

OUR AMERICAN MUSIC

Three Hundred Years of It

By the Same Author

ETHELBERT NEVIN

OUR CONTEMPORARY COMPOSERS

A PROGRAM OUTLINE OF AMERICAN MUSIC

Francis Hopkinson.
(See page 34.)

OUR AMERICAN MUSIC

Three Hundred Years of It

BY

JOHN TASKER HOWARD

THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY

PUBLISHERS - - - NEW YORK

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BY JOHN TASKER HOWARD

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TO

THE TWO

MRS. JOHN TASKER HOWARDS,

MY WIFE AND MY MOTHER,

THIS BOOK IS LOVINGLY INSCRIBED

PREFACE

THE author of a book on American music may well approach his task with fears as to the outcome, knowing that no matter how thorough he may try to be, his work will be incomplete in many respects. Yet it has seemed that a book like this is called for, to bring information about the music that has been written in this country; one that will be both historical and contemporary, look facts fairly in the face, avoid chauvinism, and present the honest opinion of the writer. This book is an account of the music that has been written in America; not a history of musical activities, except, of course, where we must have some idea of the conditions that have produced the composers of each era.

The student of American music will find many paths open to him. There is an abundance of source material, gathered by such tireless research workers as the late Oscar G. Sonneck, and others who have worked in our libraries and historical societies. Mr. Sonneck's source books on our early secular music, concerts and opera, though written a quarter of a century ago, are still surprisingly complete. While discoveries have been made since his books were published, little has been found that would prove any of his findings wrong. Mr. Sonneck carried his studies up to 1800, and beyond that date the student must do his own research, in newspapers, musical journals, diaries, from concert programs and from printed music. It is of interest to note that a fund has been established as a memorial to Mr. Sonneck, which, it is hoped, will provide for a complete compilation of all musical records of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, for the years 1800 to 1850; a mammoth task, but one that will be of inestimable value.

Material for the present volume has been gathered from a wide variety of sources, as listed in the bibliography. Mr. Sonneck's compilations were of course invaluable. Private collectors have generously opened their collections, and descendants and relatives of our early composers have been kind in showing material that has added fresh data to the information previously available. Contemporary musical journals of various periods have likewise yielded an amazing wealth of information.

An outline serialization of much of the material in this book has appeared in *Voice of the Air;* and other material has appeared in the form of articles in *The Musical Digest* and *The Musical Quarterly.* I acknowledge the kindness of their editors in granting permission to include this matter.

Many individuals have also been helpful in my task. Among the descendants and relatives of composers—Mr. Edward Hopkinson, great grandson of Francis Hopkinson; Mr. Hobart Hewitt and Miss Carrie W. Hewitt, grandson and great granddaughter of James Hewitt; Mrs. James Spurr Whitman, granddaughter of Oliver Shaw; Mr. Howard Van Sinderen, husband of the late Minna Mason Van Sinderen, who was the daughter of William Mason and granddaughter of Lowell Mason and George James Webb; Mrs. Edward MacDowell; Mrs. Ethelbert Nevin; Mrs. Horatio Parker; as well as many friends and associates of MacDowell, Parker, Nevin, Paine and others, who have given valuable information, impressions, and anecdotes.

Those in charge of the libraries to which I have gone for reference and study have done much to make my work pleasant, and easier. Dr. Otto Kinkeldey, who was head of the music division of the New York Public Library until he became librarian of Cornell University; Miss Dorothy Lawton and her assistants at 58th Street Music Library

in New York; Mr. Walter R. Whittlesey, and Mr. W. Oliver Strunk of the Library of Congress; Mr. Richard G. Appel, of the Public Library of the City of Boston; as well as those at the many state libraries who have helped me in finding books referring to music and musicians in their states.

Among the private collectors who have given access to their treasures, I am particularly grateful to Mr. Arthur Billings Hunt of Brooklyn, Mr. Joseph Muller of Closter, New Jersey, and Mr. George Fischer of New York City.

I wish also to acknowledge the kindness of the book publishers who have granted me permission to quote from their copyright publications, as indicated in the text.

Music publishers have been helpful in supplying information about the composers of the music in their catalogs; and I should like to save a large portion of my gratitude for the contemporary composers, who have responded most graciously to requests for data. If I have failed to put any of them in the place they feel they should have, I hope they will forgive me, and credit it to ignorance rather than to malice.

And lastly I wish to acknowledge my debt to many friends who have helped in suggestions and criticism, and in many cases with recollections of the happenings chronicled in these pages; among them my erstwhile music teacher and life-long friend, Paul Tidden; my friend and neighbor, Osbourne McConathy; Professor Homer A. Watt of New York University, who has been helpful in introducing me to specialists in several fields; J. Walker McSpadden, who has been my friend and adviser as well as my publisher's editor. Many others, too, whom I should like to mention; but space forbids.

So here is the book. I let it go from me with misgivings, but at least I know that I have tried to state the case of

the American composer honestly. And I have the feeling that his music is better qualified to speak for him than any single writer of a book on American music.

J. T. H.

Glen Ridge, New Jersey.
January, 1931.

PREFACE TO FIFTH PRINTING

EIGHT years have passed since the first printing of *Our American Music,* years so eventful and productive that their achievements seem to demand a volume of their own. Such a work is accordingly in preparation, dealing exclusively with *American Music in the Twentieth Century,* and emphasizing particularly the fourth decade.

Meanwhile, however, the readers of the present volume are entitled to information on the latest developments in our native music and in the works of the foreign-born who have made their home with us. To this end two supplementary chapters are added, one dealing with general trends and developments and the other introducing new composers and discussing the recent achievements of those whose earlier works had already been treated in the original text.

Publication of this new edition affords a welcome opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to the many colleagues and friends who have offered helpful suggestions and encouragement. I am particularly grateful to Mr. Arthur Mendel, who, during my recent illness, has been of inestimable assistance in the preparation of material for the supplementary chapters.

J. T. H.

April, 1939

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INTRODUCTION

BEFORE beginning this account of Our American Music, it will be wise if the reader and the author agree as to just what American music is and, likewise, who is an American composer. It may be argued that all such classifications are arbitrary, and that the author is privileged to make his own distinctions. Nevertheless, we will get along much better, and be happier, if we can agree.

Shall we insist that music must be nationalistically American? We shall have to settle this at the start, for it will make a vast difference in our contents. And if we limit ourselves to those things that we can agree are American, we probably will need to write no book at all; for even though we may each have our own ideas on the subject, I doubt if any two of them are alike. And, moreover, even if we do agree, we must omit all composers who have written principally in the manner of other nations, and perhaps whatever may be considered *universal* or *cosmopolitan* in its style or idiom. Under such a rule, Tschaikowsky might conceivably be barred from a book on Russian music. So why not say right here that music written by Americans will be our American music, at least for the purpose of our discussion? Then, if we are careful to point out Americanisms as we find them, we can give the composers responsible for them an A double plus, or whatever merit mark we choose.

Then who is the American composer? Many think he must be born in this country; that those who urge the adoption of foreign residents as Americans do so because we have so few natives. That a French composer is always a Frenchman; a German, a German. Maybe so, and the day may come when we do not have to pad our list with

foreigners. But our case is a little different. We have all adopted America, even those of us who let our ancestors do our immigrating for us. And shall we be like college boys in treating newcomers as freshmen, just because our ancestors had the idea first?

You may say that the Constitution requires the president of the country to be a native-born citizen; but there can be only a few presidents, and we have room for many composers. You and I know many native Americans, whose families have been here for generations, but whose temperaments and points of view are as foreign as those of their cousins who stayed at home. Of course it is obvious that mere residence will not make an American, and we cannot call a composition American merely because its composer has had a part of his physical existence in this country. If that were allowable, the *New World* Symphony would have been written while Dvořák was an American composer. No; visitors are welcome, but they are not Americans.

It must be a case of extended residence, to all intents permanent; the adopted composer may go home to visit, but he mustn't stay away too long. And it must be something more subtle and subjective than citizenship. Legal naturalization may make a citizen, but it does not in itself make an American. The foreigner must become one of us, become identified with our life and institutions. And also he must make his reputation here. He must come to us in his formative years, not as an established artist.

Try this definition: a composer is an American, if by birth, or choice of permanent residence, he becomes identified with American life and institutions before his talents have had their greatest outlet; and through his associations and sympathies he makes a genuine contribution to our cultural development.

It would have been a pity if we had been forced to exclude Charles Martin Loeffler, or Ernest Bloch, and it has

not been fair, as some historians have done, to dismiss as foreigners the many splendid musicians who came to this country in the latter eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries, made America their home, entered into our life as true Americans, commemorated our historical events with their music, and in every way proved a credit to us.

The music of America's three hundred years seems naturally to fall into three periods, but not according to centuries. Dating its existence in this country from the settlement of Plymouth in 1620, the first period would include the one hundred and eighty years to 1800, to a time when our independence was established and we had begun to be a nation, and we were beginning to absorb the first immigration of those foreigners who came to our land of freedom, after we had become the United States of America. There were the early psalmodists in New England, but none who were known to have written music of their own until the time of William Billings, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. There was secular music in New York, Philadelphia and the South, but no composers we know of until Francis Hopkinson appeared. Yet we shall find that there were certain factors in our early musical life, barren as it was, that have had an influence on the music of our day. Euterpe did indeed come to a wilderness, but she made the best of her situation.

The next period, in which Euterpe seems to have made up her mind to stay with us extends from 1800 to 1860. The foreigners who had come in the 1780's and 90's, because of the French revolution and because they had heard of America's freedom, were becoming Americans. The native composer, who had been forced to the background by the coming of skilled Europeans, came forward again with more confidence. Lowell Mason appeared, with his contemporary hymn writers. Concert life, operas, became more firmly established. The new Western cities demanded

some music. The minstrel show became a favorite diversion, and Stephen Foster wrote melodies that have become folk-songs.

Then another tide of immigration swept our shores, which had the same effect that the latter eighteenth century coming of foreigners had had fifty years before. The revolutions in Central Europe made America a refuge for hundreds of Germans in the years around 1848. When they came here they took over a large part of our musical life, and many Americans were content to sit back and listen, rather than put their less developed talents in competition with the foreigners. And so the second period ended, as the first had finished, with aliens in the foreground.

The third period reaches from 1860 to the present day. Euterpe makes a home with us. As at the beginning of the century, in the second period, most of the foreigners became Americans. Moreover we were beginning to be nationally conscious in our music. And we began to produce composers who were important: John K. Paine and Dudley Buck among the first. Then MacDowell—Chadwick, Foote, Parker, and the rest of the Boston group, Ethelbert Nevin, with his lilting tunes, and his *Rosary*. All of this right down to our own day, when we are arguing about musical nationalism, and trying to determine what American music is, as far as its idiom is concerned. To a time when we have produced jazz, and are wondering how important it really is. To a period when our musical life is on a par with that of any other country in the world; when we have the finest of symphony orchestras in our large cities; the finest teachers of the world in our conservatories or in their own private studios; and, what is most important, to a day when we are trying hard to be a musical nation. When our public schools are giving musical training to pupils equal to that offered by conservatories twenty-five years ago.

How much of this external music can make us musical in our inner depths is another question. But we have the desire, anyway. And if the desire is sincere enough and strong enough the rest will follow. We cannot buy a musical soul with our money, but we can wish for a musical soul and get it. And I think that we are wishing for it.

But more of this in its proper place. The division into periods has been arbitrary, and there has been some chronological overlapping. For example, the first national airs are included in the second sections, yet two of them, *Yankee Doodle* and *Hail Columbia,* first appeared in the eighteenth century. It has seemed better to include all of these national songs in one chapter, and to consider that the earliest of them bridged the century, and the first two periods.

And now we go to the first act of our pageant. There will be much to amuse us, and, I trust, to interest us. But I ask one favor of you: smile and laugh if you wish, but *with* not *at* the friends we shall meet. For when we think of their handicaps, the few tools they had to work with, talent rises to genius. But enough of the sermon. Raise the curtain and meet Euterpe in the Wilderness.

PART I

1620-1800

EUTERPE IN THE WILDERNESS

OUR AMERICAN MUSIC

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

1. NEW ENGLAND PSALMODY

HISTORIANS of American music have been criticized for over-emphasizing the music of New England; yet while it is true that many of them have overlooked the importance of our early music in New York, Philadelphia and the South, a discussion of the psalmody of the New England settlers belongs first in a book on American music. As far as available records show, it was our first music. The Jamestown colony was settled eleven years before Plymouth, but the Virginia planters have left no record of whether they sang or not. The folk-music of the American Indians was probably in existence long before the advent of the colonists, and no doubt the Negroes who were brought from Africa in the first slave ship in 1619 used song as an outlet for their emotions; but recognition of folk-music has been a comparatively modern fashion, and it seems more appropriate to discuss it in other than a chronological place which is wholly problematical. We have definite knowledge of the music the New England settlers brought with them from England, and contemporary documents tell of their methods of singing. We are able to follow the course of musical development in the Northern colonies from the earliest days.

The first century and a half of New England's history was in many respects a musical wilderness. The austere

character of the Puritans and the Separatist Pilgrims was far from nourishing to such a delicate art as music, for music for its own sake was not tolerated. Only as an aid to worship was it accepted, and even then only after prolonged controversy and discussion. No composers appeared for almost a hundred and fifty years after the Pilgrims first landed. Fashioning a new tune was considered vain and worldly. It is chiefly the student of history, and the antiquarian, who is interested in the early music of New England; the music lover will find little to please him.

The musical repertoire of the Pilgrims and the Puritans was very small. When the Pilgrims crossed from Holland in the *Mayflower* in 1620 they brought with them a Psalter prepared in 1612 by Henry Ainsworth for the congregations of Separatists who fled from England to Holland. The larger colony of Puritans, established in Massachusetts Bay (Boston) in 1630, used the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter, a much older work.

The Plymouth Pilgrims undoubtedly had a love for music, for a contemporary account of their sailing from Leyden tells of the ceremony that attended their departure. In *Hypocrisie Unmasked* Edward Winslow wrote:

> They that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house . . . ; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of Psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard.

The metrical Psalmody, which was New England's only music for over a hundred years, dates from the sixteenth century. Psalms were cast into meter so that they might more easily be sung by worshippers. The title page of Sternhold and Hopkins reads:

> The Booke of Psalms: Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternehold, John Hopkins, and others conferred with the Hebrew; with apt notes to sing them withall.

Set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, of the people together, before and after Morning and Evening Prayer: As also before and after sermon; and moreover in private houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all ungodly Songs and Ballads, which tend onely to the nourishment of vice and corrupting of youth.

The 23rd Psalm was rendered thus:

The Lord is onely my support,
And he that doth me feed:
How can I then lack anything,
Whereof I stand in need;

He doth me fold in coats most safe,
The tender grasse fast by:
And after drives me to the streames,
Which run most pleasantly.

And when I feele myselfe neere lost,
Then doth he me home take:
Conducting me in his right pathes,
Even for his own names sake.

And though I were even at death's doore,
Yet would I feare none ill:
For with my rod and Shephearde's crooke,
I am comforted still.

Thou hast my table richly deckt,
In despight of my foe:
Thou hast my head with balme refresht,
My cup doth overflow.

And finally while breath doth last,
Thy grace shall me defend:
And in the house of God will I,
My life forever spend.

Practically the only tune used by the early New Englanders that is familiar to church-goers to-day is the *Old Hundredth* tune, now used for the Doxology. This melody derived its name from its association with the 100th Psalm, and may be traced as far back as 1551. It was present in

both Sternhold and Hopkins and in Ainsworth, and in the former was given with these words:

> Let people that on earth do dwell
> Sing to the Lord with cheerful voyce
> Him serve with feare, his praise forth tell
> Come ye before him and rejoyce.

In Sternhold and Hopkins and in Ainsworth music was given with the words, in single notes for singing in unison. The Pilgrims in Plymouth continued to use the Ainsworth Psalter until 1692, a year after the colony was merged with Massachusetts. In Boston, the divines became dissatisfied with the translations in Sternhold and Hopkins. To quote Cotton Mather:

> About the year 1639, the New English Reformers, considering that their churches enjoyed the ordinances of Heaven in their spiritual purity, were willing that the ordinance of singing Psalms should be restored among them unto a share in that purity. Though they blessed God for the religious endeavors of them who translated the psalms into the metre usually annexed, at the end of the Bible, yet they beheld in the translation, variations of, not only the text, but the very sense of the Psalmist, that it was an offence unto them.

From this came the *Bay Psalm Book,* printed in Cambridge in 1640, the second book printed in North America, and actually the first of importance, as its predecessor was merely an almanac. This book was destined to be the only work of its kind used in New England churches for more than a century. Its 26th edition was printed in Boston in 1744, and if the reprints issued in Europe are included, it must have had at least seventy editions.

In the early editions of the *Bay Psalm Book* no music was given; worshippers sang from memory, and as new generations grew up, their memories for the tunes grew more remote, and the repertoire gradually diminished, so that fewer and fewer tunes were used. Various congregations would alter the tunes, and when joint meetings of several churches were held the singing sounded as though bedlam

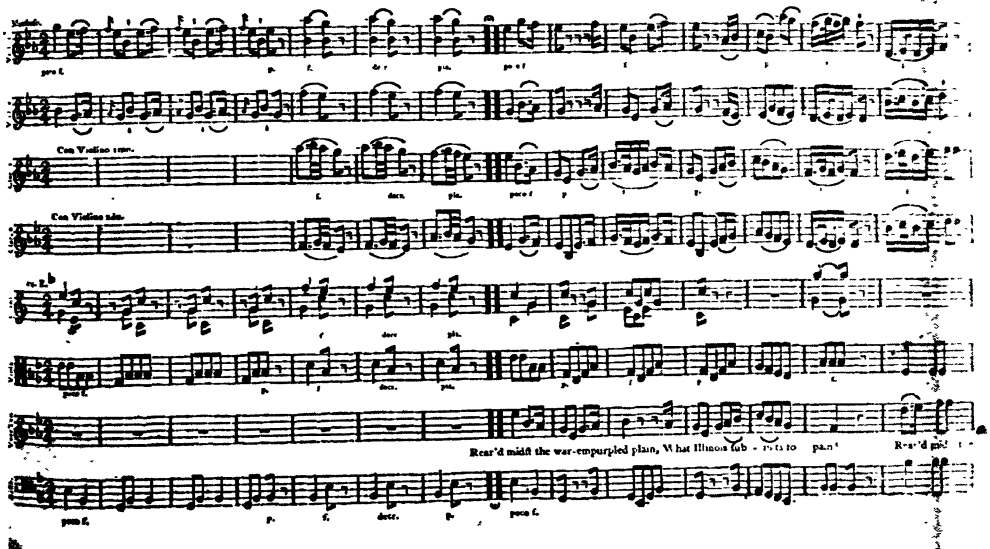
The First Printing of Oliver Holden's Tune, *Coronation,* As It Appeared in the *Union Harmony* (1793).
(See page 57.)

"*Rear'd midſt the war-empurpled Plain, &c.*"

The DEATH SONG of an INDIAN CHIEF.

[Taken from OUÂBI, an INDIAN TALE, in Four Cantos, by PHILENIA, a LADY of *Boſton.*]

Set to MUSICK by Mr. HANS GRAM, of BOSTON.



The Score of Gram's *The Death Song of an Indian Chief*, Probably the First Orchestral Score Printed in the United States. From the *Massachusetts Magazine*, March, 1791.

(See page 61.)

were let loose. *Old Hundred* became almost a hundred tunes sung at once.

Evidently all of the early Bostonians did not favor singing, even of Psalms, for in 1647 the Reverend John Cotton found it advisable to publish a treatise on singing, entitled:

Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance: or a Treatise wherein are handled these 4 particulars:

1. Touching the duty itself.
   (Singing of Psalms with a lively voyce, is an holy Duty of God's Worship now in the dayes of the New Testament)
2. Touching the Matter to be Sung.
   (We hold and believe that not only the Psalmes of David, but any other spirituall songs recorded in Scripture, may lawfully be sung in Christian Churches)
3. Touching the Singers.
   1. Whether one be to sing for all the rest; or the whole congregation?
   2. Whether women; as well as men; or men alone?
   3. Whether carnall men and Pagans may be permitted to sing with us, or Christians alone, and Church members?
4. Touching the Manner of Singing.
   (It will be a necessary helpe, that the words of the Psalme, be openly read beforehand, line after line, or two lines together, so that they who want either books or skill to reade, may know what is to be sung, and joyne with the rest in the duties of singing.)

This document shows the nature of the discussions that were taking place in regard to music. Some complained that psalms should not be sung because the tunes were uninspired by God, and that God could not take delight in praises when sinful man had had a hand in making the melody. Some even went so far as to scoff at the Puritan ministers who called on the people to sing one of "Hopkins Jiggs, and so hop into the Pulpit." Cotton replied by calling all such "Cathedrall Priests of an Anti-Christian spirit," and by pointing out that "they that had a hand in making Melody of the English *Psalms* were men of a better spirit than the Ahab."

The avowed aim of the *Bay Psalm Book* was to give a more literal rendering of the scriptures, even though a Mr. Shepard of Cambridge addressed Messrs. Welds and Elliot of Roxbury, and Mather of Dorchester, who were in charge of the work, in the following verse:

> You Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime
> Of missing to give us a very good rhyme.
> And you of Dorchester your verses lengthen,
> And with the texts own word you will them strengthen.

As for the literalness of the translation, it is interesting to compare the 23rd Psalm in the *Bay Psalm Book,* with that in Sternhold and Hopkins, previously quoted:

1. The Lord to mee a shepheard is,
   want therefore shall not I
2. He in the folds of tender grasse,
   doth cause me downe to lie:

3. To waters calm mee gently leads
   Restore my soule doth hee:
   he doth in paths of righteousness:
   for his names sake lead mee.

4. Yea though in valley of deaths shade
   I walk, none ill I'll feare:
   Because thou are with mee, thy rod,
   and staffe my comfort are.

5. Fore me a table thou hast spread,
   in presence of my foes:
   thou dost anoynt my head with oyle,
   my cup it over-flowes.

6. Goodnes and mercy surely shall
   all my dayes follow mee:
   and in the Lords house I shall dwelle
   as long as dayes shall be.

The lack of music in the *Bay Psalm Book,* the inability of many in the congregations to read not only music, but

printed English as well, gave rise to the practice of lining out the Psalms by a member of the congregation. The precentor, or elder, whose duty it was to "set the tune," would sing the Psalm line by line, pausing each time for the congregation to repeat the line he had just sung. If the precentor had a good ear for music, and a good sense of pitch, well and good; otherwise the results were far from musical. It was probably this practice, more than any other factor, that brought congregational singing to its deplorable condition at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Tunes would be pitched too high or too low; the leader would take it upon himself to alter the tune, to add embellishments. By the end of the seventeenth century there was great confusion in regard to the tunes themselves, and the manner of singing them. Many inconsistencies arose, such as the precentor's chanting the opening line:

The Lord will come, and he will not

waiting for the congregation to repeat it, and then continuing:

Keep silence, but speak out.

In 1690 music was added to the *Bay Psalm Book,* and an edition appeared which contained twelve tunes: *Oxford, Litchfield, Low Dutch, York, Windsor, Cambridge Short Tune, St. Davids, Martyrs, Hackney, 100 Psalm Tune, 113 Psalm Tune* and *148 Psalm Tune.*

The tunes were badly printed, and contained many errors. There were no bar lines, except to divide the lines of poetry. The music was given in two parts, and was evidently copied from some English collection. Authorities differ on the source. No doubt troubled by the manner in which the majority of the churches conducted their singing, the editors preceded the tunes by

SOME FEW DIRECTIONS

for ordering the voice and Setting these following Tunes of the Psalms.

First, observe how many notes compass the tune is. Next the place of your first note; and how many notes above and below that; so as you may begin the tune of your first note, as the rest may be sung in the compass of your and the people's voices, without Squeaking above, or Grumbling below. For the better understanding of which, take notice of the following directions.

Of the eight Short Tunes used to four lines only, whose measure is to eight syllables on the first line, and six on the next; and may be sung to any Psalm of that measure.

Oxford Tune, Litchfield Tune, Low Dutch Tune } to Psalms Consolatory

York Tune, Windsor Tune } to psalms of Prayer, Confession and Funerals

Cambridge Short Tune } to peculiar Psa.—as 21, 24, 33, 70, 86 first metre, 114, 132

These six short tunes in the tuning of the first note, will bear a cheerful high pitch, in regard to their whole compass from the lowest note, the highest is not above five or six notes.

St. Davids Tune, Martyrs Tune } to Psalms of Praise and Thanksgiving

These two tunes are eight notes compass above the first note, and therefore begin the first note low.

Secular amusements did not have much chance to flourish in early New England, though some intrepid souls tried to start some worldly pleasures. In the diary of Samuel Sewall, one of the first justices of Boston, we find an entry under the date of *Thorsday, Novr. 12, 1685:*

. . . the ministers of this Town (Boston) Come to the Court and Complain against a Dancing Master who seeks to set up here and hath mixt Dances; and 'tis reported he should say that by one play he could teach more Divinity than Dr. Willard or the Old Testament. Mr. Moodey said 'twas not the time for N.E. to dance. Mr. Mather struck at the Root, speaking against mixt dances.

This dancing master intended to fight it out, for on December 17th:

. . . Mr Stepney, the Dncing Master, desired a Jury, so he and Mr. Shrimpton Bound in 50 lbs. to Janr. Court. Said Stepney is ordered not to keep a Dancing School; if he does will be taken in contempt and be proceeded with accordingly.

The odds were too great, and on the following July 28th:

. . . Francis Stepney the Dancing Master runs away for Debt. Several attachments out after him.

Every now and then there were threats of frivolous enjoyments, but nothing ever came of them. Another quotation from Sewall refers to dancing (Friday, May 27, 1687):

. . . between 5 and 6 Father Walker is taken with a Lethargy . . . His speech came to him something between 6 and 7. . . . He overheard some discourse about the May-Pole, and told what the manner was in England to dance about it with Musick, and that 'twas to be feared such practices would be here. . . .

Of instrumental music, there was practically none in early New England. Organs were not introduced into churches until the next century, and then only after bitter opposition. In 1675 one of the states enacted a law "that no one should play on any kind of music except the drum, the trumpet and the jewsharp." Why these three instruments were exempted from the ban is unknown.

If the music of the colonies seems crude and primitive as compared with that of contemporary Europe, it must be remembered that life in the colonies was crude and primitive also. New Englanders had not only their religious prejudices to contend with, they were called upon to fight the Indians and the elements. Moreover, friction with the English government made trouble for the colonists from the very beginning of their life in America. As the seventeenth century drew to a close their differences with the

Mother Country grew more and more acute. In 1684 Charles the Second annulled the Massachusetts charter and made a royal province of the colony, because of insults to his commissioners and difficulties over revenues. Two years later James II united all of New England with New York and made the hated Edmund Andros governor. Matters became increasingly difficult, until in 1689 James II was driven from the throne of England, and the colonists expelled Andros and sent envoys to England to learn the will of King William of Orange. In 1691 differences were temporarily settled by William's granting a new charter to Massachusetts and restoring its assembly.

These were troublous times, and not conducive to the nurture of any sort of art. Superstition was mingled with religious fanaticism. In 1692 the Salem witchcraft craze caused the execution of nineteen persons, mostly women. The blue laws were literally enforced, and pleasure was at a premium too dear to be openly bought by even the most adventurous. It was under such conditions that church singing sank to the low estate from which some of the more far-sighted clergymen sought to rescue it in the early eighteenth century. George Hood, in his *History of Music in New England,* gives a vivid description of conditions at this time:

When the Puritans first came to their wilderness-home, they cultivated music even in their College. (Harvard, founded in 1636.) Their songs of praise were conducted with decorum, if not with ability; and a laudable pride, if such can be, inspired them still to improve their purity and excellence. . . .

But soon after their settlement, the Colonies were disturbed by contentions and party strife. . . . Troubles came upon troubles in rapid succession. The genius of discord settled upon the land. . . .

Music dwells not in scenes of contention; she flies the abode of anarchy and confusion, and seeks a home in the land of peace. . . .

The few music-books, that had from time to time found their way into the Colonies, were rapidly decreasing; and the few they had were unlike. The cultivation of music was neglected, until in the latter

part of the seventeenth, and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the congregations throughout New England were rarely able to sing more than three or four tunes. The knowledge and use of notes, too, had so long been neglected, that the few melodies sung became corrupted, until no two individuals sang them alike. . . .

The declining state of music had been so gradual and imperceptible, that the very confusion and discord were grateful to their ears; and a melody sung in time and in tune, was really offensive. At this stage of affairs, some of the best men of the day, seeing the need of reform, resolved to set about the work. This they did; and about the year 1720, several excellent and spirited discourses from the best divines, were published and scattered among the people. . . .

One might think, that a duty so obvious and practical, would find none but friends to its best performance. But it was not so. No sooner had the cry for reform been heard, than it was opposed by a large party in almost every church; and opposed with a virulence of feeling, and tenacity of attachment to their old customs, that seemed to defy their best efforts. Objections were urged even by serious, well informed persons, which, however trifling and pitiful they may seem to us, were to them important and solemn. The idea of learning to sing by note, or to sing a melody correctly, had something in it little less fearful in itself, or in its effects, than witchcraft and its scenes, through which they had just passed.

The principal objections were:

1. That it was a new way;—an unknown tongue.
2. That it was not so melodious as the usual way.
3. That there were so many tunes, one could never learn them.
4. That the new way made disturbances in churches, grieved good men, exasperated them and caused them to behave disorderly.
5. That it was popish.
6. That it would introduce instruments.
7. That the names of the notes were blasphemous.
8. That it was needless, the old way being good enough.
9. That it was only a contrivance to get money.
10. That it required too much time to learn it, made the young disorderly, and kept them from the proper influence of the family, &c., &c.

Here was a controversy as violent as that between the fundamentalists and the modernists in the Protestant Church of our day. That which had been good enough for

their fathers was good enough for the New Englanders of the early eighteenth century. The agitation among the ministers for improvement in singing did not actually commence until 1720, but previous to that time the Reverend John Tufts, a minister of Newburyport, had published *A very plain and easy introduction to the whole Art of Singing Psalm Tunes.* There is evidence that the first edition of this work was published in 1712, though no copies appear to be in existence. The book must have had a wide circulation, for the edition of 1744 is marked as the eleventh printing.

This was the first instruction book on singing compiled in the United States. The author endeavored to give a musical notation that would be simpler to read and to understand, but really succeeded only in making it more complicated and difficult. Letters were used on the staff instead of notes, and the time was marked by placing one or more dots on the right side of the letter. The tunes were given in three parts, *Cantus, Medius,* and *Base.* Thirty-seven tunes were included in the book, in arrangements possibly copied from John Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms,* published in England in 1677.

Among the parsons who fought for better singing was the Reverend Thomas Symmes of Bradford, Mass., who published two sermons and an essay: *The Reasonableness of Regular Singing, or Singing by Note* (1720); *Prejudice in Matters of Religion* (1722); and *Utile Dulci; or Joco-Serious Dialogue* (1723). In these discourses the Reverend Dr. Symmes argued the case in detail, and sought to answer the objections of those who wanted the "old way" of lining out psalms. In the *Dialogue* he disputes the statement that reading by note is a "new way":

> That which is now called the *Usual* way, in opposition to singing by note, is but a defective imitation of the *regular* way. . . . Your usual way of singing is but of yesterday, an upstart novelty, a devia-

tion from the regular, which is the only scriptural good way of singing; much older than our fathers or fathers' grandfathers.

The beauty and harmony of singing consists very much in a just timing and turning the notes; every singer keeping the exact pitch the tune is set in, according to the part he sings. Now you may remember, that in our congregation we us'd frequently to have some people singing a note or two, after the rest had done. And you commonly strike the notes not together, but one after another, one being half way thro' the second note, before his neighbor has done with the first. Now this is just as melodious to a well-tuned musical ear, as Æsop was beautiful to a curious eye.

The author then proceeds to refute the argument that reading by note would lead to the use of instruments, and the accusation that it was a scheme to get money:

Since you make a noise (Tho' no pleasant one) about instrumental musick, I'll give you an unanswerable argument, that may put you out of all pain about it: And that is, that, truly, it's too chargeable a piece of worship ever to obtain amongst us; and you may depend upon it, that such as are not willing to be at the cost of a bell, to call the people together on Lord's day, and of a man to ring it . . . will never be so extravagant as to lay out their cash . . . to buy organs, and pay an artist for playing on them. . . . And in the mean time, pray be easy and assure yourself, that singing by Rule (note), wont in our day introduce instrumental musick, much less Quakerism and Popery. I promise you, your usual way of singing would much sooner dispose me to fall into them. Because the Quakers don't sing at all and I should be out of the noise of it; and the Papists sing much better when they sing by Rule.

As to getting money by it—why the singing master is not worthy of his reward for his pains in teaching our children to sing, as well as the School Dame or school master for teaching our children to read, write and cypher, I can't device. For Musick is as real and lawful and ingenious an art as either of the others.

In 1723 there was published a tract entitled:

Cases of Conscience about singing Psalms, briefly considered and resolved. An Essay by several ministers of the Gospel, for the satisfaction of their pious and conscientious brethren, as to sundry Questions and Cases of Conscience, concerning the singing of Psalms, in the public worship of God, under the present Evangelical constitution of the Church-state.

Such questions as the following were discussed:

Whether you do believe that singing in the worship of God ought to be done skilfully?

Whether you do believe that skilfullness in singing may ordinarily be gained in the use of outward means, by the blessing of God?

Is it possible for Fathers of forty years old and upward to learn to sing by rule? And ought they to attempt at that age to learn?

Do you believe that it is Lawful and Laudable for us to change the customary way of singing, for a more uniform and regular way of singing the Psalms?

Whether they who purposely sing a tune differently from that which is appointed by the pastor or elder to be sung, are not guilty of acting disorderly, and of taking God's name in vain also, by disturbing the order of the sanctuary?

Fortunately, the progressive spirits in the clergy eventually won their battle. Singing societies were gradually established throughout New England, in which the meagre instruction that was available was given faithfully. Finally, some of the churches allowed the first seats in the gallery to be reserved for the best singers, who were to lead in singing the psalms, and from this church choirs eventually developed. Many pastors later found that these choirs grew into something more than they had bargained for. The singers' sense of their importance was often troublesome.

The lining out of psalms was not abandoned without many a bitter struggle, and in some cases the church-members whose functions were usurped by singing from note refused to give up their duties. Some of them had literally to be sung down by the congregations.

John Tufts' book was followed in 1721 by another instruction book; *Grounds and Rules of Musick explained: or an introduction to the Art of Singing by Note,* by the Reverend Thomas Walter of Roxbury, Mass. In addition to the instructions for singing by note, it contained some "Rules for Tuning the Voice." Some of the directions were a bit vague; especially the guide for distinguishing between

"flat" and "sharp" keys. The author obviously refers to *minor* and *major* modes:

> Tunes are said to be upon a flat Key, or a sharp Key. To know whether your Tune be upon a flat Key or a sharp Key, this is the general Rule. If the two Notes above the last Note of your Tune be whole Notes [evidently meaning whole *tones*] it is upon a sharp Key; but if the two Notes above, be one an whole Note, and the other an half Note, then it is a flat Key.

In Walter's book the tunes were given in three parts, in arrangements probably taken from Playford. The work enjoyed a number of editions, and was an important factor in the restoration of better singing.

Among the other books published at this time was an American edition of William Tans'ur's *A Complete Melody in Three Parts,* issued in Newburyport (1755). Tans'ur was a contemporary English psalmodist and musician of probable German origin. The publication of his work in the colonies was important; it was the authority used by many of our early composers.

Paul Revere was the engraver for *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* which was published by Josiah Flagg of Boston in 1764. The tunes were announced as "from the most approved authors, fitted to all measures, and approved by the best masters in Boston, New England; the greater part of them never before printed in America." Whether any of the new tunes were composed by Americans we cannot know, for the names of the authors are not given. Flagg was active in other fields than psalmody; he formed and trained a military band and often organized concerts.

By this time secular music had crept stealthily into the lives of the New Englanders, and the strict bars against it were gradually lowered. Credit for the first public concert of record belongs to Boston; the Puritan city wins over Charleston, South Carolina, by a mere four months. In

December, 1731, the following announcement appeared in the *Boston News Letter:*

On Thursday the 30th of this instant December, there will be performed a *Concert of Music* on sundry Instruments at Mr. Pelham's great Room, being the House of the late Dr. Noyes near the Sun Tavern.

Tickets to be delivered at the place of performance at *Five shillings* each. The Concert to begin exactly at Six o'clock, and no Tickets will be delivered after Five the day of performance.

N.B. There will be no admittance after Six.

This Mr. Pelham, in whose room the concert was held, was Peter Pelham, an engraver, dancing master, manager of the subscription assembly, boarding-school keeper, instructor in writing, reading, painting upon glass, and dealer in the "best Virginia tobacco." Surely a versatile person, whose activities show that Boston had broadened since the days of poor Mr. Stepney. Mr. Pelham also took the pains to place his son for nine years "under the Tuition of an Accomplish'd Professor of the Art of Musick" so that later the young man was entitled to advertise himself as a proficient teacher of the harpsichord and of the rudiments of psalmody, hymns, anthems, etc. For a number of years Pelham, junior, forsook austere Boston for sunnier climates, and was harpsichordist and musical director for theatrical companies in Virginia.

A few years later the Boston selectmen felt justified in according the use of Faneuil Hall to such gentlemen as William Sheafe, Samuel Deblois and Thomas Hancock for "concerts of Musick." By 1754 the city had a Concert Hall at the corner of Hanover and Court streets, where concerts of "Vocal and instrumental Musick to consist of Select Pieces by the Masters" were given. There is evidence that Thomas Dipper may have inaugurated a regular series of subscription concerts in the late fifties or early sixties, and it has been definitely established that Boston enjoyed such affairs in 1766.

Boston was not friendly to theatrical entertainments. As early as 1686 a play had been suppressed, and Increase Mather had published his "Testimony against profane and superstitious customs." Again, in 1714, we hear of Judge Sewall protesting against the acting of a play in the Council Chamber. In 1750, two young Englishmen, assisted by amateur friends, gave a performance of Otway's *Orphan* in a Boston Coffee House. This so horrified the good citizens that a law was passed absolutely prohibiting "public stage plays, interludes and other theatrical entertainments," as "tending to discourage industry and frugality, and greatly to increase impiety."

And yet, as the days of the Revolution approached, New England was growing artistically, and slowly acquiring more human traits that made its life richer. It was in such a scene that New England's first composer made his appearance—the tanner-musician William Billings, the first American composer to make music his profession.

2. PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK AND THE SOUTH

It is to be regretted that records of musical life during the early years of the Southern colonies, and of Pennsylvania and New York, are not as complete as those of New England, for further information would help in estimating the relative importance of each colony's contribution. The New England psalmodists, and their successors in the latter eighteenth century, have probably exerted a deeper influence on one branch of our present music—hymnology—than any of the Pennsylvania Germans, the Dutch in New York, or even the few professional musicians who migrated to this country before 1750. Nevertheless, it seems unwise, as some historians have done, to dismiss altogether certain elements in our early music, even though they have had no obvious influence on the future of the nation. The Germans and Swedes who came to the neighborhood of Philadelphia

when William Penn first proclaimed his "glorious new world," and the Moravians who later settled in Bethlehem, enjoyed a musical life far in advance of anything in contemporary New England. These were settlements established for religious motives, and many of their beliefs were fanatical, yet there was not the suspicion that any kind of music was the invention of the devil, to be shunned as worldly and frivolous. Good singing in church was required, and insisted upon. One pastor, the Reverend Andreas Sandel (Swedish), imposed a fine of six shillings on certain members of his congregation for "untimely singing."

It was in 1694 that a German band of pietists took up their dwelling beside the Wissahickon River, eight miles from Philadelphia. These people were German mystics, who believed that the end of the world was near at hand, and who renounced marriage as sinful, believing that their one love should be the Lord Jesus Christ. The leader of the hermits was Johann Kelpius, a highly educated man, the son of a pastor at Dendorf, Germany. Not only did these Germans sing hymns, they accompanied their singing with instrumental music, and brought instruments with them when they first landed in this country. As early as 1708 Kelpius wrote abroad for two clavichords "with additional strings."

The Wissahickon hermits evidently acquired a reputation for singing soon after their arrival, for in 1700 they were invited to act as choristers and to furnish instrumental music at the dedication of the new Swedish church, *Gloria Dei,* near Philadelphia. Kelpius is mentioned as the composer of nineteen of the hymns used by the hermits, but he probably was only the author of the words, for the same writer who mentions his authorship speaks of another as the first *composer* on American soil.

The *Gloria Dei* Church is important musically, as it may have been the first American church equipped with an organ. Some authorities believe that Kelpius brought with

him from Europe the organ that was installed in that church. It was at any rate present three years later, when Justus Falckner was ordained as its minister, and not only was music supplied by Jonas, the regular organist, but the neighboring mystics furnished music on the viol, hautboy, trumpets and kettledrums. Falckner was the first German minister ordained in this country, and was the author of several of the fine hymns of his congregation.

Two years before he was awarded the pastorate of the *Gloria Dei* Church, Falckner wrote a letter to Heinrich Muhlen of Holstein, asking for assistance for his church. The letter tells of conditions in the colony, and provides an interesting contrast to the attitude of New Englanders regarding music:

. . . I will take occasion to mention that many others besides myself, who know the ways of the land, maintain that music would contribute much towards a good Christian service. It would not only attract and civilize the wild Indians, but it would do much good in spreading the Gospel truths among the sects and others by attracting them. Instrumental music is especially serviceable here. Thus a well-sounding organ would perhaps prove of great profit, to say nothing of the fact that the Indians would come running from far and near to listen to such unknown melody, and upon that account might become willing to accept our language and teaching, and remain with people who had such agreeable things; for they are said to come ever so far to listen to one who plays even a reed-pipe: such an extraordinary love have they for any melodious and ringing sound. Now as the melancholy, saturnine, stingy Quaker spirit has abolished all such music, it would indeed be a novelty here, and tend to attract many of the young people away from the Quakers and sects to attend services where such music was found, even against the wishes of their parents. This would afford a good opportunity to show them the truth and their error.

. . . And it may be assumed that even a small organ-instrument and music in this place would be acceptable to God, and prove far more useful than many hundreds in Europe where there is already a superfluity of such things.

There are in Europe masters enough who would build such instruments, and a fine one can be secured for 300 or 400 thalers. Then if

an experienced organist and musician could be found, who would undertake so far a journey, he would be very welcome here. In case this could not be, if we only had an organ, some one or other might be found who had knowledge thereof.

Robert R. Drummond, in *Early German Music in Philadelphia,* claims that CONRAD BEISSEL was the first composer of music in America. This statement seems plausible, for Beissel was associated with the *Ephrata Cloister* in the early part of the century. At this famous sisterhood they sang hymns and chorals in 4, 5, 6 and 7 parts, while congregations in other parts of the country were singing in unison. The first edition of the *Ephrata* hymn collection was published by Benjamin Franklin in 1730. Over 1,000 of these hymns have been attributed to Beissel.

The history of music in Philadelphia is a record of continual struggle with the Quakers in the early years, for the Friends were opposed to music of any sort. Plays, games, lotteries, music and dancing were classed alike, and the meetings advised all members against either attending such diversions or being in any way connected with them. Arrayed against the Quakers, and the Presbyterians, were the members of the Church of England, who consistently championed lighter amusements. Though musical entertainments, and especially dramatic offerings, were often presented in an apologetic tone, they nevertheless existed. As early as 1710 there is record of a dancing master in Philadelphia, and dancing was taught in boarding-schools in 1728. Although the earliest public concert of which there is record was given by John Palma in 1757, it hardly seems possible that some were not given before this time. Before 1750 Philadelphians enjoyed no theatrical diversions, except for an "agreeable comedy or tragedy" which Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* (our *Saturday Evening Post*), advertised in 1742 as acted "by changeable figures two feet high" every evening "at the Sign of the Coach and

Horse, against the State House"; and a performance by live actors of Addison's *Cato* in 1749.

In 1750 (the year of Boston's anti-theatre law), the Kean and Murray Company from London tried to give a performance in Plumstead's Warehouse, but the Recorder of the city reported that

> certain persons had lately taken upon them to act plays in this city, and he was informed intended to make a frequent practice thereof, which, it was feared, would be attended with very mischievous effects.

Whereupon the Philadelphia authorities requested the Magistrates "to take the most effective measures for suppressing this disorder." The Kean and Murray Company departed for New York and the Quaker element was undisturbed by such shocking possibilities for about four years. In 1754 a company headed by Lewis Hallam, which had already entertained New York and several Southern cities, and which was later to be known as the famous American Company, attempted a Philadelphia season, lasting from April to June. The Quaker city then had its first opportunity to hear ballad-operas. Even though the players obeyed the condition that "nothing indecent or immoral should be presented," the season ended in failure, and no regular players appeared again for five years. In 1759, David Douglass, manager of the reorganized Hallam Company, obtained the Governor's permission to erect a theatre on "Society Hill," and a season of plays and ballad-operas was offered which lasted from June to December. In the meantime, however, the Quakers, Lutherans and Presbyterians forced through the local Assembly an act against "the idle persons and strollers who have come into this Province from foreign parts in the character of players." The Governor was forced to sanction the measure, and though the King set it aside in Council less than a year later, Philadelphia heard no more operas until 1766.

Douglass returned in that year, and from then until the

Revolution the Southwark Theatre on Society Hill saw regular seasons by the American Company, unmolested by the authorities, even though attacks by its opponents were at times insulting. In 1767 Douglass announced for performance a work that would have been the first American Opera, had it been given. This was advertised as "a new comic opera, *The Disappointment,* or *The Force of Credulity,*" but withdrawn "as it contains personal reflections." It seems that certain prominent Philadelphians had been hunting for treasure reputed hidden by a Captain Blackbeard, and either the gentlemen themselves, or their friends, had convinced Mr. Douglass that it would be wiser not to present the satire. The libretto was subsequently printed, and copies are still in existence. The composer of the music is unknown, and the librettist used a pen name, Andrew Barton.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was settled in 1741 by the Moravians, and since its first year to the present day it has been a musical center which few cities of its size can rival. It is claimed that the first copies of many of Haydn's quartets and symphonies to reach this country were brought to Bethlehem. The *Creation* and *The Seasons* had their American premieres in the little Pennsylvania town. In 1742 the first *Singstude* was held in Bethlehem, and two years later the *Collegium Musicum* was founded, which remained in existence until 1820, when it was succeeded by the Philharmonic Society. In the library at Bethlehem are manuscript copies of six trios and three symphonies by Mozart, dated 1785, when the composer was only twenty years old.

A letter from a little girl, attending the boarding-school at Bethlehem in 1787, states that she was taught music, vocal and instrumental. "I play the guitar twice a day; am taught the spinet and forte piano, and sometimes I play the organ"—an exceedingly well-rounded musical education for eighteenth-century America.

If a group of manuscripts now in the library of the Philharmonic Society had been dated, we would know exactly where to place a group of Bethlehem composers chronologically. These men lived in Bethlehem in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and their works show a musicianship far in advance of composers in other parts of the country. Most of the works are for instrumental combinations beyond the facilities or ability of colonial contemporaries.

One of the composers, JOHN ANTES, was born in 1740, at Fredericktop, Pennsylvania, where the Moravians had established a preaching station. He made an intensive study of music, and learned to perform on all the stringed instruments. Later in life he went abroad, and was dispatched as a missionary to Egypt. On his return to Europe he became acquainted with Haydn, who is said to have performed some of his works.

Another, DAVID MORITZ MICHAEL, was born and died in Germany (1751-1823) but lived for many years at Bethlehem and Nazareth. Some of his works are in the Philharmonic Library at Bethlehem: A *Parthie,* for wind instruments—two clarinets, two horns, and bassoon; a *Suite,* for wind instruments (for the same combination); and *Die Wasserfahrt* (The boat ride), a programmatic suite for two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns.

JOHN FREDERICK PETER, born in 1746, left behind him an ambitious work, dated 1763, entitled *Partitur einer Freuden Music zum Friedens Dank Feste,* scored for four-part chorus and strings, two flutes, two trumpets and fondamento. In addition, there are in existence six quintets for two violins, two violas, and violoncello. Peter was an organist and violinist of the Moravian congregation.

From an American standpoint, it must be admitted that these composers and their works are not of importance, even though they are superior in workmanship to those of our first native composers. That the works themselves were influenced entirely by the German school would not in

itself make them unimportant, but the fact that they were not known very far beyond Bethlehem's limits prevents the possibility of their exerting any marked influence on our musical life. The Moravians at Bethlehem were complete unto themselves, and well might they be musically; there was little mingling with other colonies with whom they would have little in common. Consequently the most advanced musical settlement did the least for the cultural advancement of the country as a whole.

Several of the Southern cities have claims as pioneers in musical activity. Charleston, South Carolina, not only runs a close second to Boston in fostering the first public concert in America, but enjoys the distinction of having what is generally considered the first musical society formed in America —the St. Cecilia Society, founded in 1762, and remaining in existence until 1912.

The activities of the St. Cecilia Society may be judged from entries in Josiah Quincy's *Journal of a Voyage to South Carolina* (1772). His accounts show that the society was in the habit of engaging professional musicians at good-sized fees:

The concert-house is a large, inelegant building, situated down a yard. . . . The music was good—the two bass viols and French horns were grand. One Abercrombie, a Frenchman just arrived, played the first violin, and a solo incomparably better than any one I ever heard. He cannot speak a word of English, and has a salary of five hundred guineas a year from the St. Cecilia Society. There were upwards of two hundred and fifty ladies present, and it was called no great number. In loftiness of headdress, these ladies stoop to the daughters of the North,—in richness of dress, surpass them,—in health and floridity of countenance, vail to them. In taciturnity during the performances, greatly before our ladies; in noise and flirtation after the music is over, pretty much on a par.

Another item tells of a musical evening in Charleston:

Dined with the Sons of St. Patrick. While at dinner six violins, two hautboys, etc. After dinner, six French horns in concert:—most surpassing music. Two solos on the French horn, by one who is said

to blow the finest horn in the world. He has fifty guineas for the season from the St. Cecilia Society.

Charleston witnessed, in 1735, the first recorded performance of an opera in America, the ballad-opera *Flora, or Hob in the Well.* This inaugurated three regular theatrical seasons in the South Carolina city, after which the theatre was turned over to dancing masters for a number of years. It was reopened for plays and opera in 1754.

Williamsburg, Virginia, presented a gay contrast to bleak New England. While the Boston divines were arguing the case of church singing, a real playhouse was in use in Williamsburg, the first known to have existed in America. Records show that it was there as early as 1722, possibly earlier. It was here that George Washington, ever a lover of the theatre, saw his first play on Virginia soil, and the little city also had the honor of being the first to welcome Lewis Hallam's London company of comedians (1752), which later became the American Company. Williamsburg was treated to regular seasons by the best players in the country.

When the Kean and Murray Company opened the new theatre in Upper Marlborough, Maryland, with the *Beggar's Opera* (1752), an orchestra was used for the first time in an American performance of the opera. The South was by no means behind in its share of musical development during the eighteenth century. If it should be disproved that Johann Kelpius brought with him the organ that was used in the *Gloria Dei* Church, the Episcopal church at Port Royal, Virginia, has the distinction of owning the first pipe organ brought to this country from Europe (1700).

Though it lagged behind the South in musical development, New York at least kept pace with other important cities. Its first concerts date from 1736, according to existing records, though some may have been given which antedate the "*Consort* of Musick, Vocal and Instrumental, for the benefit of Mr. Pachelbel, the Harpsichord Part per-

formed by himself. The songs, Violins and German Flutes by private Hands" (January 21, 1736).

Ballad-operas were probably performed in New York from 1732 on, and when the Kean and Murray Company opened a theatre in Nassau Street, in 1750, music lovers of the city were treated to a repertory that included seven of them. After this troupe had played two seasons in New York, the Hallam Company arrived and opened the first theatre built for the purpose in the city. According to custom the patrons were entertained with dancing and singing between the acts of such favorites as *Damon and Phillida* and the *Conscious Lovers*. The young Hallams would perform a *Punch's Dance,* or sing *As Chloe Came into the Room,* Mr. Hulett would oblige with a hornpipe, and Mr. Love with *The Quaker's Sermon* on the violin, and a solo on the hautboy. As the years passed, New York experienced some opposition to the theatre. Personal possessions brought by the audience had a habit of disappearing, and rather than blaming the unknown sneak-thieves who came with the audience, the public turned against the management and the actors. In 1764 a mob wrecked a theatre that David Douglass, successor to Hallam as manager of the American Company, had built in Chapel Street.

In 1767 Douglass brought the American Company back to New York, and opened the new John Street Theatre. There was still considerable antagonism to the theatre, and the actors, many of them musicians, were forced to add to their incomes by giving concerts. The theatrical season of 1773 was the last the colonial cities enjoyed until after the Revolution, for in October, 1774, the newly formed Continental Congress, because of the coming struggle with England, found it advisable to pass a resolution which was respectfully observed:

That we will discourage every species of extravagance and dissapation, especially horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting,

exhibition of shows, plays and other expensive diversions and entertainments.

Following Mr. Pachelbel's recital in 1736, New Yorkers were treated to increasingly frequent concerts. Such musicians as Charles Love, of Hallam's theatrical company; William Hulett, an actor, dancing-master and musician who was one of Hallam's violinists; Alexander Dienval, who taught the "violin, German Flute, hautboy, French horn, bass violin, tenor violin, etc., in the newest and best method"; and others, offered concerts for their own benefit and for charity. In 1760 the Messrs. Hulett and Dienval established New York's first series of subscription concerts, which were held regularly each season until 1767, when they were discontinued for six years. In 1765, Hulett, in association with a Mr. Leonard, established New York's first open air summer concerts in Ranelagh Gardens, where "after the concert a small firework will be play'd off, which will continue 'till ten: the whole to be managed with the utmost regularity." Competition soon appeared in concerts in the "King's Arms Garden in the Broadway," and in the bi-weekly concerts of vocal and instrumental music in the "Vaux Hall Gardens," "newly fitted up with a very good long Room, convenient for a ball or turtle entertainment." An *Harmonic Society* existed in New York in 1774, and its members were active in concerts both for the society and for themselves. In that year New Yorkers had their first glimpse of French and Italian *virtuosi*. The star of the occasion was a Mr. Caze, who had the assistance of the "gentlemen of the Harmonic Society." (Amateurs were designated as *gentlemen*.) The program was as follows:

1ST ACT

A grand Orchestry's Symphony
A French Ariette will be sung accompanied with the guitar and violin.
Mr. Caze will play his own composed music, on the violin with Mr. Zedtwitz.
A Concert on the Flute

A Sonada on the Spanish Guitar
The first Act to end with a March

2ND ACT

A Grand Orchestry's Symphonie
A French Ariette accompany'd with the Mandolin and Violin
A Solo on the Violin
A Duo on Mandoline and Violin
A Sonada of the Salterio; and d'Exaudet's Minuet with echoes.
The Concert to finish with a March of the grand Orchestry.
After the Concert there will be a ball.

Music lovers of early Gotham were often troubled by disturbing elements at concerts. Frequently protests would appear in the press, and one who signed himself X. Y. Z. wrote to the New York *Weekly Post Boy* (1764):

It is a very just observation that a gentleman is to be known by his politeness—this qualification, wherever it is to be found, convinces us that it's possessor has seen the world and has had his manners formed by a good education. . . .

I am led into this short reflection by a circumstance, I can scarcely think of without indignation. What I mean is the strange behaviour at the Concert, of a certain set of males and females to whom . . . I will give the soft appelation of gentlemen and ladies. I am a dear lover of music and can't bear to be disturbed in my enjoyment of an entertainment so polite and agreeable. How great then is my disappointment and vexation, when instead of a modest and becoming silence nothing is heard during the whole performance, but laughing and talking very loud, sqawling, overturning the benches, etc. Behaviour more suited to a *broglio* than a musical entertainment.

What is meant by so ill-timed an interruption I know not: for . . . I cannot conceive that either the audience or the gentlemen performers are under any obligations to bear these impertinences—and I have authority to assure those offenders against decency that . . . the managers and performers will be forced . . . to the disagreeable necessity of insisting on their absenting themselves from a place where they do nothing but give offence or . . . of hiring the adjacent room for the convenience of such whose conduct will not bear the eye of the public. . . .

In 1753 a man came to New York who was to exert a profound influence on the city's musical life; WILLIAM

TUCKEY (1708-1781), an Englishman who had been Vicar Choral of the Bristol Cathedral, and clerk of the Parish. Tuckey not only established himself in New York as an organist, choir-master, concert artist, and composer, but he made the great contribution of organizing and directing the first performance of Handel's *Messiah* in America. In 1770 he led an orchestra and chorus in the overture and sixteen numbers from the oratorio. The *Messiah* was not performed in Germany until 1772, two years after Tuckey brought it to New York.

When Tuckey first came to New York he was appointed a clerk of Trinity Church at a salary of twenty-five pounds per annum. (Small pay in comparison with the reputed salaries of the St. Cecilia Society in Charleston.) His next step was to convince the vestry of Trinity that music should be taught to the pupils of the Charity School, which the church had established in 1739. In this way he developed a choir to sing in the church services. Before long the Trinity Choir was famous, even outside of New York. In 1762 Tuckey resolved to extend his choral efforts beyond the church, and he advertised for volunteers for a chorus. Four years later the newspapers contained an account of one of Mr. Tuckey's *rehearsals* and the announcement of a forthcoming concert.

The musician was sometimes considered worthy of his hire in early New York, for Tuckey was paid fifteen pounds for playing the organ at the dedication of the "new Episcopal Chapel called *St. Paul's*" in 1766. He was active as a concert artist, and two years after coming to America announced a concert in conjunction with William Cobham, musician and dealer in "bear skins, spotted ermin, white and yellow flannels. . . ." The concert was announced in the New York *Weekly Post Boy,* December 15, 1755:

For the benefit of Messrs. Cobham and Tuckey, at the New Exchange on Monday the 29 instant; will be a *Concert* of Vocal and Instrumental musick. Among a variety of select pieces, both vocal

and instrumental, will be performed, the celebrated dialogue between *Damon and Chloe,* compos'd by Mr. Arne. A two part song, in praise of a Soldier, by the late famous Mr. Henry Purcell. *An Ode on Masonry* never perform'd in this country, nor ever in England, but once in publick. And a Solo on the German flute, by Mr. Cobham.

Tickets to be had of Mr. Cobham, in Hanover Square; of Mr. Tuckey near Mr. Willet's, at the New York Arms; and at the King's Arms; and at the new Printing Office in Beaver Street at 5 *s* each.

To begin precisely at six o'clock. After the concert there will be a *Ball* for the ladies.

The *Ode on Masonry* may have been a composition by Tuckey. Although his only works extant to-day are those in psalm collections, we know that his music was widely known in his time. His *Thanksgiving Anthem* was sung before His Excellency General Amherst, on his return to New York from the conquest of Canada, in 1760. His *Anthem from the 97th Psalm* was performed at a "Grand Concert of Sacred Music for the benefit of the Pennsylvania Hospital and the Poor," and again in 1787 at the First Uranian Concert in Philadelphia. This anthem, subsequently known as *Liverpool,* was anonymously included in James Lyon's *Urania,* a collection of psalm tunes discussed in a later chapter.

It is through his advertisements for subscriptions that we know what Tuckey wrote. In the *New York Mercury* of March 11, 1771, appeared the following:

Proposals for publishing Two select pieces of Church music.

1st. An Hymn (by way of an anthem) consisting of Solos, Duets, one Trio and Chorus; together with a Psalm Tune, adapted for any charitable church collection. . . .

2nd. A performance adapted for a *funeral,* consisting of three Dirges (for chorus), the words part of the burial service; together with an Anthem and a Psalm Tune suitable on the solemnity of a funeral or interment of any person of note, etc. The whole never yet perform'd being very lately set to music by *William Tuckey.* . . .

Although Tuckey labored hard to establish regular choral singing in America, the time was not yet ripe for his efforts. He accomplished some very remarkable things, when we consider what he had to contend with, but the tools he needed were not yet at hand.

An account of early music in the colonies must necessarily be superficial in a book that aims to deal with the whole subject of American music. The student who wishes to study closely the conditions in the pre-Revolutionary days must seek works that deal more specifically with those times. It has been necessary to review this period as thoroughly as space will allow, so that as we approach the work of our first native composers, Hopkinson, Lyon and Billings, we will know what lies back of them, and what equipment their musical public possessed for receiving their work. Unless we are familiar with the conditions that produced these first makers of music, our attitude toward their efforts will be wholly unsympathetic. O. G. Sonneck, one of the foremost authorities on our early musical life, wrote that nobody composed in a musical wilderness, no matter how valueless the compositions may be, if not forced to do so by latent creative powers. With this warning, and apology if you must, we turn our attention to those believed to be the first of our composers born in America.

CHAPTER II

OUR FIRST COMPOSERS

I. FRANCIS HOPKINSON
(1737-1791)

IT is only from circumstantial evidence that we are able to determine who may have been our *first* native composer. Just as Francis Hopkinson was unknown to our first music historians, so may some forgotten composer be overlooked by those writing about American music to-day. John Antes of Bethlehem may be a possible candidate, should any manuscripts of his be discovered that bear a date prior to 1759; but the only works by Antes of which we know definitely are the string quartets he is said to have written in Europe. Some think that the problematical connection of John Barnard with the tune *Mear* gives him a claim. This matter is discussed in the chapter on James Lyon.

As matters stand, the evidence that Hopkinson's manuscript song, *My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free,* was written in 1759, and that James Lyon's psalm collection *Urania* was issued at the earliest in 1761, establishes Hopkinson as the first native composer whose works are extant to-day. It is altogether fitting that Hopkinson should be our first composer, for this charming musical amateur was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, an intimate friend of George Washington, and a man who lent his talents and best efforts to helping our nation establish itself. Among the public offices that Hopkinson held were those of the first Secretary of the Navy, and Judge of the Admiralty from Pennsylvania. In addition to his musical talents, he was a satirist, poet, inventor, and painter.

Throughout the War of the Revolution he wrote satirical articles in support of his political faith. *The Battle of the Kegs* is a famous historical document. During the Constitutional Convention, his *History of a New Roof* influenced some of the most distinguished men of the time.

In one of his letters to his wife, John Adams thus described Hopkinson:

> He is one of your pretty, little, curious, ingenious men. His head is not bigger than a large apple. I have not met with anything in natural history more amusing and entertaining than his personal appearance, yet he is genteel and well bred, and is very social.

Hopkinson was born in Philadelphia, September 21, 1737. Little is known of his childhood, except that the love of music was traditional in the Hopkinson family, and the young Francis must have been introduced to its delights at an early age. He was a member of the first class to receive the bachelor's degree from the College of Philadelphia in 1757 (now the University of Pennsylvania), and he was later awarded degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws. He was admitted to the Bar in 1761.

His first public office was that of secretary to a conference between the Governor and the Indians of the Lehigh region. He was made secretary of the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1759. In 1766 he visited England, and in 1768 he married Ann Borden of Bordentown, New Jersey. His house in Bordentown is still standing.

He was always active in public affairs. He was made Collector of the Port of Newcastle in 1772, and in 1774 he was appointed to a seat in the Provincial Council of New Jersey. In 1776 he resigned all offices that would demand allegiance to King George the Third, and became a delegate to the Continental Congress. He signed the Declaration of Independence, and he was appointed by Congress to "execute the business of the navy under their direction."

In 1779 he was made Judge of the Admiralty from Penn-

sylvania. He was active in the debates of the convention of 1787 that framed the Constitution of the United States. According to some authorities he was the designer of the United States flag. George E. Hastings, his most recent biographer, presents an interesting discussion of this claim.[1] Hopkinson lived until 1791, when he died of apoplexy on May 9th.

Conjecture must supply the names of Hopkinson's music teachers, for there were several with whom he could have studied in early Philadelphia. John Beals, "musick master from London," was in Philadelphia from 1749 to 1758. Charles Love, the musician from Hallam's theatrical company, gave music lessons; and in 1757 John Palma's services may have been available. A piece by Palma—*Lesson*—was copied in Hopkinson's own handwriting in his manuscript book. It is fairly certain that Hopkinson studied later with James Bremner, who came to Philadelphia in 1763 and became an active influence in the musical life of the city. When Bremner died in 1780, Hopkinson composed an *Ode* to his memory.

From his own correspondence we may guess that Hopkinson was the center of the musical life in Philadelphia. A talented harpsichordist, he was a member of a group of amateurs and professionals who met at each other's houses, and also gave subscription concerts in public. Hopkinson conducted at the harpsichord; James Bremner, Stephen Forrage and John Schneider would play the strings in company with Governor John Penn; and wind instruments were furnished by Schneider, Ernst Barnard, George D'Eissenburg (French horn) and John Stadler (German flute). From Hopkinson's library, which is still in the possession of his descendants in Philadelphia, we learn something of the music played at these concerts. The works of Handel were well represented. The Italians, Pergolesi, Giardini,

[1] *The Life and Letters of Francis Hopkinson*, by George E. Hastings; Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Scarlatti, Corelli, Vivaldi; the English Arne and Purcell were favorites. The group was familiar with the best music of its day.

Philadelphia enjoyed a musical life that extended to the home; households that wished to enjoy music could do so undisturbed by Quaker influences. In this respect the Pennsylvania capital was distinctive. Soirées of chamber music were frequent occurrences, and music for its own sake was not disturbed by the *virtuoso* influence that was later to dominate America's musical life.

Hopkinson's career as a composer started when he was seventeen, when he wrote an *Ode on Music,* the words later printed anonymously in the *American Magazine.* He was always closely associated with the College of Philadelphia, even after graduation, for at various of the commencements he accompanied the choruses and instrumental music on the harpsichord, and on several occasions composed the Odes. When his teacher, James Bremner, temporarily relinquished the post of organist at Christ Church, Hopkinson filled the vacancy. The vestry minutes (1770) contained the following entry:

> Mr. church-warden Hopkinson having been so obliging as to perform on the organ at Christ Church during the absence of Mr. Bremner, the late organist, the vestry unanimously requested of him a continuance of this kind office, until an organist should be appointed, or as long as it should be convenient and agreeable to himself. Mr. Hopkinson cheerfully granted this request.

His musical activities in the church were not confined to playing the organ, for he was familiar with the best of the psalmodists and taught singing to the children of the church.

As an inventor, he is chiefly known for his improved method of quilling the harpsichord. There are several references to this invention in his correspondence with Thomas Jefferson, whom he asked to introduce the idea to foreign manufacturers; and in his letters to Robert Bremner, the

noted English music publisher, probably a relative of James Bremner.

A work that was probably the most important of Hopkinson's efforts was *The Temple of Minerva*—undoubtedly from his pen—although no record has been found of the musical setting. Since this "oratorical entertainment" was somewhat operatic in type, it has claim to consideration as the first American opera. The libretto was first printed anonymously in *Freeman's Journal* in Philadelphia, December 19, 1781, and the work was performed in the same year "by a company of gentlemen and ladies in the hotel of the minister of France in the presence of his Excellency General Washington and his lady." When the libretto was again printed six years later in the *Columbian Magazine* it was signed "H.," and this fact, added to Mr. Sonneck's discovery of a fragment of the manuscript in the second volume of Hopkinson's collected poems and prose, seems to establish the authorship.

The Temple of Minerva was in effect an allegorical-political opera or dramatic cantata, consisting of an overture, arias, ensembles and choruses in praise of the American alliance with France.

The earliest of Hopkinson's works are contained in a manuscript book of *Songs,* which was in the possession of the Hopkinson family until it was recently acquired by the Library of Congress in Washington. In addition to *My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free,* there are two other songs composed by *F. H.* in the volume: *The Garland* and *Oh! Come to Mason Borough's Grove,* as well as a number of unsigned religious compositions that may have been his.

Hopkinson was probably the compiler of *A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a Few Anthems, Some of them Entirely New for the use of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia.* A copy of this book is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

His most ambitious published work was the collection of *Seven Songs* (actually eight), *for the harpsichord or forte piano,* which was issued in Philadelphia in 1788. An advertisement in the *Federal Gazette* states:

These songs are composed in an easy, familiar style, intended for young practitioners on the harpsichord or forte piano, and is the first work of this kind attempted in the United States.

The collection was dedicated to the composer's friend, George Washington, then serving his first term as President. In his letter to Washington, Hopkinson shows himself to be a thoroughly modest person, with no exalted ideas of his greatness as a composer. He was aware of the fact that he was probably the first American composer:

. . . With respect to this little Work, which I now have the honor to present to your notice, I can only say, that it is such as a Lover, not a Master, of the Arts can furnish. I am neither a profess'd poet, nor a Profess'd Musician; and yet venture to appear in those characters united [Hopkinson wrote the words as well as the music of the songs]; for which I confess, the censure of Temerity may justly be brought against me.

If these Songs should not be so fortunate as to please the young Performers for whom they are intended, they will at least not occasion much Trouble in learning to perform them; and this will, I hope, be some Alleviation of their Disappointment.

However small the Reputation may be that I shall derive from this Work, I cannot I believe, be refused the Credit of being the first Native of the United States who has produced a Musical Composition. If this attempt should not be too severely treated, others may be encouraged to venture on a path, yet untrodden in America, and the Arts in succession will take root and flourish amongst us. . . .

To which Washington replied with his characteristic humor and good grace:

. . . But, my dear Sir, if you had any doubts about the reception which your work would meet with—or had the smallest reason to think that you should meet with any assistance to defend it—you have not acted with your usual good judgment in the choice of a coadjutator, for, . . . what alas! can I do to support it? I can neither

sing one of the songs, nor raise a single note on any instrument to convince the unbelieving.

But I have, however, one argument which will prevail with persons of true estate (at least in America)—I can tell them that *it is the production of Mr. Hopkinson.*

The titles of the songs, as well as their poetic and musical content, show the influence of the contemporary English style: *Come, fair Rosina, come away; My love is gone to sea; Beneath a weeping willow's shade; Enraptur'd I gaze, when my Delia is by; See, down Maria's blushing cheek; O'er the hills far away, at the birth of the morn; My gen'rous heart disdains, the slave of love to be;* and the eighth of the group, added after the title page announcing *seven* had been engraved, *The trav'ler benighted and lost, o'er the mountains pursues his lone way.* Hopkinson thought that the last song, "if played very slow, and sung with Expression," was "forcibly pathetic—at least in my Fancy." Its pathos was corroborated by Thomas Jefferson in acknowledging receipt of the songs:

I will not tell you how much they have pleased us, nor how well the last of them merits praise for it's pathos, but relate a fact only, which is that while my elder daughter was playing it on a harpsichord, I happened to look toward the fire & saw the younger one all in tears. I asked her if she was sick? She said "no; but the tune was so mournful."

It is as students of history, rather than as music critics, that we must view Hopkinson's works, though they are possessed of a freshness and ingenuous point of view that lends them considerable charm. Their importance lies not in any impress they may have had on later composers, for they did not have enough originality to exert any influence in themselves. It is rather as an indication of the existing vogue in the colonies that they are interesting, and to the historian important. A study of Hopkinson's life and writ-

ings shows that music was appreciated and enjoyed in the colonies; and that the people of that time had access to the best of contemporary musical literature.

2. JAMES LYON
(1735-1794)

Like Hopkinson, our second native composer was also an amateur. James Lyon was chiefly a psalmodist, and he runs Hopkinson a close race as first composer. In fact, those who claim that he is the first are able to make a fairly good case. Yet when Hopkinson claimed to be the first American composer he was undoubtedly not only aware of Lyon's existence, but well acquainted with him, and it is not to be supposed that a man of Hopkinson's standing would make such a claim lightly, without being sure of his ground.

Lyon was a mild-mannered Presbyterian minister, who was so color blind that once when he journeyed a considerable distance to procure some black cloth for a ministerial frock, his wife discovered that the cloth was as scarlet as the coats of the British officers. He was born in Newark, "East New Jersey," in 1735, during the turbulent days when the colony was under a royal governor, and just a few years before it was re-divided into east and west sections. It is known that his father was Zopher Lyon, "Yeoman of the Town of Newark," and that he was orphaned at an early age. In 1750, Isaac Lyon and John Crane were appointed "guardians of the Body and Estate of James Lyon above fourteen years of age until he shall be the age of twenty-one."

It was during his college days that Lyon first left record of being a composer, for at the commencement of 1759 at Nassau Hall (now Princeton), when President Samuel Davies had delivered a Latin oration that won the "applause of his numerous and learned auditors," and the

"young gentlemen" had "performed the customary exercises with uncommon Facility and Correctness, the whole ceremony concluded with an ODE, set to music by Mr. James Lyon, one of the students."

Next, we hear of him as a candidate for a master's degree at the College of Philadelphia, and in 1761 we learn of one of his works performed on the same program with an *Ode* by Hopkinson. The Pennsylvania *Gazette* (1761) stated:

> On Saturday last the public COMMENCEMENT was held in the College of this City, before a vast Concourse of People of all Ranks. Besides the usual Exercises (which gave great satisfaction to the Audience) there was performed an elegant Anthem composed by James LYON, of New Jersey College, and in the afternoon an *Ode,* sacred to the Memory of our late Gracious Sovereign George II, written and set to Music in very grand and Masterly Taste by Francis Hopkinson, Esq.A.M. of the College of this City.

It was while Lyon was in Philadelphia that he produced his *Urania,* or *A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems and Hymns,* although he may have left the city before it was finally published. He became a Presbyterian minister and went first to Nova Scotia; but unable to support himself and his family on the meagre salary the frontier church afforded, he accepted a call to the new settlement of Machias, Maine, where he remained, with a few brief interruptions, until his death in 1794.

That he returned to New Jersey at least once is indicated by the diary of a Southerner named Fithian, who spent his vacations in Cohansie, N. J. Fithian's diary affords a meagre portrait of the minister-composer. Under date of April 22, 1774:

> Rode to the stage early for the Papers, thence I went to Mr. Hunter's where I met with that great master of music, Mr. Lyon. He sung at my request, & sings with his usual softness and accuracy—he is about publishing a new book of Tunes which are to be chiefly of his own Composition.

And on the following day:

> At home drawing off some of Mr. Lyon's Tunes, & revising my Own Exercises. . . . Afternoon according to Appointment I visited Mr. Lyon at Mr. Hunter's. He sings with great accuracy. I sung with him many of his Tunes & had much conversation on music, he is vastly fond of music & musical genius's. We spent the Evening with great satisfaction to me.

After Lyon's first year in Machias, the parish invited him to remain, and raised his salary to 84 pounds per annum, with a hundred pounds as an additional settlement. When we learn later that the parish was at one time in arrears some 900 pounds of the dominie's salary, we can appreciate what devotion to the cause persuaded Lyon to remain. Sometimes he and his family had to live almost entirely on fish that he caught with his own hands in the waters of Machias Bay.

Because of his residence in Nova Scotia, Lyon was familiar with the geography of the country, and when the Revolution broke out, he wrote to Washington asking permission to lead an expedition for conquering the province. With his offer he outlined a wholly practical plan of attack. The Canadian historian, J. J. Bulmer, admits that it was fortunate for the British that Washington rejected the scheme.

It is evident that Lyon was not of the fanatic type as a pastor, nor was he of the forbidding Puritan sort, for he was said to have been orthodox though not too rigid in his religion, and he believed that usefulness was more important than display.

There is at hand convincing evidence to contradict the early historians who stated that *Urania* was a failure that almost ruined its publishers. Comparison of the few copies in existence to-day shows three separate editions, with a fourth possibly printed in New England. In many ways the collection was the most progressive of any that had yet been issued in the colonies. It was printed first in 1761,

and contained six original works by Lyon, in addition to what may have been the first appearance in the colonies of the tune of our *America,* the English *God Save the King.* In *Urania* it was called *Whitefield's Tune,* to be sung to the words, "Come, thou almighty king."

The first tune in the book was the famous *Mear.* Some have claimed that this is an American tune, composed by a pastor of Marblehead, Massachusetts—John Barnard—in 1727. If this were true, Barnard would be the first American composer of whose works we have definite knowledge; but evidence seems to show that it was probably an English tune. There is no definite proof that Barnard was a composer of music, even though he did publish a psalm book in 1752. The confusion probably arises from the fact that there was another John Barnard, an Englishman, who published a psalm book (presumably in England) in 1727. *Mear* is a fine old tune and it has come down to our own time through eighteenth and nineteenth century hymn books, set to a variety of texts. If it could be proved that it was of American origin it would be most important, for it is one of the few tunes sung in the early days that has survived to our time.

The other tunes in *Urania* were psalm-tunes, hymns, and anthems by such English writers as Arnold, Green, Knapp and Evison. William Tuckey's *Liverpool* was included. The original works by Lyon were settings of the 8th, 23rd and 95th Psalms; *Two Celebrated Verses by Sternhold and Hopkins;* an *Anthem taken from the 150th Psalm;* and the *104th Psalm* (translated) *by Dr. Watts.*

The fact that Fithian referred to a new book of tunes by Lyon, *chiefly of his own composition,* indicates that Lyon did not stop composing when he went to Maine, even though his later work was evidently never published. Possibly the later tunes were the ones that found their way into the collections of other psalmodists. *A Marriage Hymn by James Lyon* appears in Daniel Bayley's *New Universal Harmony;*

Simeon Jocelin's *Chorister's Companion* (1788) contained *Psalm 17th, Lyon;* the fourth edition of Andrew Law's *Rudiments of Music* (1792) included *Psalm 19, Lyon.* John Stickney's *Gentleman and lady's musical companion* (1774), and Elias Mann's *Massachusetts collection of sacred harmony* (1807), contained an ode, *Friendship: the words from Dr. Watts' lyric poems—set to music by the Rev. James Lyon.*

Frédéric L. Ritter, one of the first historians of American music, in his *Music in America,* takes occasion to be somewhat patronizing in his review of *Urania.* While Lyon's work is undoubtedly crude and primitive, it certainly is in advance of its few predecessors, and superior to some that came later. After quoting Lyon's *directions for singing,* Ritter exclaims sarcastically: "A great help that must have been to inexperienced singers!"

Well, here are the directions, and while it must be admitted that they give little technical help, they contain much common sense, and lay down some principles which were shamelessly disregarded by eighteenth century singers:

1. In learning the 8 notes, get the assistance of some person well acquainted with the Tones and Semitones.

2. Choose that part which you can sing with the greatest Ease, and make yourself Master of that first.

(Surely Mr. Ritter could not quarrel with such a sound principle!)

3. Sound all high Notes as soft as possible, but low ones hard and full.

(True, exceptions could be found to this rule, but its observance would at least prevent the "Squeaking above, or Grumbling below" that the *Bay Psalm Book* deplored.)

4. Pitch your Tune so that the highest and lowest Notes may be sounded distinctly.

(Thoroughly sound—the obviousness of this rule was made necessary by the contemporary manner of singing.)

Lyon's exposition of the *Keys in Music* was much clearer than that of Thomas Walter. The rules *Of Transposition* are correct as far as they go, but less complete. Lyon had at least familiarized himself with the best sources available at his time. He did not copy from the faulty, incorrect Tans'ur, who had led other colonial psalmists astray. He was an able musician for his time and surroundings, a scholar, and a man who exerted a wholesome and thoroughly dignified influence not only on his contemporaries but on those who were to follow in the immediate future.

3. WILLIAM BILLINGS, AND HIS "FUGUING PIECES" (1746-1800)

In 1770, the year in which Beethoven was born, and when Bach had been at rest for twenty years, William Billings of Boston produced *The New England Psalm Singer,* and announced his musical declaration of independence from the chafing restrictions of simplicity in psalm tunes and hymns. For, as he proclaimed in a later work, this collection contained some of his "fuguing pieces . . . more than twenty times as powerful as the old slow tunes. Each part striving for mastery and victory. The audience entertained and delighted, their minds surprisingly agitated and extremely fluctuated, sometimes declaring for one part and sometimes for another. Now the solemn bass demands their attention; next the manly tenor; now the lofty counter; now the volatile treble. Now here, now there, now here again! O ecstatic! Rush on, you sons of harmony!"

Such an imagination, and such enthusiasm should surely have produced masterworks, but alas, no—merely the crude attempts of a tanner to produce something different, a striving for effects he could imagine, but for which he lacked the necessary equipment. A picturesque character was Billings, blind in one eye, an arm withered, legs of different length, and a rasping voice to add color to his slovenly appearance.

And yet here was the musical enthusiast who was so wrapped up in the making of melody that he gave up his business of tanning to become the first American composer to make music his profession. And as a result died in poverty. He did have the satisfaction of recognition, however, for contemporary New England had never seen the like of him before, and as he devoted the major part of his efforts to music of the church, he was not set aside as a freak, but became a man honored in his own time, and hailed by many as a genius.

Billings was born in Boston in 1746, and was trained to the tanning trade. Music secured an early hold on him, and no doubt his tannery suffered because so much of his time was spent in chalking musical exercises on the walls and on the hides with which he worked. He was self-taught, and most of his knowledge in music was gained from faulty treatises by Tans'ur and others. Like many another novice, Billings refused to be daunted by his lack of technique. Rules hampered him, and he was frank in saying so. And though, when he rushed into print with his *New England Psalm Singer* he was loud in the praises of his brain-child, or Reuben as he called it, he found occasion to apologize for his first born when he issued his second book, *The Singing Master's Assistant,* some eight years later.

In the Preface to the first book, Billings thus addressed his patrons:

To all musical Practitioners:

Perhaps it may be expected by some, that I could say something concerning rules for composition; to these I answer that *Nature is the best Dictator,* for all the hard dry studied rules that ever were prescribed will not enable any person to form an Air any more than the bare knowledge of the four and twenty letters, and strict Grammatical rules will qualify a scholar for composing a piece of Poetry. . . . It must be Nature; Nature must lay the Foundation, Nature must give the Thought. . . .

I have read several Authors Rules on Composition, and find the

strictest of them make some exceptions, as thus, they say that two 8vos or two 5ths may not be taken together rising or falling, unless one be Major and the other Minor; but rather than spoil the Air, they will allow that Breach to be made, and this Allowance gives great Latitude to young Composers, for they may always make that Plea and say, if I am not allowed to transgress the Rules of composition I shall certainly spoil the Air, and cross the Strain that Fancy dictated. . . .

For my own part, as I don't think myself confined to any Rules for Composition laid down by any that went before me, neither should I think (were I to pretend to lay down rules) that any who comes after me were any ways obligated to adhere to them any further than they should think proper: so in fact I think it is best for every composer to be his own learner. Therefore, upon this consideration, for me to dictate, or to pretend to prescribe Rules of this Nature for others, would not only be very unnecessary but also a very great piece of Vanity.

The Motto of the book left no doubt as to its merits:

> Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings
> Hast Thou perfected praise.

Eight years tempered the composer's estimate, and in his second book, which became known as *Billings' Best,* he set forth this confession:

KIND READER—

No doubt you (do or ought to) remember that about eight years ago, I published a Book entitled, *The New England Psalm Singer,* &c. And truly a most masterly and inimitable performance, I then thought it to be. Oh! how did my foolish heart throb and beat with tumultuous joy! With what impatience did I wait on the Book-Binder, while stitching the sheets and putting on the covers, with what extacy did I snatch the yet unfinished Book out of his hands, and pressing to my bosom, with rapturous delight how lavish was I in enconiums on this infant production of my own Numb-Skull. Welcome, thrice welcome, thou legitimate offspring of my brain, go forth my little book, go forth and immortalize the name of your Author; may your sale be rapid and may you speedily run through ten thousand Editions, may you be a welcome guest in all companies and what will add tenfold to thy dignity, may you find your way into the Libraries of the Learned. Thou art my Reuben, my first born; the

beginning of my Strength, the Excellency of my Dignity, and the Excellency of my power. But to my great mortification I soon discovered it was Reuben in the sequel, and Reuben all over, for unstable as water, it did not excel: and since I have begun to play the Critic, I will go through with my Criticisms, and endeavour to point out its beauties as well as deformities, and it must be acknowledged, that many of the pieces are not so ostentatious, as to send forth their own praises; for it has been judiciously observed, that the oftener they are sounded, the more they are abased. After impartial examination, I have discovered that many pieces were never worth my printing or your inspection; therefore in order to make you ample amends for my former intrusion, I have selected and corrected some of the Tunes which were most approved of in that book and have added several new peices [sic] which I think to be very good ones. . . .

Billings did not take kindly to one particular criticism of his "Reuben." It seems that some of his readers had considered the arrangement of tunes too simple; the constant succession of thirds and sixths proved cloying. There was none of the seasoning of discord. This criticism annoyed Billings, and in his second book he resolved to go all the way, and show his critics what he could do in the field of dissonance. He included his *Jargon,* which we may consider the first of our present *modernistic* compositions, antedating Schoenberg and Stravinsky by at least a century and a half, and in one respect altogether worthy of them. There was a complete absence of concord, and the composer accomplished exactly what he was after. The words commence, "Let horrid Jargon split the air, And rive the nerves asunder—." *Jargon* also shows that Billings, sometimes given to literary bombast, could on occasion be a humorist. It was accompanied by a *Manifesto* to the *Goddess of Discord,* which read:

In order to do this piece justice, the concert must be made of vocal and instrumental music. Let it be performed in the following manner, viz: Let an Ass bray the base, let the filing of a saw carry the tenor, let a hog who is extremely weak squeal the counter, and let a cart-wheel, which is heavy-loaded, and that has long been without grease, squeak the treble; and if the concert should appear to be too

feeble you may add the cracking of a crow, the howling of a dog, the squalling of a cat, and what would grace the concert yet more, would be the rubbing of a wet finger upon a window glass. This last mentioned instrument no sooner salutes the drum of the ear, but it instantly conveys the sensation to the teeth; and if all these in conjunction should not reach the cause, you may add this most inharmonious of all sounds, "Pay me what thou owest."

To which his critics replied by hanging two cats by their tails to the sign—BILLINGS MUSIC—which swung outside his door.

Billings' best known tune was *Chester.* It was popular in his own time, and was in wide use well into the nineteenth century. Always an enthusiast, he became one of the most fervent patriots during the War of the Revolution, and used his gifts for patriotic songs. He wrote new words for *Chester,* and the song became the *Over There* of the Revolution, with its fiery verses shouted by every soldier:

Let tyrants shake their iron rod,
And Slav'ry clank her galling chains,
We fear them not, we trust in God,
New England's God forever reigns.

Howe and Burgoyne and Clinton, too,
With Prescott and Cornwallis join'd,
Together plot our overthrow,
In one Infernal league combin'd.

When God inspired us for the fight,
Their ranks were broke, their lines were forc'd,
Their Ships were Shelter'd in our sight,
Or swiftly driven from our Coast.

The Foe comes on with haughty Stride,
Our troops advance with martial noise,
Their Vet'rans flee before our Youth,
And Gen'rals yield to beardless boys.

What grateful Off'ring shall we bring,
What shall we render to the Lord?
Loud Hallelujahs let us Sing,
And praise his name on ev'ry Chord.

Not only did Billings claim God exclusively for New England, he paraphrased the Scriptures, and changed the locale of some of the Psalms. The 137th Psalm became his *Lamentation over Boston,* when the city was occupied by British troops:

> By the rivers of Watertown, we sat down;
> Yea we wept as we remembered Boston.

Billings published six collections altogether. In addition to the first two there were: *Music in Miniature* (1779); *The Psalm Singer's Amusement* (1781); *The Suffolk Harmony* (1786); and *The Continental Harmony* (1794). The last lays down the rudiments of music in the form of a dialogue between *Scholar* and *Master.* Again we find major and minor discussed as *sharp* and *flat* keys, but this time in an exposition of the relations of the keys to the two sexes:

Scholar: Sir, I do not well understand you, for you have but just given it as your opinion, that the two keys were to most equally pleasing.

Master: When I spoke in that manner, I meant to confine the observation to the male sex: but you may take it for granted that the female part of the creation are much the greater lovers of music: for I scarcely ever met with one but what was more or less entertained with musical sounds, and I am very positive that nine-tenths of them are much more pleased with a flat, than a sharp air; and I make no doubt, but that the musical world (if upon reading what I have now asserted, they should be induced to make some observations that way) must unavoidably fall into my opinion.

Among Billings' secular works was a choral piece entitled *Modern Music.* As a rhymster he proved himself something of a predecessor of W. S. Gilbert:

> We are met for a concert of modern invention
> To tickle the ear is our present intention
>
> . . . . .
>
> Through common and treble we jointly have run
> We'd give you their essence compounded in one;

Although we are strongly attached to the rest,
Six-four is the movement that pleases us best.
And now we address you as friends to the Cause
Performers are modest and write their own laws.
Although we are sanguine and clap at the Ban,
'Tis the part of the hearers to clap their applause.

Billings' works were widely used and his reputation extended throughout the states, for programs of concerts in Philadelphia and other cities show his anthems in abundance. His anthem from the second of Solomon's Songs, *The Rose of Sharon,* seems to have been a favorite. At the First Uranian Concert in Philadelphia (1787) Billings was represented with three works, Lyon and Tuckey with one each. In Boston, at a *Concert of Sacred Musick* "projected by the Musical Societies" to rebuild the Hollis Street Meeting House, two of Billings' anthems were sung, and the concert concluded with the *Hallelujah Chorus* from *The Messiah,* "accompanied by kettledrums."

Although he was respected, Billings was often the object of practical jokes. Probably his deformities provoked the jibes of the thoughtless. Once a local jokester called on him, and after a long preamble in which he flattered the composer by assuming that he could answer any musical question, asked whether snoring was to be classed as vocal or instrumental music. In spite of the fact that he was the protégé of Governor Samuel Adams and Dr. Pierce, and was termed an "extraordinary genius" by many a contemporary writer, Billings found it difficult to provide for his wife and six children. There are records of several attempts to improve the finances of the needy Billings family. *The Columbian Centinel* of December 8, 1790, announced its gratification

in hearing that a number of benevolent characters are determined to bring forward a Concert of Sacred Musick for the benefit of Mr. William Billings of this town—whose distress is real, and whose merit in that science, is generally acknowledged.

The pieces to be performed will consist of a great, and, it is expected, a pleasant variety, and whilst the charitable will rejoice in this opportunity to exercise their benevolence, the amateurs of musick, will no doubt be abundantly gratified.

Again, in 1792, when Billings was about to publish his last volume, the *Massachusetts Magazine* stated:

The distressed situation of Mr. Billings' family has so sensibly operated on the minds of the committee as to induce their assistance in the intended publication.

When he died on the 29th of September, 1800, there was no money to provide even a tombstone. He lies somewhere near the Boston Common, in an unmarked grave.

While his music is not alive to-day, Billings made a lasting contribution to our musical life by his activities in forming singing societies and church choirs. His introduction of the pitch-pipe eventually did away with the faulty pitching of tunes that had caused so much poor singing in churches. His use of the violoncello in church services was a daring innovation. A singing class that he formed in Stoughton, Massachusetts, became in 1786 the *Stoughton Musical Society,* the oldest singing society now in existence in America.

Those who look for real fugues in Billings' "fuguing" pieces will be disappointed, for they are of course not fugues at all, merely primitive attempts at imitative counterpoint. It is to be doubted whether any contemporary musicians in the colonies knew what a fugue really was. Tans'ur, one of the accepted authorities of the time, thus explained the *canon* and *fugue:*

To compose a Canon, you must first prick down your Fuge (or such a Quantity of Notes as you would have to lead your Point) in *one* Part; and then carry the same Notes forward, and prick them down in another Part, either in the Unison, 3rd, 4th, 5th, or 6th etc. above, or below the leading Part.

A Canon is a perpetual Fuge, i.e. Parts always flying one before another; the following parts repeating the very same Notes (either in Unison, or higher, or lower) as the leading Part, and because it is

carried on by so strict a Rule, it is called a Canon; which is the superlative, or highest Degree of Musical Composition.

A single Fuge or Imitation, is when Parts imitate one another.

A Double Fuge, is when two or several Points, or Fuges fall in, one after the other.

No indeed, we must not be too hard on Billings if this was the extent of his training. And while he was undoubtedly clumsy, crude, incorrect or what you will, Billings exerted an influence on music in New England, and the other colonies too, that has had a lasting effect. The man was vital, and while he probably copied the forms of contemporary English psalmodists, he did have a spark of originality. He fanned into life the smouldering musical interest of New England, and consequently really established in the young United States of America a definite interest in music, crude and imitative though it was.

In 1790 his career was at its peak. There were scarcely any psalm-collections published which did not contain many of his works. His music was more popular with Americans than that of foreign composers—chauvinism was unnecessary to secure appreciation of this American composer. After 1790 his influence outside of the church lessened. The coming of foreign musicians after the Revolution exposed quite cruelly the primitive character of Billings' music, and as the years progressed, his name appeared less frequently on concert programs.

CHAPTER III

THE LATTER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. NEW ENGLAND

THE closing years of the eighteenth century were somewhat more friendly to music in New England, for Puritanism was relaxing its fear and hatred of lighter diversions. Piety was still demanded by churchmen, yet music had firmly established itself as a proper part of divine worship. Secular music was gaining a foothold.

The Revolution halted musical progress less in New England than in other sections of the country, for after the field of military operations moved from Boston, musicians resumed their activities. Concerts were frequent occurrences, and as music teachers became more numerous, the audiences grew more discriminating. Owing to the difficulty of travel, there was not the opportunity for keeping in close touch with musical events in other cities; each musical center was a unit which had to rely principally on its own resources. The stagecoach, springless and uncomfortable, was about the only mode of travel by land for those who could not go on horseback. So it was something of an event when our colonial cities had a chance to become acquainted with each other's musicians. Only ten per cent of the population of the colonies lived in cities when Washington was inaugurated; the rest were farmers. Land was abundant, while money and labor for manufacturing were scarce.

There were two distinct groups among the contemporaries and successors of William Billings: those who caught the spirit of his lively "fuguing pieces," and others who were

violently opposed to their style as trivial and undignified. Clergymen were often in sympathy with the latter group, for they began to realize that the pendulum in favor of church music had swung a little too far, and that some of the music sung in church was little suited to divine worship. It must be admitted that the parsons who took this stand were probably right. Had their opposition been against true contrapuntal choral music, against the lofty part-writing of a Bach or Handel, the controversy would have been a different matter. But we can well sympathize with those who hated to see their worship halted by the meaningless repetitions of Billings' "fuges." It is difficult to see how his florid anthems could have been conducive to worship.

John Hubbard, a professor at Dartmouth College, a number of years later (1807), crystallized the sentiment against frivolous church music. In one of his essays he wrote:

> From the midnight revel, from the staggering bacchanal, from the profane altar of Comus, they have stolen the prostituted Air, and with sacrilegious hands have offered it in the Temple of *Jehovah*. . . . Such profanation must wound every feeling heart. Devotion ever assumes a dignity. It cannot delight in the tinkling bustle of unmeaning sounds. The air of a catch, a glee, a dance, a march, a common ballad is very improper for the worship of the Most High. . . .

This, of course, is one side of a time-honored controversy which survives to our own day. Non-liturgical worship has always allowed of the introduction of music that seems to sensitive ears unsuitable. Bach made *Chorales* of airs of questionable origin, but when he chose them, and passed his magic hands over their stately phrases, it was impossible to question their adaptability to sacred uses. In our generation evangelical hymns, and many of the tunes of our hymn-books are open to the same charge levelled against the music of Billings' time.

Among Billings' contemporaries was ANDREW LAW (1748-1821), a man of good education, and a psalmodist

of taste and discrimination. Law was opposed to the overflorid style, and because of his comparatively simple arrangements of his own and others' tunes, he never achieved the popularity of Billings. He spent his life in various parts of the country, some of his publications were issued in Philadelphia, but he was born and died in Connecticut, and belongs primarily to New England.

Law was one of our first writers on music. In a series of *Essays on Music* he announced his intention of publishing reviews of contemporary musical publications. In one of them he vigorously attacked a work which had had the boldness to designate itself as a collection of *Classical Church Music.* "What," asked the critic, "is implied by the word classical? . . . Can music, published in an altered and mutilated state, contrary to the true principles of the art . . . be called classical? Can the use of terms derived from foreign languages make it classical? . . . Or can turning churches into theatres, and ministers into comedians make the music classical?"

Law published his first collection, a *Select Number of Plain Tunes,* in 1767, but his first works to attract much attention were his *Select Harmony* (1778), and *Collection of Best Tunes and Anthems* (1779). In his works he attempted two innovations, one of them successful. This was setting the melody in the soprano rather than in the tenor. The idea was borrowed from English arrangers of the time, but Law was its principal exponent in this country. The other experiment was the substitution of "character notes" for notes on a staff, with different-sized heads according to their scale-relationships. His most popular tune was *Archdale.*

In one important respect, OLIVER HOLDEN (1765-1844) should be considered the outstanding composer of this time; he was probably the first American to produce a melody that has been used continuously from his own time to the present day. This is *Coronation,* set to the words *All Hail the*

Power of Jesus' Name, which has needed no discovery by historians, no revival, to make it known to later generations. If lasting value is the criterion by which music is to be judged, the palm goes to Holden, and an account of American music which has survived on its own merits must start with him.

He was born in Shirley, Massachusetts, in 1765, and at an early age moved to Charlestown, where he first became a carpenter. He spent his leisure hours in composing, and finally became a singing-teacher. As a musician, he was about equal to Billings in equipment, but because of his associations, and more cautious nature, he did not go as far afield as his older comtemporary.

A year after his first publication, *The American Harmony* (1792), Holden announced an ambitious scheme which does not seem to have met with enough response to warrant starting; the publication of *The Massachusetts Musical Magazine.* An advertisement in the *Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester, March 14, 1793), gave the details:

> Proposal, for printing by Subscription, in monthly numbers, a new work, to be entitled *The Massachusetts Musical Magazine,* intended principally to furnish Musical Societies and other Practitioners in that pleasing art, with a choice and valuable collection of odes, anthems, dirges and other favorite pieces of musick. Principally original American compositions. By Oliver Holden, author of the American Harmony.
>
> As a work of this kind has never been attempted in this part of the Union, and as many have expressed a wish to see such a publication, it is presumed that it will be found exceedingly useful, and meet a very general acceptance with all those who wish to possess themselves of a valuable collection of tunes, which are not to be found in musick books calculated only for schools and publick worship. . . .
>
> As the price is set so exceedingly low the editor flatters himself that little persuasion will be necessary to effect a speedy and extensive subscription; . . .

Coronation was first printed in Holden's *Union Harmony* (1793). His other sacred books included the *Charlestown Collection* (1803), and *Plain Psalmody* (1800).

At the time of Washington's death, Holden was one of the many composers who lent their talents to commemorating the father of the nation. According to the newspapers, the "tributory honors" to George Washington, announced at the Old South Meeting House in Boston in January, 1800, were to conclude with the singing of *From Vernon's mount behold the hero rise,* the music by Oliver Holden. In February of the same year the Mechanic's Association of Boston requested him to write a cantata on the subject of Washington. He provided a *Dirge,* or *Sepulchral Service,* in which the first "Solemn Recitative" began: "Lo! sorrow reigneth, and the nation mourns."

Aside from *Coronation,* Holden's most important work was done in association with Samuel Holyoke and Hans Gram. This was the editing and compiling of *The Massachusetts Compiler* (1795) which was in many ways the most progressive work on psalmody to appear in the United States before 1800. It contained the "theoretical and practical elements of sacred vocal music, together with a musical dictionary." In 1797, Isaiah Thomas, the publisher, engaged Holden as editor and reviser of the *Worcester Collection,* which, he presumed, would be "pleasing to its patrons." Holden lived until 1844.

SAMUEL HOLYOKE (1762-1820) was co-editor with Holden in the *Massachusetts Compiler.* He was the son of a clergyman of Boxford, Massachusetts. A versatile musician, with perhaps less natural talent than some of his contemporaries, he was nevertheless active in musical affairs. Holyoke was an avowed opponent of the Billings school, and in his first publication, *Harmonia Americana* (1791), he made the following statement:

> Perhaps some may be disappointed that fuguing pieces are in general omitted. But the principal reason why few were inserted was the trifling effect produced by that sort of music; for the parts, falling in, one after another, each conveying a different idea, confound the sense, and render the performance a mere jargon of words.

He was active in promoting choral concerts in and around Boston, especially Salem, and on the programs he included some of the best music of the times. His fame rests chiefly on the hymn-tune, *Arnheim.* Others of his works were the following collections:

The Columbian repository of sacred harmony. Selected from European and American authors with many new tunes not before published. Including the whole of Dr. Watts' psalms and hymns, to each of which a tune is adapted and some additional tunes suited to the particular metres in Tate and Brady's, and Dr. Belknap's collection of psalms and hymns. (Date unknown, probably 1800 or 1802.)

The Christian harmonist; containing a set of tunes adapted to all the metres. . . . To which are added, hymns on particular subjects . . . two anthems, and a funeral dirge . . . designed for the use of the Baptist Churches of the U. S. A. (1804.)

Vocal Companion. . . . (1807.)

Instrumental Assistant. . . . (Date unknown.)

As with Holden, the death of Washington called Holyoke's musical pen into play. The library of Harvard University possesses a copy of

Hark from the tombs, etc. and *Beneath the honors,* etc. Adapted from Dr. Watts, and set to music, by Samuel Holyoke, A.M. Performed at Newburyport, 2nd January, 1800. The day on which the citizens unitedly expressed their unbounded veneration for the memory of our beloved Washington. . . .

Holyoke had not waited for Washington's death to extol him in music, for in September, 1790, the *Massachusetts Magazine* had printed his song, *Washington.* This journal issued a number of Holyoke's compositions, among them *The Pensive Shepherd* (words by J. Lathrop); *Sally,* a *Pastoral;* and *Terraminta,* words from *The Apollo.*

The third editor of the *Massachusetts Compiler* was a foreigner, HANS GRAM, who settled in Boston some time before 1790, where he acted as organist of the Brattle Street Church. Gram enjoys the distinction of being the composer of the first orchestral score published in the

United States. The Bethlehem group left behind them works for orchestral combinations, but they were all in manuscript. Gram's work was scored for strings, two clarinets and two E-flat horns. It was entitled *The Death Song of an Indian Chief,* and was printed on a flyleaf in the *Massachusetts Magazine* of March, 1791. It is from the contents of this magazine that we know what Gram composed. Among the songs was one that bore the title, *A Shape Alone let others Prize.* There were also *A Hunting Song,* and *Till Noah's Time,* "A favorite song. Translated from the Danish by Mr. Hans Gram. The air a Gothick composition." Gram was a good musician, and was no doubt principally responsible for the superiority of the harmonizations in the *Compiler.*

Among the lesser composers of the day, DANIEL READ (1757-1836) was author of several collections: *The American Singing Book; or a new and easy guide to the art of psalmody* (1785); and *The Columbian Harmonist* (1807). Read was by trade originally a comb maker. He was clumsy as a harmonist and fond of "fuguing pieces."

TIMOTHY SWAN (1757-1842) was a New Englander who composed some tunes that survived him by many years, some of them used to-day: *China, Poland, Ocean,* and *Pownall.* One of his works, *The Songster's Assistant* (1800), has a novel decoration; a canon for two voices engraved on a staff in the form of a French horn.

JACOB KIMBALL (1761-1826) left the practice of law to become a musician, and died in the Almshouse at Topsfield, Massachusetts. He was one of the "fuge" writers. In 1793 he published his *Rural Harmony,* and was co-editor with Holyoke in compiling the *Essex Harmony* (1800).

JACOB FRENCH (1754- ?), produced the *New American Melody* (1789); *Psalmodist's Companion* (1793), and *Harmony of Harmony* (1802), the latter containing five parts: 1. The ground work or principles of music: by way of question and answer. 2. The gamut . . . with observa-

tions on music. 3. A complete set of psalm-tunes. 4. A number of pieces set to particular psalms and hymns, together with odes, fuguing and flying pieces. 5. A number of anthems.

Secular music, and the giving of concerts, was with a few exceptions largely in the hands of foreign residents. One of the exceptions was JOSIAH FLAGG (1738-1794), who has been mentioned in a previous chapter as a psalmodist, and compiler of *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (1764). Flagg was familiar with the best music of his time, and being an energetic person, he was possessed of ambitions. As early as 1771 he promoted a concert of "vocal and instrumental musick accompanied by French horns, hautboys, etc. by the band of the 64th Regiment." The program included works of both Handel and Bach. Two years later he left Boston, and in the announcement of a final concert, in which there would be "upwards of 50 performers," he expressed the hope that the receipts would be sufficient to enable him to leave the Province "in an independant manner." Evidently the career of concert manager was precarious in those days! Where Flagg spent the following years until his death in 1794 is not known, but his widow was in Boston in the following year, for we learn that Mr. Stone, the flutist, organized a concert for her benefit. Evidently her want had been caused by the misdeeds of her "vile miscreant son," the surgeon dentist Josiah Flagg, junior. The proceeds of the concert were $102, which, when the *Columbian Centinel* "considered the disadvantages unavoidably attending the business, must be considered as handsome." Mrs. Flagg and her daughters publicly thanked their friends for their efforts in their behalf, and in their announcement took pains to say that they "carried on the business of riveting and mending China and glass, and needle work of all kinds."

Flagg's program of vocal and instrumental music in 1771 contained a *Hunting Song* by W. S. MORGAN, a musician

from abroad who provided color if little else of importance to Boston's musical life immediately preceding the Revolution. Morgan was evidently a good musician, but also something of a rascal. He had come to Boston in 1770, and had advertised himself as a "pupil of Signior Giardini" who intended "instructing ladies and gentlemen on the harpsichord, violin, etc., on the easiest terms and by the most approv'd methods." A year later he appeared before the Boston public in one of the subscription concerts of William Turner, a concert manager and dancing teacher. Morgan soon became involved with the sheriff, and Turner befriended him, not only by paying the board bill which was the cause of the trouble, but also by supporting him for the next six months. Morgan then went to Newport, to become the organist of Trinity Church, but he got into trouble again, and Turner was obliged to find him a job, this time in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Then the ungrateful Morgan notified Turner that if he did not help him further, he would ally himself with Turner's newly arrived concert rival, David Propert. Whereupon the exasperated Mr. Turner sent an officer to Morgan's house with a writ in which he "requested my just due, and desir'd he would settle with me and pay the balance or at least give security for it." This caused a postponement of the Propert concert, but Turner, probably not wishing to appear in the capacity of legally hindering a rival's concert, withdrew his complaint, and the concert was held on April 26, 1773.

Morgan appears again as a composer, this time for orchestra, when a concert was announced in 1774 "to conclude with a grand Military Symphony accompanied by kettle drums, etc. compos'd by Mr. Morgan." The last we hear of him is when he announced a concert for his own benefit in 1775, "when will be performed a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music; between the parts of which will be delivered (gratis) several comic Lectures on various subjects."

Josiah Flagg introduced the London organist and composer, WILLIAM SELBY (1738-1798), who was largely responsible for the rapid progress of music in Boston during the following years. Soon after his arrival (about 1771), Selby was appointed organist of King's Chapel, and the vestry ordered a public collection for his benefit. During the Revolution he found it necessary to turn to other activities for a livelihood, and in his shop near Broomfield's Lane he advertised himself as selling "Port, Teneriffe, Malaga Wines, Tea, Brown and Loaf sugar, logwood, English soap, etc."

In 1782 Selby advertised for subscriptions to a work which seems never to have been issued, a monthly publication of music under the title of *The New Minstrel,* each number to consist of "at least one composition for the harpsichord, piano forte or spinnet, one for the guittar, and one for the German flute, also of one song in French, and two songs in the English language." The advertisement for subscriptions gives a picture of conditions at the time:

Mr. Selby conceives that he need not urge the literary and other benefits which might arise from a due encouragement of works of the above kind. At this age of general civilization, at this aera of the acquaintance with a nation far gone in politeness and fine arts—even the stern patriot and lover of his country's glory, might be addressed on the present subject with not less propriety than the man of elegance and taste.

The promptness of this young country in those sciences which were once thought peculiar only to riper age, has already brought upon her the eyes of the world.

She has pushed her researches deep into philosophy and her statesmen and generals equalled those of the Roman name.

And shall those arts which make her happy be less courted than those arts which have made her great? Why may she not be "In song unequall'd as unmatch'd in war?"

A cry has gone forth against all amusements which are but a step from Gothism. The raisers of such a cry being unacquainted with distinctions, and little considering that "indulgences are only vices when pursued at the expence of some virtue" and that where they

intrench on *No* virtue, they are innocent, and have in every age been acknowledged by almost all moralists.

When he first came to Boston, Selby was concerned chiefly with instrumental music. In many of his concerts he appeared as composer. At his initial appearance with Flagg he performed his *Concerto on the Organ,* and he featured his *Harpsichord Concerto* (probably a transcription of the same piece) on two of Morgan's benefit programs. Gradually his interest seemed to center in choral music, and through his efforts in organizing choral concerts in Boston, he can well be considered an indirect founder of the *Handel and Haydn Society,* which has played such an important part in the musical life of New England from the early nineteenth century.

One of Selby's concerts, September 22, 1773, on the anniversary of George III's coronation, shows the type of music he presented. The instrumental pieces were furnished by the 64th Regiment Band, conducted by Morgan, and the choral music was probably performed by the Choir of King's Chapel. Handel was represented with three works; an overture, the *Hallelujah* chorus, and the *Grand Coronation Anthem in 22 Parts.* In addition to songs, an organ concerto, and a sinfonia by unnamed composers, there was a *Glee in three parts, composed in the year 1600.* Morgan contributed a solo on the violin. In appealing to his public for support, Selby advertised that

Mr. Selby having been at great pains and expence to have this concert performed elegantly, humbly hopes to be patronized by his friends and the public.

In the Spring of 1782, when Selby was again acting as organist at King's Chapel (he held the position until his death in 1798), he announced a concert of *Musica Spiritualis,* for the benefit of the poor of Boston. In 1786 came the mammoth event which marked the peak of his career. A *Musical Society* in which Selby seems to have been the

moving spirit, sponsored a festival concert from which the proceeds would be devoted to much-needed prison relief. The *Massachusetts Gazette* printed a long announcement, containing a program that was in truth stupendous for those days. Works of Handel, and Bach, and compositions by Selby himself were performed.

The success of this concert encouraged the musical society and Selby to attempt in the following year another "Spiritual Concert for the benefit of those who have seen better days." An equally mammoth program, however, failed to draw an equally large audience.

When Washington visited Boston during his inaugural tour in 1789, the concerts arranged in his honor featured Selby's compositions. Although his name gradually disappears from concert programs after 1793, he lived until 1798 in Boston, where he died at the age of 59.

It is chiefly because of his compositions that this book is concerned with Selby, and while his works have not survived, and his chief value was the stimulation he afforded to the musical life of Boston, he was exceedingly active as a composer. Sonneck's *Bibliography of Early American Secular Music* gives the titles of the following works:

Apollo, and the Muse's musical compositions . . . consisting of anthems in four parts, with symphonies for the organ,—Voluntaries or fuges for the organ or harpsichord—Sonatas or lessons for the harpsichord or pianoforte—Songs set for the voice and harpsichord or pianoforte, also, transposed for the German flute and guittar—A piece with variations for the harpsichord or pianoforte, in concert with the violin and guittar.—A concerto for the organ or harpsichord, with instrumental parts—A sonata for two violins and violoncello.

The Lovely Lass, a song, words by Mr. Brown.

Ode for the New Year

An Ode in honor of General Washington

On Musick, a song.

Ptalæmon to Pastora, "a new air."

The Rural Retreat, a song.

In addition, there was an *Ode to Independence,* and numerous sacred compositions, the anthems *O be Joyful in the Lord, Jubilate Deo, Now the King Eternal,* etc.

Another colorful figure from abroad was the blind organist and pianist JOHN L. BERKENHEAD, who arrived in 1795, and from 1796 to 1804 was organist at Trinity Church in Newport. When he first arrived in Boston a concert was announced for his benefit at the Universal Meeting House. The advertisement said that

> Tho' he mourns a prison'd sense
> [he] Has music in his soul.

At the concert for Josiah Flagg's widow the program featured Berkenhead's playing of his own piece, *The Demolition of the Bastile for piano forte or harpsichord.* There are records of many performances of this work by the composer, its name changed to the *Abolition of the Bastile* on a later occasion. He composed songs and instrumental pieces, and it is known that he travelled among near-by New England towns giving concerts with his associates. The *Columbian Centinel* of February 21, 1798, gave a glimpse of his entertainments:

> Dr. Berkenhead and Co. entertained the inhabitants of Salem with a "Concert" on Thursday evening. Washington Hall was well filled. Mrs. Berkenhead, though indisposed, sang with feeling and taste; Mrs. Spencer with emphasis and correctness; and Mr. Spencer was loudly applauded and repeatedly *encored* by the gallery boys! The Bastile by the Doctor, was admirably played on an elegant harpsichord, belonging to a respectable family in that town.

It seems that Mrs. Berkenhead, even when sick, was easier to listen to than Mrs. Spencer.

Evidently Dr. Berkenhead had one lamentable weakness that called upon him the wrath of the vestry of Trinity Church. The organist was in the habit of calling upon a friend who had some excellent Scotch whiskey, on his way to the church. He became confused in the order of his

program after one of these visits, and the clerk called out, "Mr. Berkenhead, you are playing the wrong tune!" Undaunted, the bibulous Mr. Berkenhead calmly pulled apart the curtains in front of him and called the clerk a liar. In his next contract the vestry specified that his tenure of office was to exist "during good behavior and punctual attendance."

At the close of the century Boston definitely accepted the theatre as at least permissible, and attendance had become a matter of individual conscience rather than one of law. The eighteenth century theatre is closely associated with music, for a large proportion of the repertoire of the early companies was devoted to the English type of ballad opera; plays interspersed with music, generally compiled from miscellaneous sources.

The Boston anti-theatre law of 1750 was for a number of years rigidly observed, but gradually the more venturesome made sporadic attempts to lure patrons to their exhibitions. Various terms were used to get around the law; "readings," "moral lectures," were advertised, rather than plays. In 1769 the *Musical Lady, Don Quichote,* and *Love in a Cottage* were "read," and in 1770 a Mr. Joan (probably James Juhan, a Frenchman) gave a "reading" of *The Beggar's Opera.*

In 1775, the year of Bunker Hill, theatrical entertainment was offered by a number of officers and ladies, the proceeds devoted to distressed soldiers, their widows and children. Obviously the newly established Massachusetts government, independent of the King, could do nothing about such entertainments, but when Washington compelled Howe to evacuate Boston in the Spring of the following year, the Boston authorities were free to regulate their own diversions. Consequently there are practically no records of dramatic entertainments in the Hub during the following twelve years.

In 1778 a systematic agitation for repeal of the law of

1750 began. Subterfuges were again employed to fool the authorities. A Mr. and Mrs. Smith gave some "Moral Lectures" at Concert Hall, one of them being a "dialogue on the horrid crime of murder, from Shakespeare's *Macbeth.*" Then followed a series of petitions to the Legislature, which were refused in spite of the growing strength of those who wanted their drama called by its right name. At length defiance of the law became systematic. A "New Exhibition Room" was opened, offering "a Gallery of Portraits, songs, feats of tumbling and ballet pantomime," and "Lectures Moral and Entertaining."

This was unmolested for several months, but at last Governor Hancock felt the necessity for respect of the law, and started legal action against the offenders. Though he never closed the theatrical speak-easy, he curtailed its repertoire considerably. In the Spring of 1793 the anti-theatre law was talked to death in the Legislature, and though the necessary two-thirds majority never actually voted for repeal, sentiment in favor of the theatre was too strong for the authorities to attempt further enforcement.

After this, the New Federal Street Theatre was built, and later the Haymarket, where Bostonians were treated regularly each season to comedies, tragedies, and ballad-operas. During the ensuing seven years the repertoire of the Federal Street Theatre embraced over ninety ballad operas, and the Haymarket more than sixty.

The history of the theatre in Boston is important because it played a large part in introducing several musicians who were to become leading influences in the city's musical development; men like Gottlieb Graupner and the Van Hagens, father and son.

And so the century closes with Puritan Boston still stern, but sometimes smiling.

2. POST-REVOLUTIONARY IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA

During the Revolution, matters musical were almost negligible in Philadelphia, and those in New York were largely in the hands of the British. The British officers and their Tory friends, who refused to consider the rebellion as serious an affair as it finally proved to be, sought lighter diversions, and Howe's *Thespians,* and other groups composed principally of military persons, gave plays, and often concerts. When the British evacuated Philadelphia in 1778, a number of professional actors tried to attract the members of the Congress and the people of Philadelphia to plays at the Southwark Theatre, but Congress discouraged this attempt by another resolution to supplement that of 1774, and the local legislature followed suit with an anti-theatre law.

In New York, the gallant Major André was the moving spirit among the military players, and officiated as manager, actor and scene painter; the latter a somewhat harrowing occupation when a number of years later, in a play based on the André episode, a back-drop painted by André himself was used to depict the scene of his execution. Officers of the Army and Navy, and colonial sympathizers to the British cause, were subscribers to several regular concert series which prospered from 1781 until the last British regulars left the city in 1783. No doubt the unfortunate war sufferers (generally British) had their troubles considerably lightened by the proceeds.

In 1783, when Washington proclaimed hostilities at an end and retired to Mount Vernon where he hoped to enjoy the peace and quiet he was soon to be denied, musical activities came to life and assumed fresh vigor. Philadelphia started immediately with a series of *City Concerts,* inaugurated by John Bentley, which continued under changing man-

agements almost regularly for ten years. Then interest in the theatre, and the establishment of summer concerts proved competition too strong to surmount. Post-war subscription concerts in New York were established in 1785 by William Brown, and they continued under different managements until 1796, when conditions similar to those in Philadelphia proved too discouraging.

Immediately after the War theatrical affairs were largely in the hands of the re-organized American Company, which re-opened the John Street Theatre in New York in 1785, and in 1798 erected the famous Park Theatre in Park Row. In Philadelphia the American Company encountered much opposition because of the Quakers' energy in urging enforcement of the anti-theatre law of 1778. As a result Philadelphia paralleled Boston in witnessing "Lectures, properly diversified with music, scenery and other decorations, spectaculum vitæ," and other subterfuges calculated to hide forbidden fruit. One play, *The Gamester,* was offered as a "serious and moral lecture, in five parts, on the sin of gambling," and *Hamlet* was introduced between the parts of a concert as a "moral and instructive tale called *Filial Piety, Exemplified in the History of the Prince of Denmark.*" It was not until 1789 that the theatre law was repealed, and the old Southwark Theatre re-opened officially with plays called by their proper name. Thereafter the city enjoyed regular visits of the American Company, until the opening in 1794 of the Chestnut Street Theatre by the newly formed Wignell and Reinagle Company. This became Philadelphia's own company, and was the center of its theatrical life.

During these years a factor that has always been predominant in American music became increasingly apparent. Before the War, America had enjoyed the presence of a number of foreign musicians, and from 1783 scores of them appeared in the newly established United States. From their

arrival they took largely into their own hands the management and performance of our musical affairs. Of course this immigration offered advantages as well as disadvantages to the cause of American music, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to weigh the gains and drawbacks, and determine intelligently whether our musical life was eventually the gainer or the loser. We shall see that similar events occurred in the middle of the following century. Would our Billings, our Hopkinsons and Lyons have sowed the seeds of a truly national school of music, which would have gained in background and in craftsmanship, if its growth had been uninterrupted by the coming of skilled, thoroughly trained musicians whose knowledge and talents paled the glories of our native composers? Or would the crude yet native spark of creative genius have become sterile on virgin soil, where there was not the opportunity for exchange of ideas in a cultured environment? Whether it was to our advantage or not, the musicians came, and as nearly all of them were active as composers, as well as performers, they were the principal source of our late eighteenth-century secular music. Their concerts form the catalog of the bulk of the music written in this country from the close of the Revolution to the early eighteen hundreds.

PETER ALBRECHT VAN HAGEN was a Hollander of German descent. Born of a musical family, he had been active in the musical life of Rotterdam before he settled in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1774. Having offered the inhabitants of that city a "Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music," he advertised for pupils in organ, harpsichord, pianoforte, violin, violoncello and viola, and proposed to teach "the manner of composition to any that are inclined to be instructed therein." This list of subjects was subsequently put to shame when the family moved to New York fifteen years later, and Mr. Van Hagen advertised that he sold instruments of all sorts, and taught at six dol-

lars a month (twelve lessons) and a guinea entrance fee, any or all of the following:

> violin, harpischord, tenor, violoncello, German flute, hautboy, clarinet, bassoon, and singing.

Van Hagen's New York début occurred in October, 1786, when he introduced his son to the public, Peter, junior, eight years of age. According to the program, the father played two concertos on the violin and one on the tenor, while the boy rendered a vocal selection, and played a concerto on the pianoforte. Peter, senior, showed his versatility by playing a "solo upon iron nails, called Violin Harmonika."

Mrs. Van Hagen was also a musician, and in addition to participating in the family's concerts, she taught pupils. Her advertisement (1792) described her abilities:

> Mrs. Van Hagen, lately from Amsterdam, respectfully informs the ladies of this city that she intends to teach the theory and practice of music on the harpischord and Piano Forte with thoroughbass, if desired: also, the principles of vocal music and singing according to the most approved method and present taste in Europe.
>
> As she has been for several years organist in the churches at Namur, Middleburg, Vlissingen and Bergen op den zoom, she also teaches on that instrument, as well church music, as lessons, sonatas, concertos, etc.
>
> Mrs. Van Hagen hopes from her theoretic knowledge and successful experience in the science of music, to be as fortunate in the progress of her pupils in this city, as she has been in some of the first families in Holland.
>
> As motives of delicacy may induce parents to commit the tuition of young ladies in this branch of education to one of their own sex, and the female voice from its being in unison, is better adapted to teach them singing than that of the other sex, which is an octave below, she flatters herself that she shall be indulged with their approbation and the protection of a respectable public.

In the same year the entire family presented a concert at which Mother Van Hagen played a "Forte Piano Sonata" and a "Forte Piano Concerto," Papa Van Hagen rendered a

Tenor Concerto, little Peter played a Violin Concerto, and his sister, "Miss Van Hagen, *about* 13 years old," sang a "Song Duetto" with her little brother, and a trio with her mother and Peter, junior.

In 1792 Van Hagen, senior, joined with Henri Capron and George Saliment in the management of the annual New York subscription concerts, and in the following Fall, when Capron had gone to Philadelphia, he gave three subscription concerts on his own account, with the assistance of several amateurs from a St. Cecilia Society, organized a year earlier. Again the entire family joined forces to make the affairs a success. In succeeding years Van Hagen was active in the management of the so-called City Concerts, until the family departed for Boston in 1796. Here, in partnership with his son, he opened a Musical Magazine and Warranted Piano Forte Warehouse at 62 Newbury Street. He became leader of the Haymarket Theatre orchestra, and organist of Stone Chapel. In 1800 he withdrew from the firm, which had begun to publish music in 1799, and his son continued the business alone.

As a composer, Van Hagen the elder left behind him records of having written music principally for the theatre, arrangements for ballad operas that were performed at the theatres in Boston. To *The Adopted Child,* or the *Baron of Milford Castle,* for which Thomas Atwood had composed the original score, Van Hagen wrote entirely new music. For *The Battle of Hexham; Columbus, or the Discovery of America;* and *Zorinski,* or *Freedom to the Slaves,* he merely supplied some incidental music, and fitted the orchestral accompaniments to the instrumentation of the Boston theatres. Of his original compositions, the *Federal Overture* was advertised for performance at the Haymarket Theatre in 1797, and his *Funeral Dirge* on the death of General Washington was published in 1800.

PETER VAN HAGEN, JUNIOR, must have been born in this country, presumably in Charleston, and was therefore

doubly entitled to consideration as an American composer. Some of his works are preserved in the library of Harvard University, all of them issued by the Van Hagen publishing firm. There is a patriotic song, *Adams and Washington,* whose words expressed the national state of mind when a state of war existed with France in 1798:

> Columbia's brave friends with alertness advance
> Her rights to support in defiance of France.
> To volatile fribbles we never will yield
> While John's at the helm, and George rules the field.

Others of his published songs were *Anna, Gentle Zephyr,* and the *Pride of our Plains.* He also composed an *Overture* which was played at the Haymarket in Boston.

One of the most prolific composers of the late eighteenth century was ALEXANDER REINAGLE (1756-1809), a man not only active in musical affairs both in New York and Philadelphia, but one who exerted an influence that made for high standards. Born of Austrian parents in England (1756), Reinagle inherited his love of music from his father. His early musical education was received in Scotland, where he studied with Raynor Taylor, who followed him to America in 1792, and of whom we shall hear more later. From his correspondence with Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach, it was apparent that Reinagle was one of the younger Bach's intimate friends. No doubt he was well acquainted with other prominent Europeans of the time.

His activities in this country, centered largely in Philadelphia, were concerned with giving concerts and composing; and with managing a theatrical company in conjunction with Thomas Wignell. He first landed in New York in 1786, where he announced that "Mr. Reinagle, member of the Society of Musicians in London, gives lessons on the pianoforte, harpsichord and violin." New Yorkers did not offer the encouragement and patronage he needed, and he soon departed for Philadelphia. As early as the autumn of 1786 he was busy with concerts in the Pennsylvania city.

On September 21st he assisted in a concert for Henri Capron's benefit by contributing a song, and a sonata on the pianoforte. In October he announced a benefit concert of his own, and showed himself something of a modern by opening and closing the program with works of Haydn. He joined forces with Capron, William Brown, and Alexander Juhan in the management of the season's subscription concerts, and gave the musical public of Philadelphia an adequate idea of his musicianship and high ideals. In the following season he continued the subscription concert management with Brown.

After he had been in Philadelphia but a year, Reinagle was the first to introduce four-hand piano music to America. At a concert for Juhan's benefit, he played with Juhan a piano sonata for four hands by Haydn. No less a celebrity graced this concert than General Washington, soon to be elected president, and when Reinagle gave a concert of his own three weeks later, Washington was again in the audience. It is generally supposed that Reinagle was the harpsichord teacher of Washington's step-grand-daughter, Nelly Custis.

By this time Reinagle had become interested in the theatre. Although the anti-theatre law had not yet been repealed in Philadelphia, the Old American Company had re-opened the Southwark Theatre with its moral lectures, and Reinagle became associated with the troupe, probably as harpsichordist. It must have been this connection that caused his return to New York late in 1788, where he was no doubt associated with the company's brilliant season at the John Street Theatre in 1789. New York had become the capital of the new government. Washington, always fond of the theatre and other amusements, was in constant attendance.

In September, 1788, Reinagle joined Capron, who had also left Philadelphia, in reviving New York's subscription concerts, which had been dormant since the War, except for

the only partially successful series by William Brown two years earlier. In the following season three more concerts were offered by Reinagle and Capron, in September and October. At the first of these a chorus by Reinagle was sung. This work has been the subject of an interesting controversy. The advertisement of the concert contained the following information:

> After the first act will be performed a Chorus, to the words that were sung, as Gen. Washington passed the bridge at Trenton—the Music now composed by Mr. Reinagle.

In 1789 the piece was published under the following heading:

> Chorus sung before Gen. Washington as he passed under the triumphal arch raised on the bridge at Trenton, April 21st, 1789. Set to music and dedicated by permission to Mrs. Washington by A. Reinagle. . . .

Superficially, it would appear that Reinagle had written the music that had been sung at the Trenton ceremonies as Washington passed on his way to his inauguration as our first president; and casual students have so interpreted it. The concert advertisement speaks of "music *now* composed by Mr. Reinagle," and in the scoring of the published version there are significant differences with contemporaneous accounts of how the piece was sung. This discredits the theory that Reinagle composed the original music for the welcome to Washington, and indicates that the music later used in the concert and subsequently published was a new setting of the words that had been sung at Trenton, beginning:

> Welcome, mighty chief! Once more. . . .

After the second series of New York concerts, Reinagle returned to Philadelphia, perhaps because the Old American Company had gone there to celebrate the repeal of the anti-theatre law by reopening the Southwark Theatre. He was active in subscription concerts, and from the music that

was played it would appear that he had a hand in the management. There were works of Haydn and Gossec, as well as the inevitable Pleyel and Stamitz.

The Philadelphia City Concerts of 1791-2 were under the joint management of Reinagle and J. C. Moller. Capron joined them the following season, when eight concerts were given at intervals of several weeks from December to March. Sonneck, in *Early Concert Life in America,* made some comments on the character of the programs:

> In view of programs like these, I believe, the customary good-natured or ill-natured smile worn by historians in stumbling accidentally across an isolated eighteenth century program in our country will have to be cancelled once for ever. Though several of the composers who figured on these programs have since passed into (perhaps unmerited) oblivion, they were prominent masters in those days, and names like Haydn, Grétry, Bach, and Mozart are still household names in every musical community. If the arrangement of the "Plans" seems a trifled checkered at times to us moderns who fail to find the same or worse faults in the programs of our own time, we should not forget that the City Concerts ran strictly on European lines and contained no oddities which could not easily be duplicated by quoting European programs.

Meanwhile, Reinagle had become increasingly interested in matters theatrical and operatic, and had formed a partnership with Thomas Wignell, a brilliant English actor and singer who had been connected with the Old American Company since 1785. In 1791 Reinagle and Wignell commenced carrying out their plans for building a new theatre of their own in Chestnut Street, which would be the home for a permanent company that Wignell had recruited from abroad. So great was the competition the Wignell and Reinagle company offered to later visits of the American Company, that the older organization left the field to the newcomers after a final season in 1794. Although the Chestnut Street Theatre was actually ready a year before it was officially opened, the yellow fever epidemic that raged in Philadelphia in the Winter of 1793 caused postponement

of any but necessary gatherings. Though the company was not yet assembled when the plague subsided, Reinagle felt that he should no longer deny the public a chance to see the new play-house, and he opened its doors with a "grand concert of vocal and instrumental music," on the 2nd of April, 1793. In February of the following year it commenced its career as a theatre with a performance of *The Castle of Andalusia.*

Although Reinagle was in charge of the music and the orchestral department, George Gillingham, an English violinist who had sat with Reinagle in the orchestra of the Handel Commemoration at Westminster Abbey in 1784, was brought from England as conductor of the orchestra. Durang's *History of the Stage in Philadelphia* has the following picture of Reinagle:

> Who that once saw old manager Reinagle in his official capacity, could ever forget his dignified person. He presided at his piano forte, looking the very personification of the patriarch of music—investing the science of harmonious sounds, as well as the dramatic school, with a moral influence, reflecting and adorning its salutary uses with high respectability and polished manners. His appearance was of the reverent and impressive kind, which at once inspired the universal respect of the audience.
>
> Such was Reinagle's imposing appearance, that it awed the disorderly of the galleries, or the fop of annoying propensities, and impertinent criticism of the box lobby into decorum.
>
> It was inspiring to behold the polished Reinagle saluting from his seat (before the grand square piano forte in the orchestra) the highest respectability of the city, as it entered the boxes to take seats. It was a scene before the curtain that suggested a picture of the master of private ceremonies receiving his invited guests at the fashionable drawing room.
>
> Mr. Reinagle was a gentleman and a musician. His compositions evinced decided cleverness and originality, and some of his accompaniments to the old opera music were much admired by good judges.

William McKoy, in an article written twenty years after Reinagle's death in Poulson's *Daily Advertiser,* tells of the musician's participation in the performances:

Mr. Reinagle, one of the Managers, and a Professor of Music, used to be seen, but only on particular occasions, seated at the Piano Forte, then standing against the stage, in the rear of the band for the mere purpose of touching a few notes solo, by way of accompaniment to the silvery tones of Mrs. Wignell. . . . Mr. Reinagle, while thus enjoying the effect of her inimitable chant, exhibited to the audience a head not unlike that of Louis the XIV but divested of the simplicity, bushy, powdered hair, large high forehead, and round full face, illuminated by silver mounted spectacle glasses, a perceptible smirk at all times about the mouth, and an extraordinary depth of dimple in his cheek, while sitting there and surveying the irritability of Mr. Gillingham, the Leader of the Band, on his being obliged to leave the music of Handel and Mozart, and strike off into the "President's March." . . .

Wignell died in 1803, and his widow continued the management of the Chestnut Street Theatre with Reinagle. During his later years, Reinagle managed a theatre in Baltimore, where he died September 21, 1809. He was married, and had two sons, Thomas and Hugh, the latter a scenic painter who was named for Reinagle's brother, an eminent 'cellist.

Reinagle composed much music, and some of it has been preserved. His more important works seem not to be in existence, and it is not altogether fair to judge his abilities by the scattered pieces which are now in libraries and in private collections. The Library of Congress has a collection of *Sonatas for the Pianoforte* by Reinagle, which are probably the best of his works now extant. These sonatas, in manuscript, are in the manner of Philipp Emanuel Bach and the early Haydn, and at the same time show that Reinagle had some individuality of style, and unquestionable taste.

Like the other composers of the day who were associated with the theatre, Reinagle made many arrangements of music used in the ballad operas. The most important of his original works were a *Miscellaneous Quartett,* played at several of the City Concerts in Philadelphia in 1791, and the *New Miscellaneous Quartett,* offered in the same sea-

son; a *Concerto on the Improved Pianoforte with Additional Keys* (1794); *Preludes in three classes, for the improvement of practitioners on the piano forte* (1794); songs for the play, *Slaves in Algiers* (1794); music for the musical farce *Savoyard,* or the *Repentant Seducer* (1797); *Monody on the Death of the much lamented, the late Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the United States,* composed by Reinagle in association with Raynor Taylor (1799); *Collection of favorite songs, divided into books. The basses rendered easy and natural for the pianoforte or harpsichord* (undated—a copy of this book is in the collection of the Hopkinson family in Philadelphia); *Masonic Overture* (1800); and music written with Taylor to Richard Brinsley Sheridan's adaptation of Kotzebue's *Pizarro.*

The New York Public Library has two works by Reinagle: *The much admired song in The Stranger* (I have a silent sorrow), and a song, *Rosa.* The library of Yale University has a song, *America, Commerce and Freedom,* published in 1794, and supposedly sung by Mr. Darley, Jr., a famous singer of that time, in the ballet pantomime of *The Sailor's Landlady.*

James Hewitt (1770-1827) was one of the most important of the late century immigrants. He had an interesting background, he was himself a prime factor in the musical life of New York and Boston, and he established a line of descendants who are still carrying on the family tradition of music. John Hill Hewitt, his eldest son, was a ballad composer whom we shall meet later.

In September of the year 1792 the New York *Daily Advertiser* gave to the citizens of Gotham the promising information that James Hewitt, Jean Gehot, B. Bergmann, William Young, and a gentleman named Phillips, "professors of music from the Opera house, Hanover-square and professional Concerts under the direction of Haydn, Pleyel, etc., London," had arrived in town, and that they would give a concert on the 21st of the month at Corre's Hotel,

at which "they humbly hoped to experience the kind patronage of the ladies and gentlemen, and public in general."

Inasmuch as Hewitt, Gehot and Bergmann were violinists, Phillips played the violoncello and Young the flute, they provided among themselves the nucleus of an orchestra that was no doubt amplified by assistant performers. The program is one of the most interesting that have been preserved from this period. It shows that the members of this little group were possessed of imagination, whatever else they may have offered. The standard works were an overture by Haydn, a quartetto by Pleyel, and a symphony and flute quartetto by Stamitz. Mr. Phillips contributed a violoncello concerto of his own, and the balance of the program was devoted to two works of major proportions by Hewitt and Gehot.

Of these, the first was Hewitt's *Overture in 9 movements, expressive of a battle,* which pictured successively: 1. *Introduction,* 2. *Grand March; the army in motion,* 3. *The Charge for the attack,* 4. *A National Air,* 5. *The Attack commences, in which the confusion of an engagement is heard,* 6. *The Enemy surrender,* 7. *The Grief of those who are made prisoners,* 8. *The Conqueror's quickmarch,* and 9. *The Finale.* It is probable that Hewitt composed this overture before he left England, no doubt inspired by the vogue of Kotzwara's *Battle of Prague,* an insipid though highly popular piece written as early as 1788. But the other new work on the Hewitt, Gehot, etc., program must have been written on American soil, and while Hewitt's overture represented a series of incidents he probably never experienced himself, Gehot's overture told the story of their journey to America, and was therefore not only programmatic, but autobiographical as well.

This was the *Overture in 12 movements, expressive of a voyage from England to America.* The titles of the several movements afford a miniature history, as follows: 1. *Intro-*

duction, 2. Meeting of the adventurers, consultation and their determination on departure, 3. March from London to Gravesend, 4. Affectionate separation from their friends, 5. Going on board, and pleasure at recollecting the encouragement they hope to meet with in a land where merit is sure to gain reward, 6. Preparation for sailing, carpenter's hammering, crowing of the cock, weighing anchor, etc., 7. A Storm, 8. A Calm, 9. Dance on the deck by the passengers, 10. Universal joy on seeing land, 11. Thanksgiving for safe arrival, 12. Finale.

Immediately following their benefit concert, Messrs. Hewitt, Gehot, Bergmann and Young decided to enter the subscription concert field in New York, which at that time was controlled by the Van Hagens. Although they announced a promising program for October 4th, and advertised for a series of twelve concerts, they soon learned that their terms were too high and their series too long for the spending habits of New Yorkers. Consequently they announced a postponement with this reason for the delay:

to obtain the celebrated singers, Mrs. Pownall (late Mrs. Wrighten) and Mrs. Hodgkinson, both recently of England, and as they were determined to engage the first singers in America, they have spared no expence nor trouble (by separate journeys to Philadelphia, etc. etc.) to gratify the amateurs of music.

Meanwhile the Van Hagens, stirred by the thought of competition, had given their three subscription concerts in the Fall of 1792, and Gehot had left his comrades to go to Philadelphia where he participated in the City Concerts of 1792-3, then managed by Reinagle and Capron. Gehot probably settled definitely in Philadelphia and later became a violinist in the orchestra of Wignell and Reinagle's Company. Although he is probably identical with a Gehot who published over 36 quartets, trios, etc., and a *Complete Instructor of Every Musical Instrument* and other educational works in London prior to 1790, the only composition, other than the overture, of which we know in this country was the

Quartet played at the City Concert in Philadelphia, December 1, 1792, and a few songs. John R. Parker's musical Reminiscences in the *Euterpiad* (1822) tell that he died in obscurity and poverty.

It was not until January, 1793, that Hewitt, with Bergmann and Phillips finally launched the subscription concerts, and gave a series of six at Corre's Hotel, lasting until April 6th. Young, too, had dropped out and had accompanied or followed Gehot to Philadelphia, where a few years later he was sentenced to death for having killed a constable who came to arrest him for his debts. The programs of the 1793 concerts were interesting for a number of reasons. Not only did they offer, as promised, the vocal talents of Mrs. Pownall and Mrs. Hodgkinson, singers from the Old American Company, and several works by Phillips and Hewitt (including a repetition of the *Battle* Overture), together with the accustomed list of Pleyel and Stamitz; they also included works of Vanhall and Haydn played *from manuscript.* On the program of the fifth concert (March 25th), America probably heard its first performance of what was termed Haydn's *Passion of our Saviour,* identical with the famous *Seven Words,* composed for the Cathedral of Cadiz in 1785, and later performed in London as the *Passione Instrumentale.*

In the following Winter the competition in subscription concerts continued. Capron, returned from Philadelphia, joined forces with Hewitt in promoting three "City" Concerts at the City Tavern in December and January, while Phillips took charge of the ball at a series which the Van Hagens offered as the "Old City" Concerts in Corre's Hotel in January and February. Bergmann remained with Hewitt. While the Van Hagen series emphasized the *virtuoso* element, and offered Mr. and Mrs. Hodgkinson and Mr. Prigmore as vocalists, and numerous solos by the infant prodigy, *Master* Van Hagen, the Hewitt concerts were more devoted to instrumental music. The songs of

Mrs. Pownall, and Madame de Seze, plus an occasional duet with Capron, were the only vocal offerings. Haydn was well represented on each of the programs.

Hewitt probably effected a merger with his rivals in the following season, for the series of three concerts in 1795 were offered by Mr. and Mrs. Van Hagen, Hewitt and Saliment. Then Hewitt withdrew from the City Concerts, and devoted himself largely to his duties as leader of the orchestra of the Old American Company. His activities were by no means exclusively confined to any single undertaking, for he appeared as conductor of a band at Joseph Delacroix's celebrated summer concerts, held in the house and garden of "the late alderman Bayard," and called "Vaux Hall Gardens," where the two shillings admission entitled the patron "to a glass of ice cream punch," and the privilege of witnessing the fire-works "made by the celebrated Mr. Ambrose." He also had conducted the orchestra when in 1793 Mrs. Melmoth "from the Theatres Royal of London and Dublin" presented *"Select Extracts,* from the most eminent authors, recited by particular request." Evidently Hewitt was called upon to organize and conduct orchestras for occasions of all sorts.

He was born in Dartmoor, England, June 4, 1770. His father was Captain John Hewitt of the British Navy, a generous and brave man, who later followed his son James to America, where he lived until he was killed by a fall from his chaise in 1804, one hundred and one years old. James entered the navy when he was a lad, but resigned as a midshipman when he saw the cruel treatment of the sailors on board his man-of-war. He was talented musically and his father decided to give him a musical education. Family accounts say that he studied under Viotti, but according to Groves's Dictionary Viotti did not come to London until 1792, so if Hewitt actually took lessons from him it could hardly have been in London, as Hewitt was in New York in September of that year.

His progress was rapid, for before he came to New York he was leader of the Court Orchestra during the reign of George III. He was intimate with the Prince of Wales, and the future George IV presented him with an Amati cello, valued at $500.

In 1790 Hewitt married a Miss Lamb, but his wife and their infant child died a year later, and in 1792 Hewitt came to America. According to the directories, he lived in New York almost continuously until 1812. He was connected with the orchestra of the Old American Company, he was for a time organist of Trinity Church, he conducted the orchestras at various of the out-door summer resorts in town—Delacroix' Vaux Hall, Columbia and Mount Vernon Gardens. From 1805 to 1809 he was director of all the military bands in the city and commanded the 3rd company of artillery.

In 1798 Hewitt purchased the New York branch of Carr's Musical Repository, and established a publishing business which was carried on by his son until the middle of the next century. On December 10, 1795, Hewitt married a second time. His bride was Eliza King, and the ceremony was performed at Trinity Church by Bishop Moore. Eliza was the daughter of Sir John King of the Royal British Army, who had come to America to settle some estates that had been bequeathed to his wife. Had Hewitt attended properly to securing the property in his wife's behalf, his descendants would have been wealthy. But Hewitt was never a good business man.

His second wife was an accomplished woman. She had been educated in Paris, and was there during the French Revolution. At the time of the Reign of Terror she was confined for safety in the Bastille with her mother. She saw the guillotine in action and would often recount its gruesome work with a shudder. She knew Napoleon Bonaparte when he was first making a name for himself.

Hewitt and his wife had six children, whom we shall meet

in later chapters. His wife survived him by many years, and lived until 1865, when she died at the home of her youngest son in Burlington, New Jersey.

In 1812 the Hewitt family moved to Boston, where Hewitt took charge of the music at the Federal Street Theatre. He was also organist of Boston's Trinity Church. His name appears in the Boston directories until 1816, and in 1818 it reappears in New York. He must have travelled somewhat during the next few years. He was in Boston for a year about 1820. Parker's *Euterpiad* refers to a grand oratorio he conducted in Augusta, Georgia, in 1821, and in biographical data regarding his son, there are references to Southern theatrical companies in which James Hewitt was interested. Under date of 1826 there is a note that he was succeeded by George Gillingham as musical director at the Park Theatre in New York. Presumably he resigned because of ill health, though there are references to a subsequent connection with the Chatham Theatre.

It is quite definitely established that Hewitt died in 1827, though we cannot be absolutely sure whether his death occurred in New York or Boston. For a time he had been estranged from his wife, and while she lived in Boston with their son, James L. Hewitt, he was boarding in New York. There is in existence a series of letters written to this son, late in 1826, and in January, 1827. They show that he was very ill at the time they were written, and it is not probable that he would have been able to make the trip to Boston.

These last letters are interesting. They speak of his work, his financial and personal affairs. Some references throw light on the surgery of the period.

Dec. 27, 1826—This day at 12 o'clock closes the 6 weeks since the operation was performed, and I am at present no better for it.

Jan. 26, 1827—In a conversation I've had with Dr. Mott, he acknowledged the Lachrymal duct was cut but not so as to destroy its

usefulness—but that is not the complaint, my present sufferings are from some part of the Jaw being left which was injured at the finishing of the operation before he closed the wound (he had been cutting away part of my nose) I heard him say to his assistant that there appeared some small part yet but he thought it would be of no consequence and did not wish to continue my sufferings—therefore had the wounds closed. . . . My sufferings are great and my death slow, but certain. I hope my dear James you will be here to receive my last breath. I feel the want of home—tho every kind attention is paid me here—yet my heart longs once more to behold my family.

In an undated letter he refers to his manuscripts:

In the large Red Box my clothes. In the smaller Red Box all manuscripts which I think you had better be careful of, they may eventually be of value to you. Among those Mans Books you may find music worth your printing. A Box for the whole of the Theatrical music, should you wish to pack it, is in the cellar, but I believe they have burnt the lids.

He had neglected looking after his own father's property as well as that belonging to his wife:

I did mean, if it pleased God to have spared my life, to have made secret inquiries respecting my father's affairs. Is it to be supposed that he could live here thirty years without some means? there are persons to whom he has lent money which has never been paid. What has become of the acknowledgments, and previous to his death he was known to have plenty of money. On his deathbed . . . he had something of consequence to communicate! Be assured there is something wrong, which if it had pleased God, my dear James to have suffered me to have lived, I should have endeavoured to have found out.

A number of Hewitt's works are preserved in libraries, and while they represent his less important efforts, they nevertheless show that he was important in the development of American music. Many of his songs were early forerunners of our modern sentimental ballads. While none of them descended to the mawkish depths that our popular songs were to achieve in the next century, they nevertheless show "heart" tendencies that are prophetic. *The Music of the Harp of Love, The Wounded Hussar, When the Shades of Night Pursuing* (these three in the New York Public

Library), and *How Happy Was my Humble Lot,* a favorite ballad sung by Mrs. Oldmixon and Miss Broadhurst (preserved in the Library of Congress), are illustrative of this trend.

A year after his arrival, and immediately following the first series of subscription concerts, Hewitt advertised for subscriptions to a book of songs which he had written and compiled in association with Mrs. Pownall. The announcement contained the following details:

> Flatter'd by the unbounded applause which the songs of the Primrose Girl, Jemmy of the Glen, etc. [the latter was by Mrs. Pownall], have met with in this city and Philadelphia, M. A. Pownall and J. Hewitt, are induced to publish them (with four others entirely new) arranged for the Harpsichord and Pianoforte. A work which they hope will do credit to themselves and give satisfaction to those Ladies and Gentlemen who will please to honor them by becoming subscribers.

The book was published a year later and was advertised to contain, in addition to the other songs, *Song of the waving willow,* and the celebrated French national air *La Carmagnole.*

In addition to the overture "expressive of a battle," Hewitt composed another overture, "to conclude with the representation of a Storm at Sea," and an *Overture de Demophon, Arrangé pour le forti-piano par* Jacques *Hewitt.* The latter may be found in the Boston Public Library and in the Hopkinson collection at Philadelphia.

The Library of Congress has recently acquired two interesting Hewitt items. One of them is a set of *Three Sonatas for the Pianoforte,* Opus 5, published probably in 1796, four years after he came to America. The other is *The 4th of July—A Grand Military Sonata for the Pianoforte,* published some time between 1801 and 1811. In the collection of Mr. Joseph Muller, at Closter, N. J., I found a setting by Hewitt of the *Star Spangled Banner.* Purely manufactured music, technically sound, but awkward to sing.

Hewitt, like others, no doubt deplored the singing of our anthem to an English drinking song, and tried to provide a setting composed on native soil.[1] Mr. Muller's collection also contains a "military sonata," by Hewitt—*The Battle of Trenton,* written presumably about 1797. This is interesting because of its similarity to the battle overture Hewitt presented at his first concert in New York. It has an elaborate program:

Introduction—The Army in motion—General Orders—Acclamation of the Americans—Drums beat to Arms.

Attack—cannons—bomb. Defeat of the Hessians—Flight of the Hessians—Begging Quarter—The Fight Renewed—General Confusion—The Hessians surrender themselves prisoners of War—Articles of Capitulation Signed—Grief of Americans for the loss of their companions killed in the engagement.

Yankee Doodle—Drums and Fifes—Quick Step for the Band—Trumpets of Victory—General Rejoicing.

The most important work that Hewitt wrote for the theatre was his score for the opera *Tammany,* produced in New York in 1794 under the auspices of the Tammany Society, the ancestor of the present Tammany Hall. The libretto was written by Mrs. Anne Julia Hatton, a sister of Mrs. Siddons, and wife of a musical instrument maker in New York. In those days feeling between the Federalists and anti-Federalists ran high, and Mrs. Hatton was an ardent supporter of the anti-Federalists, who at that time were favoring support of the French Revolution. The powerful Tammany Society was also anti-Federalist, and so Mrs. Hatton based her opera plot on the legend of the society's patron, the Indian Chief Tammany.

Because its presentation was largely political it was but

[1] The Boston Public Library has had a copy of this rare piece for several years. In 1930 a third copy appeared in the possession of C. A. Strong and C. J. Nagy of Philadelphia. Mr. Muller's copy, however, is undoubtedly from the first edition, as it bears Hewitt's imprint as publisher. The Strong-Nagy and Boston Library copies were published by J. A. & W. Geib of New York, somewhere between 1818 and 1821. The first edition was probably published by Hewitt in 1816.

to be expected that it would arouse a storm of controversy. The anti-Federalists hailed it with fervor and the Federalists denounced it in hostile terms as a "wretched thing," and "literally a mélange of bombast." Although the complete libretto and the score were never published we may gain an idea of its underlying theme by reading the prologue, supplied by another poet, R. B. Davis:

> Secure the Indian roved his native soil,
> Secure enjoy'd the produce of his toil,
> Nor knew, nor feared a haughty master's pow'r
> To force his labors, or his gains devour.
> And when the slaves of Europe here unfurl'd
> The bloody standard of their servile world,
> When heaven, to curse them more, first deign'd to bless
> Their base attempts with undeserved success,
> He knew the sweets of liberty to prize,
> And lost on earth he sought her in the skies;
> Scorned life divested of its noblest good,
> And seal'd the cause of freedom with his blood.

One writer went so far as to accuse the promoters of *Tammany* of attracting an audience by circulating a rumor that a party had been gathered to hiss the performance, and evidently there was considerable disturbance.

It is not known whether any of Hewitt's music from *Tammany* was published, although there did appear proposals for printing the "Overture with the songs, chorus's, etc., etc., to Tammany as composed and adapted to the pianoforte by Mr. Hewitt." Others of the operas to which he composed music were as follows: *The Mysterious Marriage, or the Heirship of Rosselva* (1799); *The Patriot, or Liberty Asserted* (1794), "founded on the well-known story of William Tell, the Swiss patriot, who shot an apple from his son's head, at the command of Tyrant Grislor, who first gave liberty to the cantons of Switzerland"; the New York production of *Pizarro, or the Spaniards in Peru* (1800), (it will be remembered that Reinagle composed music for this work); *Robin Hood, or Sherwood Forest,*

(1800); *The Spanish Castle, or the Knight of the Guadalquivir* (1800); and *The Wild Goose Chase* (1800).

Of the remaining two "Professors of Music from Hanoversquare, London," Phillips, as far as he has been traced, remained in New York, where in addition to his work as a 'cellist, he handled the terpsichorean features of concerts and parties, for, as he announced at the first concert in America, he had been connected abroad (probably in London) with the Pantheon and City Balls, and was qualified to introduce new English dances, which "if the ladies and gentlemen request, will be performed by a concert band." Bergmann became a member of the theatre orchestra which Hewitt conducted, but only remained in New York until 1795, after which he appeared at various times in Charleston, South Carolina, and Boston. That he went directly from New York to Charleston is evident by the fact that he arranged the orchestral accompaniments for the presentation at the City Theatre, April 26, 1796, of the pasticcio *The Doctor and Apothecary.*

A prominent member of the group who led musical affairs of Philadelphia well into the following century was RAYNOR TAYLOR (1747-1825), an older man than his pupil Reinagle, yet one who outlived him by sixteen years. Taylor was born in England in 1747 and was educated as a child in the King's Singing School at the Chapel Royal. The choir-boys attended Handel's funeral in a body in 1759, and young Raynor, leaning too close to the grave, accidentally let his hat fall, so that it was buried with the remains of the great composer. "Never mind," consoled a friend, "he left you some of his brains in return."

In 1765 Taylor became organist in a church at Chelmsford, near London, but his interest in theatrical matters procured him the position of music director at Sadler's Wells Theatre in London, the playhouse made famous to our generation by Pinero's play, *Trelawney of the Wells.* He had also made an enviable reputation as a ballad com-

poser by the time he followed his friends to America in 1792.

When he arrived in Baltimore he sought to establish himself as a "music professor, organist and teacher of music in general," and he announced his début as a performer, when for the evening of October the 17th he proposed

> to perform a musical entertainment on a new plan, the whole of which will be entirely original, and his own composition. In the course of it many songs will be sung by his pupil, Miss Huntley, late of the theatre Royal, Covent Garden, a young lady, whose performance has been highly approved both in London and America.

With this and similar entertainments Taylor proceeded to introduce to America a species of extravaganza, or musical olio, which bordered on our present vaudeville or revue skits.

Taylor then settled in Annapolis, where in October, 1792, he had been appointed organist of St. Anne's Church. The parishioners evidently had no objection to their organist's being an entertainer, and on January 24th and February 28, 1793, he again engaged Miss Huntley for two of his burlesque entertainments. The program for January 24th consisted of three parts, the first devoted to a selection of comic and pastoral songs. The second part presented a "Dramatic proverb (performed in London with great applause) being a burletta, in one act, called *The Gray Mare's Best Horse.*"

This sketch consisted of *A Breakfast scene a month after marriage,* a duet by Mr. Taylor and Miss Huntley. Next the *Mock wife in a violent passion,* a solo number by Miss Huntley. This was followed by *A Father's advice to his son-in-law, Giles the countryman's grief for the loss of a scolding wife,* and the *Happy Miller,* performed by Mr. Taylor; then, in order, *Dame Pliant's obedience to her husband,* by Miss Huntley; a duet, the *Obedient wife, determined to have her own way;* and finally, two more duets, *New married couple reconciled,* and *All parties happy.*

The third part of the show was a burlesque on Italian opera, called *Capocchio and Dorinna.* In this presentation Mr. Taylor and Miss Huntley appeared in costume, Taylor portraying *Signor Capocchio,* an Italian singer and director of the opera; Miss Huntley, *Signora Dorinna,* an Italian actress. There were recitatives, airs and duets, probably parodies of the Italian style, which offered a contrast to the English type of ballad-opera, in which the main action was carried by dialogue between songs. The entertainment was further lengthened by "a piece on the Grand Pianoforte, preceding each part, by Mr. Taylor."

Affairs at Annapolis did not progress smoothly for Taylor. Those who had offered to guarantee his salary as organist did not make good their promises with actual money, and the employment of a collector failed to bring forth what was due him. So by the end of May he publicly thanked the families who had employed him as a music teacher and departed for Philadelphia. Here he became organist of St. Peter's Church, and held that position for almost the rest of his life. He lived until 1825, and was one of the leading spirits in founding the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia in 1820. His brilliant powers of improvisation helped him as an organist, and no doubt lent an added charm to his entertainments.

Shortly after he went to Philadelphia he presented, on January 18th and 28th (1794) two more of his entertainments; the first, *An Ode to the New Year,* "with a variety of other pieces, consisting of songs, duets and trios, pastoral, serious and comic, entirely original," and the second similar to his entertainments in Maryland, consisting of

The Poor female ballad singer, a pathetic song; Hunting song; Algerian captive; Sailor's song; Ding Dong Bell, or the Honeymoon expired, being the courtship and wedding of Ralph and Fan; Character of smart Dolly, a laughing song; Rustic courtship or the unsuccessful love of poor Thomas, a crying song with duet, trio, etc.

In 1796 Taylor offered for his own benefit a concert at Oeller's Hotel, April 21st. The program consisted of music from the Handelian school, and works of his own which occupied the entire second half of the concert. The announcement afforded a full description of the orchestra that was to be used. Though it would be small in a modern symphony hall, it was large for the time. The *concertino,* or small band of soloists, was constituted as follows:

First violin and leader of the band ..... Mr. Gillingham
Principal violoncellos ..... Mr. Menel
Double bass ..... Mr. Demarque
Principal hautboy ..... Mr. Shaw
Tenor ..... Mr. Berenger
Bassoon and trumpet ..... Mr. Priest
Horns ..... Messrs. Grey and Homman
Violins ..... Messrs. Daugel, Bouchony, Stewart and Schetky

With the supplementary band, or *ripieno,* the orchestra assumed large proportions. Of Taylor's own works on the program, the most important were a *New Overture,* and a *Divertimo* for orchestra, and his violin concerto, played by George Gillingham. In addition there were a number of vocal numbers, sung by Miss Huntley.

In 1814, when the Vauxhall Garden in Philadelphia was opened in May for concerts and other entertainments, Taylor was engaged as organist for the opening night, and Gillingham was conductor of the orchestra. This garden was a popular resort in the Summer, and even though smoking was not permitted "in or near the temple," the music, and the temple and garden, "brilliantly illuminated with variegated lamps" seemed amply to justify the dollar admission. One of the entertainments for Lafayette was held at the Vauxhall Garden, when he paid us his second visit in 1825.

In the New York Public Library there are three anthems by Taylor, written and published before he came to America. These were printed in the *Cathedral Magazine* in

London: *Hear my crying, O God* (Psalm 61), for 2 voices; *Hear, O Lord, and Consider my Complaint* (Psalm 17); and, *I will give thanks unto the Lord.* In the same library there are several songs and the libretto of a melodrama, *The Rose of Arragon,* or *The vigil of St. Mark,* published in 1822, for which Taylor had written music.

In addition to the violin concerto and instrumental works, there are traces of a *Sonata for the pianoforte, with an accompaniment for violin,* advertised in 1797 as "published, price one dollar, to be had at the music stores," and a "new symphony," which was advertised for performance at the Federal Street Theatre in Boston, during the same year. As we have seen from his entertainments, Taylor composed many songs, sentimental and humorous, most of them either lost or unpublished. The Hopkinson collection in Philadelphia possesses a manuscript piece for piano, *The Bells;* and printed copies of *The Wounded Sailor* and *The Philadelphia Hymn.* The Yale library at New Haven has two songs published in Carr's *Musical Miscellany—The Merry piping lad,* "a ballad in the Scot's taste," and *The Wand'ring village maid.* The Boston Public Library has a copy of Taylor's arrangement for piano, four hands, of the famous *President's March.*

Capitalizing his experience at Sadler's Wells in London, Taylor did some writing for the theatre after he came to America. In 1795 his *La Petite Piedmontesse,* or *The Travellers Preserved,* a "serious pantomimical ballet," was produced in Philadelphia. Two years later he supplied the music for a production of Colman's play, *The Iron Chest,* which was given in Baltimore. He wrote a "serious pantomime," *La Bonne Petite Fille* or *The Shipwrecked Mariner Preserved,* which was performed at Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston. He collaborated with Reinagle in music for the Philadelphia presentation of *Pizarro,* or *The Spaniards in Peru* (1800), as well as in the composition of the *Monody* on the death of Washington (1799). There is

also record of an educational work by Taylor, published at Carr's Musical Repository in 1797: *Divertimi, or familiar lessons for the pianoforte, to which is prefixed a Ground for the Improvement of Young Practitioners.*

VICTOR PELISSIER first appeared in Philadelphia in 1792. This accomplished French musician had been the first horn player at the theatre in Cape François, and though his participation in concerts was largely confined to playing the French horn, his association with the orchestra of the Old American Company orchestra (which he joined a year after his arrival), led him to compose many scores for its productions, and to act as arranger and adapter of foreign ballad-operas.

Pelissier has been described as short in stature, and so near-sighted that he was almost blind. It was said that he was always a cheery person, whose thoughts were as fully occupied by notes as any banker or broker in Wall Street. Some historians have claimed that his opera, *Edwin and Angelina* (presented in New York, December 19, 1796), was the first work of its kind composed in America, but it is evident that such was not the case. It is probably true that Pelissier's score, a setting of lyrics to a libretto by Elihu Hubbard Smith, had been accepted several years before Carr's *Archers* was produced April 18, 1796, but neither of them is entitled to the distinction. Hewitt's *Tammany* was produced in 1794, and Hopkinson's "oratorical entertainment," *The Temple of Minerva* (1781), has as much right to be considered an opera as these later works. There is not at hand sufficient evidence to designate any of the early operas as the first written on American soil.

Smith, the librettist, adapted *Edwin and Angelina* from Goldsmith. Its deliciously romantic plot was highly illogical and offered the audience many surprises. It was designed for audiences who delighted in a sentimentality that overcame stage villainy. And it at least afforded the popular actors of the day ample opportunity to display

their vocal gifts in the dozen or more lyrics. Whether the libretto or the music was at fault, the work did not meet with sufficient success to warrant a second performance.

Pelissier's next work was a "piece, in one act, never performed in America, called *Ariadne Abandoned by Theseus, in the Isle of Naxos.* This was a melodrama of unknown authorship. Of the music the advertisement said:

> Between the different passages spoken by the actors, will be Full Orchestral Music, expressive of each situation and passion. The music composed and managed by Pelissier.

The New York production of *Ariadne Abandoned* occurred in 1797, and it was played in Boston soon after.

In the same year John Hodgkinson produced in Boston a patriotic spectacle, *The Launch, or Huzza for the Constitution,* "the Musick selected from the best Composers, with new Orchestra parts by Pelissier." The advance bulletins told that

> The whole will conclude with a striking Representation of Launching the New Frigate Constitution. Boats passing and repassing on the Water. View of the River of Charleston, and the neighboring country. . . .

Two years later (1799) Pelissier offered two more scores. The first was music for William Dunlap's *Sterne's Maria,* or *The Vintage.* Dunlap later wrote in his *History of the American Theatre,* that though "the piece pleased and was pleasing," it was "not sufficiently attractive to keep the stage after the original performers in it were removed by those fluctuations common in theatrical establishments." Three of Pelissier's songs from *Sterne's Maria* are still in existence. In his own collection of *Columbian Melodies* (published in 1811) appeared *I laugh, I sing; Hope, gentle hope;* and *Ah! why on Quebec's bloody plain,* all from the score of the opera.

Pelissier wrote music for the performance of a "splendid allegorical, musical drama, never exhibited," called *The*

Fourth of July; or Temple of American Independence, presented in New York on July 4, 1799. It was thus described in the newspaper advertisement:

[there] will be displayed (among other scenery, professedly intended to exceed any exhibition yet presented by the Theatre) a view of the lower part of Broadway, Battery, Harbor, and Shipping taken on the spot.

After the shipping shall have been saluted, a military Procession in perspective will take place, consisting of all the uniform Companies of the City, Horse, Artillery and Infantry in their respective plans, according to the order of the March.

The whole to conclude with an inside view of the *Temple of Independence* as exhibited on the Birthday of Gen. Washington. Scenery and Machinery by Mr. Ciceri—Music by Mr. Pelessier.

In 1800 Pelissier supplied music and accompaniments for the *Castle of Otranto,* which had been altered from the *Sicilian Romance.* He also arranged orchestral accompaniments for many other performances in New York, and adapted the music of other composers to the requirements of the Old American Company orchestra.

The only purely instrumental works by Pelissier, of which there is record, are a *Quartet* and a few occasional pieces.

Like Hewitt and Taylor, BENJAMIN CARR (1769-1831) was one of the musicians who bridged the turn of the century, arriving in this country in the post-revolutionary days, when concert activities were re-awakening from their early beginnings. He lived to see musical affairs in a far more advanced stage than when he had come. Carr, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1793, achieved distinction as composer, opera and concert singer, choral conductor, organist, pianist, and music publisher and dealer. He was an Englishman of breeding and culture. Born in 1769, he had received his musical education from the foremost church-musicians of England, and had participated in a number of concert ventures in London.

A full-length biography of Benjamin Carr would make

good reading. The man was many-sided, and in his sixty-two years of life he saw much, and gave to those around him many times the value of what he absorbed. When he came to Philadelphia his first venture was the establishment of Carr's Musical Repository, claimed to be the first music store in Philadelphia. His activities as music publisher were important to American music, for it was through his establishment that many of the works of contemporary composers were issued, both in Philadelphia and New York. Carr's *Musical Miscellany,* and the *Musical Journal for the Pianoforte* (distributed from Baltimore by J. Carr) were to the early nineteenth century what our modern publishers' trade-marked editions are to us to-day. A year after its establishment in Philadelphia, a branch of the firm was started in New York. This was later sold to James Hewitt.

Carr's participation in concerts commenced soon after his arrival. In the Spring of 1794 he appeared with Reinagle, Gillingham, and Menel as one of the directors of a series of "Amateurs and Professional Concerts" at Oeller's Hotel in Philadelphia. Tickets for the concerts were sold at the Repository. On each of the four programs Carr appeared only as a singer. In the following December he made his début as an opera singer, appearing at New York in the Old American Company's production of Arne's *Love in a Village.* The *New York Magazine's* review of the performance had this to say of Carr:

> Mr. Carr made on this occasion his first appearance on our stage; and we confess, to us a very prepossessing first appearance. Good sense and modesty, united to a perfect knowledge of his profession as a musician, and a pleasing and comprehensive voice are not the only qualifications which this young gentleman possesses for the stage; he speaks with propriety, and we doubt not but practice will make him a good actor, in addition to his being an excellent singer.

In February of the following year he was engaged by Hewitt and the Van Hagens, who had dropped their com-

petition and formed a temporary merger, as a vocalist at the City Concerts in New York. In the following December he rendered a vocal solo, and appeared as an instrumentalist by playing a pianoforte sonata. During the ensuing years his name appears frequently on Philadelphia concert programs, as a vocalist, and occasionally as an instrumentalist. In 1797 he was one of the principal singers at Mrs. Grattan's "Ladies' Concerts," which this feminine impresario presented because "necessity obliges her to make this effort for the maintenance of her infant family," and for which "any subscriber on paying his subscription, will have a right to demand tickets for the unmarried part of his family."

But in spite of his evident popularity, Carr was least important as a singer. His work as church organist, and his interest in choral matters, as well as his activities as a pianist, kept him in the center of Philadelphia's musical life, and finally led to his part in founding the Musical Fund Society in 1820. This organization has been to Philadelphia what the Handel and Haydn Society has been to Boston. In 1816 a musician named Charles Hupfield, and several others, endeavored to establish a society to meet each week for regular practice. It was difficult to keep a large enough group of musicians together for concerted playing, and finally it was decided to give concerts for the relief of needy musicians; "decayed musicians" they were called in the articles of incorporation. The prime object of the society was to "reform the state of neglect into which the beautiful art of music had fallen."

The first concert of the Musical Fund Society, at which Carr was one of the choral conductors, was given April 24, 1821, and repeated May 8th. In addition to a number of choral works, for which Carr arranged the orchestral accompaniments, the program marked what has been claimed as the first American performance of Beethoven's first symphony. (Possibly only the first movement, however.)

But it is as a composer that we are chiefly concerned with Carr, and fortunately many of his works are extant. His music, like that of Hewitt and others of his contemporaries, represents a tendency that is definitely apparent in our music of to-day. Students of the *sob-song* will find its beginnings in this eighteenth-nineteenth-century literature. Yet for all this, Carr did not always descend to sentimentality, and in his editing of standard works he showed himself a capable musician, with powers of discretion.

He has been known for the production of his opera, *The Archers of Switzerland,* erroneously termed the first American opera. This work was produced by the Old American Company in New York, April 18, 1796, and belongs to the English ballad-opera type. Carr's score to this adaptation of Schiller's *William Tell* antedates Rossini's setting by thirty-three years. The piece met with gratifying success and was repeated on numerous occasions. Of the music to this drama only two pieces have been preserved, both so charming as to cause regret at the loss of the others. The *Rondo* from the overture to *The Archers* was copyrighted in 1813 as No. 7 of the *Musical Miscellany,* and an extremely graceful song, *Why, Huntress, Why,* appeared in Carr's *Musical Journal.*

Like many of his colleagues, Carr composed a piece in honor of Washington when the national hero died in 1799. The *Dead March and Monody* was first performed at the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. When published it was advertised as "being part of the music selected for funeral honors to our late illustrious cheif [sic] General George Washington. Composed for the occasion and respectfully dedicated to the Senate of the United States by their obedt. humble servt. B. Carr. . . ."

Carr's songs and ballads have survived him in abundance, and the New York Public Library, and the private collection of Mr. Arthur Billings Hunt in Brooklyn, New York, are among those that possess many of these historically

valuable pieces. Taken from their rather thin, tinkling setting in the accompaniment, and arranged in the manner of our modern ballad song, these lyrics are in many cases quite as effective in their climaxes as the lyric ballads of to-day. Carr showed his experience on the concert platform. *Ellen, Arise,* is singularly effective; sopranos must have won great applause with its high *A*. *The Soldier's Dream* is somewhat bombastic, but *Mary Will Smile* and the *Hymn of Eve* are Handelian in the chaste simplicity of their melodic line. *Noah's Dove* is altogether a charming song, with a compelling power in its sequential phrases. He wrote a song that has so far escaped the notice of those who sponsor toothpaste radio programs. *Thy Smiles are all Decaing* [sic], *Love,* is its charming title, and in its verses the hero swears that he will continue to love his lady, even though her smiles do actually decay, her "lip shed its sweetness," her "form lose its fleetness."

Mr. Muller's collection at Closter has a curious Carr item; a lengthy piece for the piano called *The History of England, from the close of the Saxon Heptarchy to the Declaration of American Independence, in familiar verse, adapted to music by B. Carr, Op. XI.* An explanatory note under the title reads as follows:

> The following Poetical sketch of events, so intimately connected with our own History, being adapted to Music of the most familiar kind, has been consider'd by several, as a means of improvement for Juvenile Students in History and Music. A Publication of this nature has already appeared in England; but unfit for the purpose intended—the Poetry being mere doggerel, and the Music (tho good) extraneous in its modulation and too difficult of execution to be of service to young pupils, a literary friend has kindly supplied new Poetry—The idea being of using known airs of appropriate title and character for the vocal parts, as well as illustrative symphonies, is taken from T. Carr's Composition to, and arrangement of Roscoe's beautiful little Poem of the Butterfly's Ball.
>
> N.B.—Should this humble effort to combine improvement in other branches of education with the practice of music be received with approbation, other matters of the same kind may be given in some future numbers.

To the biographer, the most interesting and helpful relics of Benjamin Carr are three manuscript books, in his own handwriting. One of these, devoted to sacred music, is in the New York Public Library; the other two, chiefly secular, are in Mr. Hunt's possession. These books were evidently used by Carr not only for original composition, but also for editing the works of others for publication.

He also published instrumental pieces, a collection of Masses, Litanies, Hymns, Anthems, Psalms and Motetts, and did additional writing for the stage in Philadelphia and New York productions.

After his death in 1831, the Musical Fund Society erected a monument to his memory in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia. The inscription is a testimonial to his achievements and to his character:

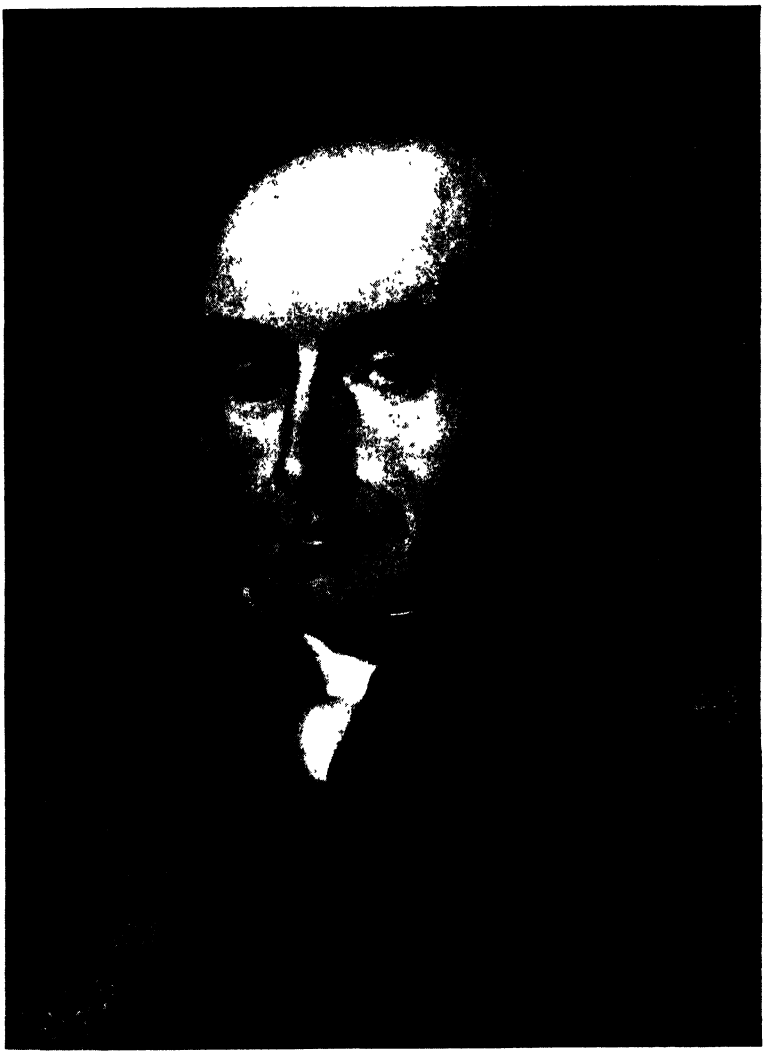
BENJAMIN CARR

a distinguished professor of music
died May 24, 1831, aged 62 years.

Charitable, without ostentation,
faithful and true in his friendship,
with the intelligence of a man
he united the simplicity of a child.

In testimony of the high esteem in which he
was held, this monument is erected by
his friends and associates of the
Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia.

There were many other early immigrants who played an active part in our musical life at this time, and who wrote music of which we have definite knowledge. One of them, H. B. VICTOR, dates back to the Revolution, for he arrived in Philadelphia in 1774. Announcing that he had been "musician to her late Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales, and organist at St. George in London," he offered to instruct the "musical gentry in general . . . on the harp-



Joseph Hopkinson, Who Wrote the Words of *Hail Columbia.*

(See page 124.)

THE YANKEE'S RETURN FROM CAMP.

FATHER and I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Gooding;
There we see the men and boys
As thick as hasty-pudding.

CHORUS.

Yankee doodle keep it up,
Yankee doodle dandy;
Mind the music and the step,
And with the girls be handy.

And there we see a thousand men,
As rich as 'Squire David,
And what they wasted every day,
I wish it could be saved.
Yankee doodle, &c.

The 'lasses they eat every day,
Would keep a house a winter;
They have as much that I'll be bound,
They eat it when they're a mind to.
Yankee doodle, &c.

And there we see a swamping gun,
Large as a log of maple,
Upon a duced little cart,
A load for father's cattle.
Yankee doodle, &c.

And every time they shoot it off,
It takes a horn of powder,
It makes a noise like father's gun,
Only a nation louder.
Yankee doodle, &c.

I went as nigh to one myself,
As 'Siah's under-pinning;
And father went as nigh again,
I thought the deuce was in him.
Yankee doodle, &c.

Cousin Simon grew so bold,
I thought he would have cock'd it;
It scar'd me so I streak'd it off,
And hung by father's pocket.
Yankee doodle, &c.

But Captain Davis has a gun,
He kind of clap'd his hand on't,
And stuck a crooked stabbing iron,
Upon the little end on't
Yankee doodle, &c

And there I see a pumpkin shell,
As big as mother's bason,
And every time they touch'd it off,
They scamper'd like the nation
Yankee doodle, &c.

I see a little barrel too,
The heads were made of leather,
They knock'd upon it with little clubs,
And call'd the folks together
Yankee doodle, &c.

And there was Captain Washington,
And gentlefolks about him,
They say he's grown so tarnal proud,
He will not ride without 'em
Yankee doodle, &c

He got him on his meeting clothes,
Upon a slapping stallion,
He set the world along in rows,
In hundreds and in millions
Yankee doodle &c

The flanning ribbons in their hats,
They look'd so tearing fine, ah
I wanted plaguily to get,
To give to my Jemima
Yankee doodle, &c

I see another snarl of men,
A digging graves, they told me,
So tarnal long, so tarnal deep,
They 'tended they should hold me
Yankee doodle, &c.

It scar'd me so, I hook'd it off,
Nor stopp'd, as I remember,
Nor turn'd about till I got home
Lock'd up in mother's chamber
Yankee doodle, &c.

Sold, wholesale and retail by I. Thomas, No. 45 Hanover Street, Boston, from Isaiah Thomas, Jr. Printer.

An Early Nineteenth Century Broadside of *Yankee Doodle.*

(See page 123.)

sichord, forte piano, violin, German flute, etc. and in the thorough bass both in theory and practice." The versatile gentleman then sought to startle his public by advertising a concert at which he would play two instruments of his own invention: the one a "Tromba doppia con tympana," on which he was to play first and second trumpet and a pair of annexed kettledrums with the feet, all at once; the other, a "Cymbaline d'amour" which resembled "the musical glasses played by harpsichord keys, never subject to come out of tune."

But it is not as a freak that Victor is most interesting. In 1778 he advertised for publication a work which was a forerunner of our modern *courses* or *methods*. This was *A New Composition of Music, consisting of four separate books, viz.:*

The *Compleat Instructor* for the violin, flute, guitar and harpsichord. Containing the easiest and best method for learners to obtain a proficiency; with some useful directions, lessons, graces, etc. *By H. B. Victor.*

To which is added, A favourite collection of airs, marches, minuets, etc., now in vogue; with some useful pieces for two violins, etc. etc.

JOHN BENTLEY has already been mentioned as the manager of the Philadelphia City Concerts in 1783. In 1785 he became harpsichordist of the Old American Company, and "selected and composed" the music for several of their productions: *Genii of the Rock, The Cave of Enchantment,* and *The Touchstone.* He also figured in the Old American Company as an occasional pantomimist.

Through a controversy which was aired in the newspapers, and which is strikingly similar to the Turner-Morgan dispute in Boston, Bentley's name is associated with WILLIAM BROWN, the composer who published *Three Rondos for the Pianoforte or Harpsichord,* "composed and humbly dedicated to the Honorable Francis Hopkinson, Esqr."

This Brown, something of a trouble-maker, was the first

of the musicians to appear in New York after the War, and in August, 1783, he gave New York the last concert it was to hear during the British régime. He then went to Philadelphia, where he offered two concerts at the City Tavern in October, "having been prevailed on by several gentlemen to continue his stay in Philadelphia, and being inclined to gratify them." In addition to benefit concerts he seems to have participated in Bentley's Subscription Concerts, for in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of February 12, 1785, both Bentley and Henri Capron saw fit to tell the public their side of a dispute to which Brown had probably been treating his friends verbally. It seems that Brown had accused Bentley and Capron of declining to assist at his benefit concerts. Bentley addressed his "card" directly to *Mr. Brown:*

. . . And first, Sir, allow me to enquire, whether at any time, you desired my assistance at your concert; nay, whether by refusing the loan of the harpsichord usually lent, you did not give me room to suppose it was neither wished nor expected?

That you raised an opinion in the public that I occasioned the absence of two performers, is certain; but as truth is contrary to that opinion, I must request you to declare the grounds upon which so invidious an insinuation was founded? The gentlemen alluded to, for reasons which I have no right to control, objected to any further correspondence with Mr. Brown, on footing of favour.

. . . here let me recall to your remembrance your own conduct upon our first acquaintance. Did you not live free of every expence in my house for the whole of last winter, and some months after the concerts were closed? Did this induce you to perform without a premium . . . ? No, Sir, You were supported at my cost; your demand of three pounds for every night's performance was paid; and . . . you were ungrateful enough to traduce me in private, and to attempt my ruin with a most respectable character, whose friendship I had essentially experienced. . . .

Mr. Capron's card appeared above Mr. Bentley's in the same paper:

Mr. Capron being informed that the motives maliciously assigned for his absenting himself from Mr. Brown's benefit concert, may operate to his prejudice; and being solicitous on all occasions to evince

the highest respect for the public, he begs leave to observe that he would chearfully have contributed his abilities to the entertainment of the evening, had Mr. Brown condescended to make the request.

. . . In truth Mr. Capron has acquitted himself of every obligation to Mr. Brown, and . . . he could never be again induced to enter into an intercourse of favours: . . . surely it is sufficient triumph . . . that every concert for the benefit of that Gentleman opens a scene of considerable profit, while the only opportunity which the public has had to assist Mr. Capron, scarcely supplied the means to defray his expenses.

If Brown was personally a troublesome character, his abilities as a flutist and musician must have been of a high order, for Capron soon again engaged him for concerts, and later Brown joined Reinagle and Capron in the management of the Subscription Concerts.

HENRI CAPRON was one of the most prominent of the French musicians who came to the United States. He first appeared in Philadelphia (1785), and soon became active in the management of subscription concerts both in Philadelphia and New York. As a 'cellist he was a member of the Old American Company orchestra. Among his compositions were a *New Contredance,* a *Favorite Song,* and a "new song," *Delia.* After spending the years 1788 to 1792 in New York he settled permanently in Philadelphia in 1794, where he became the principal of a French boarding-school. In 1793 he kept a music store in Philadelphia with JOHN CHRISTOPHER MOLLER, a composer, organist, pianist and editor, who had appeared in New York as a harpsichordist in 1790.

Moller came to Philadelphia immediately after his concerts in New York, and took part in the City Concerts both as manager and performer. On many of his programs he appeared with his daughter, a musical prodigy. In addition to being organist of Zion Church in Philadelphia, he entered partnership with Capron in the music store, and combined with it a music school. In 1796 Moller moved back to New York, and took Hewitt's place in the management of

the City Concerts with the Van Hagens. When Van Hagen left for Boston Moller made an unsuccessful attempt to continue the subscription series.

He was a talented musician, and his compositions had considerable merit. The New York Library possesses the violin part of six sonatas *for the forte piano or harpsichord, with a violin or violoncello accompaniment,* which Moller composed and published in London before coming to America. *The First Number,* a collection of music published in 1793 by Moller & Capron, contained several compositions of Moller: a graceful though innocuous *Sinfonia,* a *Rondo,* an *Overture,* and a *Quartetto* for "harmonica [this was Benjamin Franklin's *armonica,* or musical glasses], two tenors, and violoncello." In addition there was a *Duetti,* for piano and clarinet, advertised for performance at one of the 1792 City Concerts in Philadelphia.

ALEXANDER JUHAN, "junior, master of music," who appeared in Philadelphia in 1783, was probably the son of a James Juhan, who had come to Charleston as a music teacher in 1771, and who had announced himself in 1786 at Philadelphia as the maker of the "Great North American Forte Piano." Some authorities link Juhan the elder with the Mr. *Joan* who gave the "reading" of the *Beggar's Opera* in Boston in 1770. Alexander Juhan was a violinist who was for a time one of the managers of the City Concerts in Philadelphia, and as a composer he advertised in Charleston (where he lived for a year or two before his return to Philadelphia in 1792) for subscriptions to *A Set of Six Sonatas,* for the pianoforte or harpsichord, "three with an accompaniment for the flute or violin, and three with out"; and a book of twelve songs, with an accompaniment for the same instrument.

Juhan's career provides interest because of his part in another of the controversies that seemed often to trouble the peace of early American music. This time the dispute was based partly on artistic rather than on wholly personal

grounds. The trouble came from Juhan's position as conductor of the orchestra at the concerts of ANDREW ADGATE, (? -1793) a Philadelphian who founded in 1784 an *Institution for the Encouragement of Church Music,* and in the following year established a *Free School for Spreading the Knowledge of Vocal Music* which developed in 1787 into the *Uranian Academy.*

Adgate was to Philadelphia what Tuckey had been to New York and Selby was to Boston. The elaborate "plan" of the Uranian Society, published five days after the Constitutional Convention had first assembled, was the first document on record that urged the necessity and advantage of having music "form a part of every system of education." Philadelphia heard a number of Mr. Adgate's "Vocal Music Concerts" during 1784 and 1785, at which such musicians as Brown and Juhan furnished instrumental numbers. On May 4, 1786, the year of Selby's mammoth concert for prison relief in Boston (January 10), Adgate, no doubt spurred by the review of the Boston concert that had appeared in the *Pennsylvania Herald,* offered Philadelphians *A Grand Concert of Sacred Music,* for the benefit of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia Dispensary, and the Poor, for whom there has, hitherto, been no regular provision made. There was a chorus of 230 voices, and an orchestra of 50 pieces conducted by Mr. Juhan. Aside from Handel's *Hallelujah Chorus,* and an Anthem by *A.* Williams (probably Aaron Williams, an English psalmodist), the vocal numbers were principally devoted to American composers, Lyon, Billings and Tuckey.

The *Pennsylvania Packet,* in its extended review of the concert, had this to say of the conducting:

> To the skill and attention of Mr. Adgate, in training and instructing the voices, and of Mr. Juhan, in arranging and leading the instruments, may be attributed that forcible and uniform effect so manifestly produced throughout the exhibition.

Juhan evidently had a different opinion of Mr. Adgate's share in the proceedings, for in the following year, prior to the first concert of the new Uranian Society, he wrote to the *Pennsylvania Packet* (April 5, 1787):

. . . the subscriber thinks it his duty to state the reasons that have induced him to decline any part in the concert, intended to be performed . . . the 12th instant.

The applause of some . . . has certainly so far elevated the subscriber in his own opinion that he rates himself superior to the instruction of a person, who, with little knowledge in the theory, is confined in the practice of music to the humble province of Solfa. . . .

Another and very forcible reason for the subscriber's conduct upon this occasion, is the neglect of consulting the principal performers as to the pieces of music, and the arrangement of the band. . . . It would surely therefore have improved the general effect of the entertainment and could not have been considered as a very extraordinary indulgence, had those who were best able to determine upon the respective powers of the performers, been invited to select the music and to suggest what could be attempted with the greatest probability of success. . . .

Juhan's "card" closed with the statement that his work at Adgate's concerts had entailed great sacrifices, interfered with his teaching, and the necessary exertions had injured his health. Adgate's reply was printed in the same paper, two days later:

Before the Plan of the Uranian Academy was drawn . . . I mentioned to Mr. Juhan that I had it in view to establish an institution, at which the poor might be instructed in church music, free of expense; and, as the first measure, . . . to have a concert performed. . . . I introduced the subject that I might have the opportunity of consulting him thereon and engaging him as a principal in carrying the concert into effect. His answer to my proposition . . . was immediate and unequivocal! *"We have agreed not to play any more for the poor."* This peremptory declaration . . . foreclosed effectually all consultation. I believed Mr. Juhan, and, in consequence, took my measures, independently of him, as well as I was able . . . he had an undoubted right to be the sole judge of what would contribute most essentially to his *interest* and *health.*

Consequently, the Uranian Concert, on April 12th, was given without the assistance of either Mr. Juhan or Mr. Brown, who, known to be troublesome, may have been in league with Juhan in the dispute. The program again contained works of Tuckey, Lyon and Billings, as well as those of Handel, Arne and Arnold. Further Uranian concerts and "concerts of sacred music for benevolent purposes" may be traced through the following years. Adgate died in 1793 during the yellow fever epidemic, and left behind him several publications: *Lessons for the Uranian Society* and *Uranian Instructions* (1785-7); *Select Psalms and Hymns* (1787); *Rudiments of Music* (1788); *Selection of Sacred Harmony* (1788).

The violinist who took Juhan's place as soloist at the First Uranian Concert was PHILIP PHILE (? -1793), a composer who played a concerto of his own on the occasion. Phile had come to Philadelphia before 1784, when he appeared in a concert advertised for his benefit. Soon he was associated with the Old American Company orchestra, and until his death in 1793 he was to be found either in New York or Philadelphia, participating in concerts and in the orchestras of the theatres. Phile is important historically because of his probable authorship of the famous *President's March,* now known as the musical setting of *Hail Columbia,* the words by Joseph Hopkinson, son of Francis Hopkinson. Phile also wrote a piece called *Harmony Music,* which was announced for performance at Gray's Gardens, a Philadelphia summer retreat, where the Concerts of "harmonial music" were rendered by two clarinets, two French horns, two bassoons and one flute.

The name of PHILIP ROTH (? -1804) is linked with that of Phile, because Roth was formerly supposed by some to have been the composer of the *President's March,* but the claim in his behalf is impossible to verify. Roth's residence in America dates back to 1771, when he appeared in a concert for the benefit of John M'Lean in Philadelphia.

He was presented as "Master of the Band belonging to his Majesty's Royal Regiment of North British Fusiliers," and his contribution to the program was an *Overture,* composed for the occasion. From 1785 to 1804, the year of his death, he lived in Philadelphia as a music teacher. His advertisements showed that he was fully as versatile as any of his colleagues, for he taught

all kinds of Instrumental Music in the shortest manner [short cuts to knowledge are not altogether a purely twentieth century demand], viz: Harpsichord or Piano Forte, Guitar, Flute, Hautboy, Clarinet, Bassoon, French Horn, Harp and Thorough-Bass, which is the Ground of Music. . . .

William McKoy described him as

of middle size and height. His face was truly German in expression; dark grey eyes and bushy eyebrows, round pointed nose, prominent lips, and parted chin. He took snuff immoderately, having his ruffles and vest usually sprinkled with grains of rappee. He was considered an eccentric and a kind of drole.

In addition to the overture played at M'Lean's concert, Roth wrote a *Hunting Song* which was printed in the *Universal Asylum* in 1790. Its opening lines were: "Ye sluggards who murder your lifetime in bed. . . ."

GEORGE SCHETKY (? -1831) was a Scotch musician who, according to Madeira, was a nephew of Reinagle. Madeira said that he came to Philadelphia to live with his uncle in 1792. This date is incorrect, for Schetky appeared as a 'cellist on Philadelphia concert programs as early as 1787. About 1800 he was in partnership with Carr in the music publishing business, and later became one of the prominent founders of the Musical Fund Society. His name appears frequently on concert programs of this period as the author of the military band arrangement of Kotzwara's *Battle of Prague.*

MRS. A. M. POWNALL (? -1796) (who had been known in England as Mrs. Wrighten) was one of the most

popular actresses and singers in the Old American Company. She first came to Boston in 1792, for the American Company was playing at the Federal Street Theatre that season. She had splendid dramatic and vocal gifts and was also prolific as a composer. She wrote both words and music of many songs that were featured in concerts and in operas and plays. Among them were *Advice to the Ladies of Boston,* and *Address to the Ladies of Charleston; Jemmy of the Glen* (copy in the Library of Congress); *Mrs. Pownal's Adres* (sic), in behalf of French musicians, "delivered on her benefit concert night to a very crowded audience: to which are added, Pastoral songs; written by herself at an early period of life," *On by the spur of valeur; Kiss me now or never; Poor Tom Bowling; Italian Song; My Poll and my partner Joe; A smile from the girl of my heart; 'Bly the Colin and Cottage Boy.*

Mrs. Pownall also paid homage to the President with a song, *Washington,* advertised as being in the Book of Songs written by Mrs. Pownall and Hewitt. The New York Library possesses a copy of *Primroses,* "a favorite song by Mrs. Pownall, with additions and alterations by a lady." She died in Charleston in 1796, following the shock she received when her daughter eloped with a pantomimist named Alexander Placide.

A violoncellist and composer named DEMARQUE may have been one of the musicians who fled with Pelissier from Cape François and arrived in America in 1793. At any rate, he first appeared in that year as a concert artist in Baltimore, and soon afterwards became a prominent member of the Wignell and Reinagle orchestra at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. He also played in the City Theatre Orchestra in Charleston. Demarque wrote several pieces for the 'cello, one of them a *Concerto,* and he also composed music for several pantomimes: *The Elopement, Harlequin Shipwreck'd,* the *Miraculous Mill,* and *Rural Revels.*

Nor may we forget JOHN HENRY SCHMIDT, the Dutch organist, composer and music dealer, who first came to New York in 1793, and was later organist at St. Peter's in Philadelphia. Whether or not he was the same Mr. Smith who had offered lectures in Philadelphia in 1788, "interspersed with music and singing," he nevertheless composed a sonata which he advertised with this comprehensive announcement:

> His [Schmidt's] easy Sonata for beginners, consisting in a larghetto, minuet and trio, and Yankee Doodle, turned into a fashionable rondo, may be had of him at No. 50 Green street, where he has furnished rooms to let.

. . . . . .

As the century closes, the flirtation and the courtship end. Euterpe enters the trials of early married life, for America has definitely taken her to its bosom and knows her charms. In the wilderness she will clear the forest.

Her way has not been easy. The early New Englanders would admit her only to their churches, and then only upon pledge of what they considered the utmost decorum. Philadelphians loved her, but the Quakers would have none of her themselves, and tried to interfere in her friendship with their broader minded neighbors.

But youth will have its way, and even though it was necessary for new arrivals to point out Euterpe's perennial charms and beauty, Hopkinson, the aristocrat, Lyon, the clergyman, and Billings, the tanner who awakened Boston, all contrived to keep the Goddess on native soil. And then Selby in Boston, Tuckey in New York, and Adgate in Philadelphia showed the joys of choral music. Reinagle, Carr, Hewitt, Taylor, and their fellows came from Europe to tell of Euterpe's doings abroad, and to show how her gifts might be used. These are names and faces we shall meet in later chapters, for their lives and influence do not end in this century, though it was in the eighteenth century that they were most important, for their coming hastened Euterpe's conquest of America.

PART II

1800-1860

EUTERPE CLEARS THE FOREST

CHAPTER IV

OUR FIRST NATIONAL AIRS

I. YANKEE DOODLE

OUR early national airs have survived in spite of the many unkind things that have been said about them. It is easy to pick flaws in any one of them, yet they are all so vital that they fire our emotions and force us to sing with the crowd. Relegate *Yankee Doodle* to the category of jingle, *Hail Columbia* to mere bombast, and cry against the impossibly wide vocal range of the *Star Spangled Banner,* yet the songs persist. They were not intended as national anthems when they were written; no patriotic organizations commissioned their composers to write them, and none of their authors realized how far his influence would reach.

Many pretty stories are attached to our national ballads, some of them so fanciful that it is a pity to explode them. Yet, tireless researchers have been at work, and it becomes a duty to consult them and to select between the true and the false, where possible. *Yankee Doodle* has caused more quarrels between historians and scholars than any of our songs, for this impertinent, jolly little tune has thumbed its nose at many a dignified sage, and grayed hundreds of hairs by hiding its origin.

The controversy has covered about everything a song can possess—its name, its words, and its tune, and as yet little has been settled. When O. G. Sonneck was chief of the music division of the Library of Congress, he was commissioned to examine all of the traditions regarding the origin of *Yankee Doodle,* as well as our other airs, and

to decide which were right and which were wrong. As far as *Yankee Doodle* was concerned, he reported that probably none of the stories was true, and that unless some further evidence came to light in the future the puzzle would remain unsolved.

To-day the term *Yankee* means a New Englander, a term of whimsical approval when used by his friends, and one of derision when uttered by his less enthusiastic countrymen from the South. Exactly where the word came from and what it meant is a mystery, though there are plenty to tell of their theories. Some would have it the Indians' corruption of the word "English," or if you prefer French, "Anglois." Even Washington Irving's satirical *Diedrich Knickerbocker's History of New York* has been taken seriously when it suggests that

> the simple aborigines of the land . . . discovering that they [the settlers] were a lively, good-humoured race of men . . . gave them the name of *Yanokies,* which . . . signifies silent men—a waggish appellation, since shortened into the familiar epithet of *Yankees,* which they retain unto the present day.

Friends of the *Yankees* claim that back in 1713 the word was used as a superlative of excellence. A "Yankee" horse or a "Yankee" team denoted the last word in fine horse flesh. One etymologist has gone so far as to claim that the word *Yankee* was a corruption of "Yorkshire." But whether it meant good or evil, and from whatever source it may have been derived, it was a far from complimentary term when used by the British just before the Revolution. It was hurled at the colonists with the utmost scorn by the British commanding officer at the Boston Massacre.

Doodle is not quite so baffling, though the reader may still choose the theory that pleases him best, and have as good a chance at winning as his neighbor. The term may be traced in English dramatic literature as far back as 1629, when one of the characters in *The Lover's Melancholy* shouts, "Vanish, doodles, vanish!" Possibly the word is a

corruption of *do little,* and means a simpleton or a silly. Another theory holds that it is derived from "tootle," which, in turn springing from the "tooting" into German flutes that was such a popular occupation of eighteenth-century gentlemen, would indicate that *Yankee Doodle* was a purely instrumental tune at first, and that the many different sets of words were added later. In other words the *Yankee Doodle* was the Yankee air that was "tootled" on the flute. This theory has some logic to support it. Most of the early printed versions had no words, and the very diversity of the later verses suggests that it was first known as an instrumental air.

Theories regarding the origin of the tune are more numerous than those pertaining to the title. Few have survived critical examination. The legend that it was sung in the time of Charles I and of Cromwell cannot be proved; the tunes from these times bear no relation to our *Yankee Doodle.* The lines

> Lucy Locket lost her locket
> Kitty Fisher found it

show an early nineteenth-century *use* of the tune, rather than its origin. It could hardly have been composed during the Revolution for it is one of the tunes mentioned in Andrew Barton's *The Disappointment,* in 1767. Suppositions that it is of Spanish, Dutch, Hungarian, and German origin are highly improbable. The burden of proof is on the claimants.

While there are contemporary references to *Yankee Doodle* as early as 1767, its first known appearance in print did not occur until 1782, when it appeared in James Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs, for the fife, violin or German flute,* published in Glasgow. The discovery of this first printed version was made by Mr. Frank Kidson, who believes that the tune may be of American origin, for the same volume contains several

"Virginia" airs, a "Negro Jig," and other tunes from America. It was probably first printed in America as part of Benjamin Carr's popular *Federal Overture,* composed in 1794 and published in 1795. Although the pianoforte edition of this overture does not appear to be extant, the Library of Congress has a "medley duetto adapted for two German flutes," which was contained in the fifth number of Shaw and Carr's *Gentleman's Amusement.* The overture was a potpourri of such airs as *Yankee Doodle, La Carmagnole, Caira,* the *Marselles March, Oh, Dear, What Can the Matter Be,* and others. Only three pages of the overture are in the Library of Congress copy, and while the introduction is based on the *Yankee Doodle* tune, those pages are lacking in which the composer probably returned to it as a finale, and quoted it in full.

Several stories center around the French-Indian War, principally with the army of General Amherst. An early account from *Farmer & Moore's Literary Journal* (1824) tells the following story:

> . . . the British army lay encamped in the summer of 1755, on the eastern bank of the Hudson, a little south of the city of Albany. . . . In the early part of June the eastern troops (Colonial) began to pour in, company after company, and such a motley assemblage of men never before thronged together on such an occasion. It would . . . have relaxed the gravity of an anchorite to have seen the descendants of the Puritans making through the streets of our ancient city to take their station on the left of the British army, some with long coats, some with short coats, and some with no coats at all. . . . Their march, their accoutrements, and the whole arrangement of their troops furnished material of amusement to the wits of the British army. Among the club of wits that belonged to the British army there was a physician attached to the staff, by the name of *Doctor Schackburg,* who combined with the science of the surgeon the skill and talents of a musician. To please Brother Jonathan he composed a tune, and, with much gravity, recommended it to the officers as one of the most celebrated airs of martial musick. The joke took, to the no small amusement of the British Corps. Brother Jonathan exclaimed that it was a "nation fine," and in a few days nothing was heard in the Provincial camp but "Yankee Doodle"!

With characteristic thoroughness, Mr. Sonneck analyzed this theory in his report, tracing Dr. Shuckburg's (this is the proper spelling) probable whereabouts throughout this entire period. He found it extremely unlikely that Shuckburg was either in Albany in the Summer of 1755, or attached to General Amherst's army. It is however possible that the Doctor was with General Abercrombie's division when it was encamped on the Van Rensselaer estate, near Albany, in *1758,* and it is plausible that he should have written humorous *Yankee Doodle* verses to an existing familiar tune. Which of the many sets of verses he wrote cannot be determined.

There is one fact in the history of *Yankee Doodle* that can be accepted without reservation. It was used by the British to make fun of the Yankees, and later adopted by the Yankees it taunted as their own song. One of the favorite pastimes of the British troops was to gather in front of the New England churches and sing *Yankee Doodle* as the congregations were singing their Psalms. When Lord Percy's troops marched out of Boston on an April night in 1775, bound for Lexington to aid in the capture of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, they kept step to the strains of *Yankee Doodle.* When the colonials routed British troops at Concord, they immediately appropriated the song as their own, and since then it has been the exclusive property of Americans. When Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, and the British band played *The World Turned Upside Down,* the Yankee band replied with *Yankee Doodle.*

It is probable that lines containing *Yankee* and *Doodle* in combination did not appear in England until considerably after 1770, though they were fairly current in America by 1767. The verse that is best known to-day:

Yankee Doodle came to town
Riding on a pony
Stuck a feather in his cap
And called it macaroni

may have originated about 1764, the word *macaroni* indicating the fop or dandy who was a member of an affected class of travelled young Englishmen around 1760. About 1775, when John Hancock was the bane of the British, this verse appeared:

Yankee Doodle came to town
For to buy a firelock:
We will tar and feather him
And so we will John Hancock.

After Lexington, the British did not altogether abandon *Yankee Doodle,* but certainly new words were necessary when the Yankees had appropriated the old ones. In London the following poem was published between 1777 and 1799:

YANKEE DOODLE
or
(as now christened by the Saints of New England)
THE LEXINGTON MARCH

N.B. The words to be sung throu' the nose, & in the West Country drawl & dialect.

1. Brother Ephraim sold his Cow
And bought him a Commission,
And then he went to Canada
To fight for the Nation.
But when Ephraim he came home
He prov'd an arrant Coward,
He wouldn't fight the Frenchmen there,
For fear of being devour'd.

2. Sheep's Head and Vinegar,
Buttermilk and Tansy,
Boston is a Yankee town,
Sing Hey Doodle Dandy.
First we'll take a Pinch of Snuff,
And then a drink of Water,
And then we'll say, How do you do,
And that's a Yanky's Supper.

There are five more verses in like vein, some of them obscene.

An accompanying illustration shows a broadside of *Yankee Doodle* printed in Boston about 1835. For many years this was the current version of *Yankee Doodle,* and some writers connect it with Dr. Shuckburg. It is not likely that this doggerel goes back as far as 1758, and Mr. Sonneck inclines to the belief that it originated in the vicinity of the "Provincial Camp" (near Cambridge) in 1775 and 1776, and may have been written by Edward Bangs, a member of the Harvard class of 1777. George Washington's arrival at this camp July 2, 1775, after he had been appointed commander-in-chief of the American Army, would account for the reference to *Captain* Washington. Lest it prove puzzling that a Yankee should have penned verses derisive of his countrymen, Mr. Sonneck wrote in his Report:[1]

> [The text] is so full of American provincialisms, slang expressions of the time, allusions to American habits, customs, that no Englishman could have penned these verses. . . . To be a British satire on the unmilitary appearance of provincial American troops . . . the verses would have to be derisively satirical, which they are not. They breathe good-natured humor and they deal not at all with the uncouth appearance of American soldiery, but with the experience of a Yankee greenhorn in matters military who went down to a military camp and upon his return narrates in his own naïve style the impressions made on him by all the sights of military pomp and circumstance.

But whatever the controversies, whatever words were sung at certain times, and whatever the real origin of the tune, the description contained in one of the stanzas is indisputable:

> It suits for feasts, it suits for fun;
> And just as well for fighting.

[1] Report on "The Star Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," "Yankee Doodle," by O. G. Sonneck: Library of Congress, Gov't Printing Office.

2. HAIL COLUMBIA

While *Yankee Doodle* was associated principally with the Revolution, *Hail Columbia* had its origin in the war we almost had with France in 1798. The French Revolution had broken out nine years before, and in 1793 France was at war with England and Prussia. The anti-Federalist party in America favored our supporting the French, but President Washington kept us neutral. When John Adams was inaugurated in 1797 matters had come to a crisis. The French government had so insulted our ministers and violated our rights that by 1798 an actual state of war existed with France, though it was never formally declared by Congress.

It was at this time that *Hail Columbia* came into being. The words were written by JOSEPH HOPKINSON, a young man of twenty-eight; the son of Francis Hopkinson, our first native composer. Hopkinson has told the story of the song himself:

"Hail Columbia" was written in the summer of 1798, when war with France was thought to be inevitable. Congress was then in session in Philadelphia, debating upon that important subject, and acts of hostility had actually taken place. The contest between England and France was still raging, and the people of the United States were divided into parties for the one side or the other, some thinking that policy and duty required us to espouse the cause of "republican France" as she was called, while others were for connecting ourselves with England, under the belief that she was the great preservative power of good principles and safe government. The violation of our rights by both belligerents was forcing us from the wise and just policy of President Washington, which was to do equal justice to both but to part with neither, and to preserve an honest and strict neutrality between them. The prospect of a rupture with France was exceedingly offensive to the portion of the people who espoused her cause, and the violence of the spirit of party had never risen higher, I think not so high, in our country, as it did at that time upon that question.

The theatre was then open in our city. [Philadelphia] A young man belonging to it [Gilbert Fox], whose talent was high as a singer,

was about to take a benefit. I had known him when he was at school. On this acquaintance he called on me one Saturday afternoon, his benefit being announced for the following Monday. His prospects were very disheartening; but he said that if he could get a patriotic song adapted to the "President's March" he did not doubt a full house; that the poets of the theatrical corps had been trying to accomplish it, but had not succeeded. I told him I would try what I could do for him. He came the next afternoon, and the song, such as it is, was ready for him. The object of the author was to get up an American spirit which should be independent of, and above the interests, passion and policy of both belligerents, and look and feel exclusively for our honor and rights. No allusion is made to France or England, or the quarrel between them, or to the question of which was most in fault in their treatment of us. Of course the song found favor with both parties, for both were American, at least neither could disown the sentiments and feelings it indicated. Such is the history of this song, which has endured infinitely beyond the expectation of the author, as it is beyond any merit it can boast of except that of being truly and exclusively patriotic in its sentiment and spirit.

The advertisements of the benefit were designed to arouse the curiosity of the public:

Mr. Fox's night. On Wednesday Evening, April 25. By Desire will be presented . . . a Play, interspersed with Songs in three Acts, called *The Italian Monk* . . . after which an entire *New Song* (written by a Citizen of Philadelphia) to the tune of the "President's March" will be sung by Mr. Fox; accompanied by the Full Band and the following *Grand Chorus:*

Firm united let us be
Rallying around our Liberty
As a band of brothers join'd
Peace and Safety we shall find!

Two days after the performance, Benjamin Carr, then a music publisher in Philadelphia, advertised publication of the song:

. . . the very New Federal Song, written to the tune of the President's March, by J. Hopkinson, Esq. And sung by Mr. Fox, at the New Theatre with great applause, ornamented with a very elegant portrait of the President.

There have been many disputes as to which of the several early editions of *Hail Columbia* now in existence may have been the earliest. The puzzle has arisen from the fact that Carr's advertisement spoke of "a very elegant portrait of the President," as the decoration of the first printed copies. For years the only editions found in libraries and private collections had either an American eagle, or a portrait of Washington for decorations. Sonneck, in an article on *The First Edition of "Hail Columbia,"* printed first in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1916), and later as a chapter of his *Miscellaneous Studies in the History of Music* (1921), discusses the situation at length. He disputes the theory that the last lines, "Behold the Chief who now commands, etc.," referred to Washington rather than to John Adams, for Washington was not appointed commander-in-chief of the army until July 2, 1798, and the song was first printed about April 30th. Surely Joseph Hopkinson knew the Constitution well enough to know that Adams as president was commander-in-chief of the army.

Consequently, Sonneck advanced the theory that unless a copy with the Adams portrait should come to light, the edition with the American eagle was the first. This possibly because no suitable picture of Adams could be procured at the time. Then, when Washington was later appointed commander of the American forces, in July, because of the impending trouble with France, his picture was put at the top of a possible *second* edition, in place of the eagle. Some of the copies that I have seen, in the Library of Congress and the New York Public Library, have a picture of Washington *pasted* over the eagle.

Since all this discussion, however, the matter has been definitely settled. Mr. Arthur Billings Hunt of Brooklyn acquired in 1920 or '21 a copy *with the Adams picture,* which he had found in the coal regions of Pennsylvania.

This is undoubtedly the first edition, and as such it is an exceedingly rare specimen.

The origin of the *President's March* is not so clear as that of the words that gave it its long life. It was probably written during Washington's administration, to replace the *Washington's March* of Revolutionary days. It could hardly have been the music used when the new president crossed the bridge at Trenton on his way to his inauguration in 1789, for available evidence shows that it was not composed until well after 1790. William McKoy in 1829 stated that the march was composed by a German teacher of music in Philadelphia, named Johannes Roat, or Roth, "the seat of the Federal Government . . . being removed to Philadelphia and in honour of the new President Washington, then residing at No. 190 High Street."

He undoubtedly referred to the Philip Roth we discussed in a previous chapter, but Roth lived until 1804, after the song was famous. According to present knowledge, he never claimed authorship of the piece. Moreover, Philadelphia did not become the seat of the Government until 1790 and, if a new march had been played in honor of General Washington when he was accorded "an elegant Entertainment of 250 covers at the City Tavern" in Philadelphia on April 20th (1789), some of the newspapers would certainly have mentioned the fact.

The other composer who appears to have a claim is Philip Phile, who died in Philadelphia in 1793. For many years the claim in Phile's behalf was as difficult to prove as that of Roth, but a number of years ago the collection of former Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania yielded an unnumbered page, torn from an engraved music collection, bearing two marches. One of these was the *President's March* by *Pheil,* the other a *March* by Moller. The latter piece indicates that the sheet belonged to one of the publications issued by Moller and Capron in Philadelphia in

1793, and seems to establish Phile's authorship of the *President's March* beyond reasonable doubt.

3. THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

Up to the time of the Spanish-American War, *Hail Columbia* shared honors with the *Star Spangled Banner* as one of our national anthems, and it was not until Admiral Dewey officially designated the *Star Spangled Banner* that *Hail Columbia* lost its place.

Our national anthem had a dramatic birth. During the War of 1812, naval operations in the Summer of 1814 centered around Baltimore, and the city's principal defence, Fort McHenry. Dr. Beanes, a leading physician of Upper Marlborough, Md., had been captured by the British, and was held prisoner on the fleet, anchored off Baltimore. FRANCIS SCOTT KEY, a young Baltimore lawyer, organized a small party to seek Beanes' release, under a flag of truce. He was taken to the British admiral and accorded every courtesy, but the British were planning to attack Fort McHenry that very night (Sept. 13, 1814), and were afraid that their plans would become known if they allowed Key to return. Consequently, he was held on his flag-of-truce ship, and spent the night watching the British bombard Fort McHenry.

All night long he strained his eyes looking at the fort. Several times the firing stopped, and he thought it had surrendered. But as the dawn crept out of the east, he gradually saw the outlines of the fort, and suddenly discovered that the flag was still flying. This was too much for his emotional nature. Inspired by his countrymen's triumph he took an envelope from his pocket, and feverishly wrote the words of the *Star Spangled Banner,* adapting them to a drinking song popular at the time, *To Anacreon in Heaven.* The next day a printer struck off a handbill with the poem; it was sung that night in a tavern, a week later it was printed

in a Baltimore newspaper, and since then its career has been history.

This story, in effect, has never been disputed; controversies have been confined to such details as to who the printer was, who first sang it, and where; and what has become of the envelope on which Key wrote his first sketches. The manuscript preserved in a private collection in Baltimore is probably the first complete copy the author made from his first notes. It is obviously not the draft he made on the flag-of-truce ship.

One of the disputes centers around the poem's adaptation to the music of *To Anacreon in Heaven.* It has been claimed that Key had no music in mind, and that the printer discovered that its meter would match the tune, accent for accent. It is highly improbable that the irregularities in phrase could have corresponded accidentally. The *Anacreon* tune was sung almost everywhere in America at that time, and it is entirely natural that it should have been running through Key's mind when he wrote the poem. The words are obviously intended for singing.

The music of *To Anacreon in Heaven* has been credited to Samuel Arnold (1740-1803), an Englishman who was composer to His Majesty's Chapel, and the compiler of many ballad operas, but it is more probable that it was composed by JOHN STAFFORD SMITH (1750-1836), Arnold's successor at the Chapel Royal, about 1775. The original words

> To Anacreon in Heaven, where he sat in full glee,
> A few sons of harmony sent a petition,
> That he their inspirer and patron would be . . .

are attributed to Ralph Tomlinson, president of the Anacreontic Society in London in the eighteenth century. *Anacreon* was one of the famous lyric poets of Greece, about 500 B.C., and though his poems were inspired by love and wine. his indulgences never seemed to harm him, for he was

in his 85th year when he choked to death on a grape seed.

The song became known in America soon after it was written, and became the official song of the several Anacreontic societies in this country. From 1797 the tune appeared many times, usually adapted to patriotic words. Some of the first lines were:

"Ye sons of Columbia, determined to keep"

"To Columbia, who gladly reclin'd at her ease"

"Ye sons of Columbia, unite in the cause"

"Brave sons of Columbia, your triumph behold."

"In years which are past, when America fought"

"Columbians, arise; let the cannon resound"

"When our sky was illuminated by freedom's bright dawn"

"Hark! the trumpet of war from the East sounds alarm."

"Of the victory won over tyranny's power"

In June, 1798, the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, at its banquet in Boston, sang a song it had commissioned Robert Treat Paine to write for the occasion. This was *Adams and Liberty,* to the tune, *To Anacreon in Heaven.* Elson is authority for the statement that Paine received $750 for his copyright to the song. The author's name was originally Thomas, but not wishing to be confused with the freethinker of the same name, he petitioned Congress to allow him to assume the name of his father, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Robert Treat Paine.

It was not to be expected that *Adams and Liberty* would have long life. No song with a title referring to a single president could become a permanent national anthem. When Jefferson was inaugurated one progressive publisher issued a new edition under the title, *Jefferson and Liberty.*

One more set of verses is worthy of comment—*The Battle of the Wabash.* A copy of this rare song is in the possession of Mr. Arthur Billings Hunt. The battle was the famous engagement at Tippecanoe that made William Henry Harrison famous (November 4, 1811). Mr. Hunt's

copy gives the words of *To Anacreon in Heaven* and *The Battle of the Wabash,* with the music, and facing the first page of music, the verses of the *Star Spangled Banner* are printed under the title *Fort McHenry, or The Star Spangled Banner.* This is the only known music-sheet on which the words of both *To Anacreon in Heaven* and *The Star Spangled Banner* are printed.

4. AMERICA

The song *America* is unique among our early national airs; its origin is associated with no war, and it voices no belligerent sentiments. In this regard it is truly our national *hymn.* The complaint that its tune is British in origin may be viewed from two sides. Before the Revolution it belonged to our British colonial ancestors as fully as it did to their brothers in the mother country. After we were independent of England, our fathers kept the English language, and their English customs. Why should they have abandoned their English anthem, so long as it dropped its allusion to their former monarch?

New verses were plenteous. *God Save America, God Save George Washington, God Save the Thirteen States, God Save the President.* A pioneer suffragette in 1795 went so far as to write a poem called *Rights of Woman,* which began

> God save each female's right
> Show to her ravish'd sight
> Woman is free.

Traditions about the origin of the tune are numerous. It has been claimed that it was taken from a Swiss Hymn, written to celebrate the victory of ancient Geneva over the troops of the Duke of Savoy in the early seventeenth century, and was some years later arranged by Dr. John Bull (1563-1628), the English composer. Some say that early in the eighteenth century the French musician Lully made it

into a French patriotic song in honor of Louis XIV, and that Handel arranged it as a song in praise of the Elector of Hanover who became George 1st of England. These are merely legends, but the fact remains that the tune is used in many countries.

It is probable that it was really written by HENRY CAREY (1685?-1743) the English composer of *Sally in our Alley*. Carey sang the song, with the words "God Save Great George our King" at a tavern in Cornhill in 1740, on the occasion of a dinner party held to celebrate Admiral Vernon's capture of Porto Bello. He announced that the words and music were his own, and it is probable that they were, for he would have had a hard time escaping detection, had he stolen so striking a melody.[1]

The words of *America* date from 1831, and were written by SAMUEL FRANCIS SMITH (1808-1895). Smith claimed that when he wrote his poem he did not realize the tune was that of the British national anthem. On several occasions he told of writing *America:*

The origin of my hymn, "My Country 'tis of Thee" is briefly told. In the year 1831,[2] Mr. William C. Woodbridge returned from Europe, bringing a quantity of German music-books, which he passed over to Lowell Mason. Mr. Mason, with whom I was on terms of friendship, one day turned them over to me, knowing that I was in the habit of reading German works, saying, "Here, I can't read these, but they contain good music, which I should be glad to use. Turn over the leaves, and if you find anything particularly good, give me a translation or imitation of it, or write a wholly original song,—anything, so I can use it."

Accordingly, one leisure afternoon, I was looking over the books, and fell in with the tune of "God Save the King," and at once took up my pen and wrote the piece in question. It was struck out at a sitting, without the slightest idea that it would ever attain the popularity it has since enjoyed. I think it was first written in the town of Andover, Mass., in February, 1832. The first time it was sung publicly was at a children's celebration of American independence, at the

[1] In James Lyon's *Urania*, 1761, the melody appears as *Whitefield's* tune, set to the words *Come, Thou Almighty King.*

[2] The correct date was 1829; see page 146.

Park Street Church, Boston, I think July 4, 1832.[1] If I had anticipated the future of it, doubtless I would have taken more pains with it. Such as it is, I am glad to have contributed this mite to the cause of American freedom.

Thus was *America* written by a young clergyman who had no idea he was writing a national hymn, but whose sentiments proved so expressive of our ideals, that they have been an inspiration to generations of peace-loving Americans.

[1] Evidence has recently come to light which shows that Smith's recollection of the date was incorrect. A copy of the program of a *Celebration of American Independence, by the Boston Sabbath School Union, at Park Street Church* now at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., bears the date, July 4, *1831*. In this program is a broadside with the words of *America*. This evidence is further supported by an account in the *Christian Watchman* of July 8, 1831.

CHAPTER V

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

1. FOREIGN AND NATIVE ARTISTS

IN many respects the beginning of the nineteenth century forms a dividing line in the history of our musical development. Just as it marks a division in our political and economic history. The year that saw the downfall of the Federalist party and the election of Thomas Jefferson witnessed many changes in administrative policies. It was a year when the ambitions of Napoleon Bonaparte threatened the well-being of the young United States; it was only because his problems in Continental Europe were all he could handle that he made a treaty with us in 1801, one of the last acts of Adams' administration. Then followed the closing of the Mississippi's mouth by Spain, the final purchase of the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon (for $15,000,000), the Burr-Hamilton duel, the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and the constant disputes with England over the impressment of our seamen, which finally led to the War of 1812. Eventful years, forcing our new constitutional government to prove its stability at the very outset of its career.

The first years of the century still saw the foreigners who had migrated to our shores in control of our musical life, but with a difference. The Hewitts, the Carrs, Van Hagens and Reinagles had become thoroughly naturalized—they too were American musicians. Young when they came, they had made their reputations principally in America; this was their home, and their foreign origin was in the background. Their descendants to-day may cite several generations of American ancestors.

Among the important foreigners was GOTTLIEB GRAUPNER (1767-1836), who came to America shortly after 1790, but whose life in Boston, where his influence was most felt, was chiefly in the nineteenth century. Graupner has been called the "Father of American Orchestral Music," and while there were others who did much to develop orchestra playing in this country, Graupner is most assuredly entitled to credit for true pioneer work.

His full name was Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner; born in Hanover, October 6, 1767, the son of Johann Georg Graupner, oboist in the regiment of Colonel von Groten from Andreasberg. Gottlieb himself became an excellent oboist, and played in a Hanoverian regiment when he was twenty years old. Receiving an honorable discharge in 1788, he went to London, and, like Hewitt, played in Haydn's orchestra when Salomon brought the great composer to London, in 1791. After a few years in England Graupner sought new fields. He went first to Prince Edward Island, and finally came to Charleston, South Carolina. Here he married, in 1796, a singer named Mrs. Catharine Comeford Hillier, known to the public as Mrs. Heelyer. It may be possible that Graupner had been in America prior to landing in Charleston, for a manuscript biography in the Boston Public Library written by a descendant, Mrs. George Whitefield Stone, speaks of his leaving London in June, 1792, and making an American début in Boston, December 15, 1794. As the same document speaks of his returning to London *February* 4, 1794, and remaining until *August* 15, 1795, it is apparent that there is some confusion of dates. It was probably Mrs. Graupner who made the 1794 début at the Boston Theatre.

The biography describes Graupner as a tall, somewhat austere man of precise speech and manner, who became white-haired before he reached middle age. He had received a thorough musical education, and was able to perform on every known musical instrument, with the oboe

and double-bass as favorites. As a skilled oboist he was much in demand; good players on the oboe were rare in those days, though the tradition that Graupner was the only oboist in the country is hardly accurate.

There is record of a concert in Charleston in November, 1795, when Graupner played a concerto on the oboe, between the performance of the drama and the farce that followed it. The Summer of 1797 found Mrs. Graupner acting in Salem, Massachusetts, and in the Autumn appearing with the Solee theatrical company in New York. In the Spring of 1798 both Mr. and Mrs. Graupner were in Salem, and shortly afterwards the family settled in Boston, where Graupner was to play an active part in the city's musical life until his death in 1836.

Among his other activities, Graupner kept a music store and published considerable music, of his own and others' composition. He advertised that he had "pianofortes for sale and to let, and that private instruments would be tuned in town and in country." An old newspaper clipping describes his place of business:

> Gottlieb Graupner's music store, hall, and house, No. 6 Franklin Street, was four doors on the left from Washington Street. This was a place of great resort for young and old, teachers, pupils, and music lovers. Mr. Graupner's name was an honored one in the musical history of Boston. He was an eminent teacher of the piano-forte and of all orchestral instruments. He struck the first blow in the cause of true musical art, and continued the strife until a taste for good music, and a fair understanding of its intrinsic value was established in Boston.

Although it is known that Graupner composed music, there is little extant to-day. No doubt he wrote some of the oboe concertos that he performed at concerts, and *Columbia's Bold Eagle,* "a patriotic song, words by a gentleman of Salem—music by Mr. Graupner," was on the program of a concert in Salem in 1799. He was a pioneer in compiling educational works for the pianoforte, and in 1819

Hail Columbia, with the Adams Portrait: Probably the First Edition. Collection of Arthur Billings Hunt.

(See page 126.)

Francis Scott Key, Author of *The Star Spangled Banner*

(See page 128.)

wrote and published his *Rudiments of the art of playing the pianoforte, containing the elements of music,* as well as "remarks on fingering, with examples, 30 fingered lessons, and a plain direction for tuning."

In 1810 Graupner started a small organization that was to be his greatest contribution to the future music of Boston. This was the Phil-harmonic Society, at first a social meeting where a number of musicians gathered regularly to practice Haydn's symphonies and other works for their own delight. Aside from nondescript theatre orchestras, and the bands that gathered together for special concerts, there had been few organizations that met regularly for playing symphonic music. Graupner played the oboe. The first violinist was Louis Ostinelli, the Italian who married James Hewitt's daughter, Sophia. Two clarinetists were members: Thomas Granger and Louis Schaffer, though Schaffer probably played the 'cello at the meetings. Francis Mallet, a vocalist, could play the contra-bass, and he became a useful member. The professionals were assisted by amateurs of the city. The orchestra lived for at least fourteen years, for the last concert announcement did not appear until November 24, 1824. Parker's *Euterpiad and Musical Intelligencer,* one of our early musical journals, spoke of the organization in 1821:

> The Concerts of this Society are chiefly instrumental; the music is always heard with attention and oft times delight. The orchestra consists of nearly all the gentlemen of the profession in town, and its members are principally amateurs both vocal and instrumental; its support is derived from an annual assessment of ten dollars upon its members, who gain admission by ballot. The public Concerts are always fully attended by a large assemblage of ladies and gentlemen, introduced by members who possess certain privileges of admission on public nights.

Graupner became an American citizen in 1808. In 1821 he was saddened by the death of his wife, who was but 49 years old at the time. He later married again, for at the

settlement of his will after his own death in 1836, his widow, Mary H. Graupner, inherited the estate of $975.

Aside from his more serious achievements it is possible that Graupner was also the originator of one of our lighter musical diversions—the minstrel songs that were so popular in the middle and later nineteenth century. A New York newspaper in 1889 offered the following information and surmises:

The Beginning of Negro Minstrelsy—the Banjo-Opera a Generation Ago.—In the current number of Harper's Magazine, Mr. Lawrence Hutton essays to trace the history of Negro minstrelsy in America, and succeeds in bringing together a large number of interesting facts in connection with early music and theatricals. In one respect the most surprising of these facts is the one stated on the authority of Mr. Charles White, an old Ethiopian comedian, which credits a Mr. Graupner with being the father of Negro song. This Graupner is said to have sung "The Gay Negro Boy," in character, accompanying himself on the banjo, at the end of the second act of "Oroonoko," on December 30th, 1799, at the Federal Street Theatre, Boston. This was Gottlieb Graupner, a hautboist. . . . In Boston, he led the orchestra of the old Federal Street Theatre, kept a music shop, played the oboe, the double-bass, and nearly every other instrument; gave lessons in music, organized the Philharmonic Society, and joined in the first call for the organization of the Handel & Haydn Society in March 1815. . . . Mr. Graupner's sojourn in Charleston suggests where he, a German, became acquainted with the banjo, and also offers evidence on the question mooted by Mr. Hutton, whether or not the banjo was common among slaves of the south.

Graupner, together with Thomas Smith Webb and Asa Peabody, signed the invitation that was issued in March, 1815, for a meeting to consider "the expediency of forming a society for cultivating and improving a correct taste in the performance of sacred music, and also to introduce into more general practice the works of Handel, Haydn and other eminent composers." Sixteen responded to the call and in April of the same year an organization was formed, with Webb as president, that became the *Handel and Haydn Society* of Boston, to-day one of the largest, and with the

exception of the Stoughton Musical Society, the oldest living musical organization in the United States. The first concert was held in the Stone Chapel on Christmas night in 1815, and one critic wrote that there was nothing to compare with it; that the Society was the wonder of the nation. The *Handel and Haydn* was not only influential in raising the standards of choral music in New England, it led the way to the formation of similar organizations throughout the country.

One of the earliest organists of the Society was GEORGE K. JACKSON (1745-1823), a schoolmate of Raynor Taylor; born in Oxford, England. He came to America in 1796, landing at Norfolk, Virginia, and living in turn in Alexandria, Virginia; Baltimore; Philadelphia; Elizabeth, New Jersey; and New York, before he finally settled in Boston in 1812. He soon became active as a teacher, and at various times held the position of organist in several Boston churches—Brattle Street, King's Chapel, Trinity and St. Paul's. Together with Mr. and Mrs. Graupner, Mallet, and other musicians, he organized performances of oratorios and concerts of choral music.

Before Dr. Jackson left England he had published *A treatise on practical thorough bass.* It was he who was largely responsible for Lowell Mason's start in music, for when he was organist of the Handel and Haydn Society, the manuscript of Mason's first collection of hymns and anthems was brought to his attention. Seeing its merits immediately, Jackson recommended that the Society publish it. Mason himself was anxious that his name should not appear, and Jackson was mentioned as the chief compiler. He had, moreover, added a number of his own compositions and arrangements to the collection.

Jackson had eleven children; two of his sons came to Boston before him and established a music store in 1800. He has been described as somewhat undemonstrative though mentally keen. He was probably a ponderous person, for

General Henry K. Oliver remembered him as "a very incarnation of obesity. . . . Like Falstaff he 'larded the lean earth as he walked along.'" When he died in 1823 he left an even smaller estate than Graupner was to leave thirteen years later. Metcalf, in his *American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music,* says that the total inventory consisted of $98.86, including 129 volumes of old music books valued at six cents each.

BENJAMIN CROSS (1786-1857), one of the founders of the Philadelphia Musical Fund Society, was a contemporary of Benjamin Carr, and was active in Philadelphia as a teacher and singer. He was one of the conductors of the Society, and also appeared as a concert pianist, sometimes playing his own compositions. At some New York concerts in 1839 he played his pianoforte "Fantasia—Introducing two Irish airs"; a Potpourri, "introducing airs from *La Dame Blanche, Massinelo,* and *Fra Diavolo";* and other pieces.

A New England musician whose importance has sometimes been overlooked was OLIVER SHAW (1779-1848), significant because he was prominent at a time when the country was commencing to reassert itself in music; when it had absorbed the foreigners and the new ideas they had brought with them, and was again turning its attention to its native-born music makers. Shaw was one of those who paved the road for Lowell Mason.

He was born March 13, 1779, in Middleboro, Massachusetts, the son of John Shaw and Hannah Heath. When he was a young lad he accidentally shoved the blade of a pen-knife into his right eye. Later the family moved to Taunton and the father went to sea. When Oliver was 17 he attended the Bristol Academy at Taunton, and shortly after graduation he joined his father in his sea-faring enterprises. When he was twenty-one he was stricken with yellow fever. While not fully recovered he helped in taking nautical observations from the sun. This so affected his

remaining eye, weakened from sickness, that the young man soon became totally blind.

It was this affliction that probably turned him to music, for otherwise he might have continued his maritime career. Wondering where to turn for a living, he came in touch with John L. Berkenhead, the blind organist of Newport, who gave him music lessons. Here was a profession he might follow in spite of his blindness. His progress was rapid, and he later went to Boston to study with Graupner. He also took clarinet lessons from Granger, and when he finally settled in Providence in 1807, he went there as a thoroughly trained musician.

Employing a little boy to lead him to the homes of his pupils he gave many music lessons, and he became the organist of the First Congregational Church. In 1809 he gathered a group of fellow musicians, among them Thomas Webb (who later moved to Boston), and founded the Psallonian Society, formed by its founders "for the purpose of improving themselves in the knowledge and practice of sacred music and inculcating a more correct taste in the choice and performance of it." The society lasted until 1832, and in its 23 years gave 31 concerts. In 1812 Shaw married Sarah Jencks and raised a family of two sons and five daughters.

As a composer he devoted himself almost entirely to sacred music. Among his hymn tunes were *Taunton, Bristol, Weybosset* and others. One of his most popular sacred songs was *Mary's Tears,* "a favorite song from Moore's sacred melodies; sung at the oratorio performed by the Handel & Haydn Society in Boston, July 5th, 1817, in presence of the President of the United States." (Monroe.) The program also contained his duet, *All things bright and fair are thine.*

Others of his sacred melodies were: *Arrayed in clouds of golden light; The missionary angel; There is an hour of peace and rest; There's nothing true but heaven; To Jesus*

the crown of my hope, and others which are significant because they show the trend of non-Liturgical church music toward the ballad type of sentiment.

Shaw also compiled several collections of sacred music: *Melodia sacra,* "or Providence selection of sacred musick —from the latest European publications; with a number of original compositions"; and *The social sacred melodist* (1835). His secular compositions included the *Bangor March,* the *Bristol March,* and *Gov. Arnold's March,* the songs, *Sweet Little Ann, Love's last words, The Blue Bird,* and the *Death of Commodore O. H. Perry.* In 1807, H. Mann of Dedham, published Shaw's

For the Gentlemen: A favourite selection of instrumental music . . . for schools and musical societies. Consisting principally of marches, airs, minuets, etc. Written chiefly in four parts, viz: two clarinets, flute and bassoon; or two violins, flute and violoncello.

These are the men who appeared at the opening of the century to join those who had bridged its turn. Some of them were of foreign birth and some were natives, but together they helped finish the foundation on which Lowell Mason, in one direction, and others in their own fields, cultivated the beginnings of a native art.

2. LOWELL MASON (1792-1872) AND THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE COMPOSER

Early in the nineteenth century there arose a group of native composers who carried on the tradition of New England's church music. After Billings, there had been a reaction against his "lively, fuguing pieces." Music for the church again assumed a more stately character. Singing-schools had helped in developing singers who could sing at least correctly in church, and conditions were favorable to the development of a style of music in some respects individual in character. Immediately following the time of Tuckey, Selby, and Adgate, who gave American composers

a place on their programs, the foreign immigration had diverted the attention of the musical public from native composers, and the music of Billings and his contemporaries was forced to the background. After two or three decades, this alien element was absorbed, and our church music, at least, fell to the hands of men better educated musically than the early New Englanders, men who had opportunity to study abroad, and were thoroughly grounded in considerably more than the rudiments of the art. From all this sprang the *hymnology* of the American Protestant church, which, though it has had its ignoble products, has formed a contribution to the sacred song of the entire world. Born chiefly in New England, it is nevertheless the expression of the American people at large. In some ways the hymns of Lowell Mason and his colleagues are as much folk-songs as the melodies of Stephen Foster.

Lowell Mason appeared at a time when American *hymnology,* with its origin in the psalmody of the Puritans, was beginning to develop in two distinct directions. One branch was expressed in the dignified, stately type of hymn which appears in the better collections to-day; the other found its outlet in the gospel hymn, used effectively in camp-meetings, revivalist campaigns, and in many Sunday Schools. Mason, on the whole, was identified with the better type.

We know Lowell Mason principally as the composer of *Nearer, my God, to Thee, My Faith Looks Up to Thee, From Greenland's Icy Mountains,* and many other famous hymns, but his influence has been felt in other directions, equally important. He was the pioneer in music teaching in the public schools, and the teachers' conventions that he organized have been the parents of our annual music festivals and our summer normal schools for teachers. They bridged the work of the old-fashioned travelling singing-teacher and modern music schools.

Mason is one of the few pioneers who profited by his

work. Royalties from the sale of his collections netted him a handsome fortune, and during his lifetime he was recognized and honored. For his services to education New York University awarded him the honorary degree of Doctor of Music in 1855, the first ever granted in America.

His American ancestry dated back seven generations. Robert Mason, born in England in 1590, had landed at Salem with John Winthrop in 1630. Lowell Mason was born in Medfield, Massachusetts, January 8, 1792, the son of Johnson Mason and Catharine Hartshorn. Although his parents did not want him to become a musician they encouraged the boy's early fondness for music, and saw to it that his talent was cultivated. When he was twenty he left home for Savannah, Georgia, for he had heard of a position in a bank that was open to him. In his spare hours he studied music, and found an instructor to help him—a man named F. L. Abel. He soon began to try his hand at composition, and wrote some hymn tunes, and anthems. In the fourteen years in Savannah he led several church choirs, and acted as organist in the Independent Presbyterian Church.

During these years he worked at the compilation of a hymn collection. Some of the tunes he selected from William Gardner's *Sacred Melodies,* and others he wrote himself. He took the bulky manuscript and offered it to several publishers in Philadelphia and Boston, and was turned down by all of them. He was about to lay it aside when someone suggested that he submit it to George K. Jackson, at that time organist of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Jackson saw its merits, and recommended it highly, with the result that it was published as the *Boston Handel & Haydn Society's Collection of Sacred Music.* It became popular immediately, and its many editions totalled 50,000 copies during the following thirty-five years, netting Mason and the Society $30,000 apiece.

Mason still had no thought of making music his profession, and he was so afraid that being known as a musician might hurt his standing as a banker, that he did not allow his name to appear on the collection. Later editions acknowledged his work in the preface.

All this was in 1822. When he had arranged the details of publication he returned to Savannah, where he stayed for five more years. He had married Abigail Gregory in 1817, and had the responsibility of a growing family, a family that still has its impress on American musical life. Of the four sons, Daniel Gregory and Lowell, junior, founded the publishing business of Mason Brothers in New York, which continued until 1869. Lowell, with his younger brother, Henry, then founded the firm of Mason & Hamlin, which first made organs, and then pianos. The youngest son, William, became one of the most influential musicians in America during the last half of the nineteenth century.

When he was thirty-seven years old, Lowell Mason accepted an offer to return to Boston, and was guaranteed an income of $2,000 a year to lead the music in three churches, six months in each. He soon asked to be released from the contract and for a short time went back to banking. But not for long. Music asserted itself as his chief interest, and he gave it his entire time, largely as a reformer. He was honored with the presidency of the Handel and Haydn Society for several years, beginning in 1827, but declined reelection in 1831 that he might give his whole attention to the establishment of music teaching in the public schools. Mason was among the first to preach the doctrine that every child has a right to receive elementary instruction in music at public expense. And he was the man who gained them that right.

At this time the public schools were first becoming recognized as an American institution, and the Boston schools were a fertile field for Mason to work in. Such a revolu-

tionary doctrine was not welcomed immediately by the school board; Mason had to conduct many experiments to prove that his ideas were sound.

By 1829 he had studied the Pestalozzian methods of teaching which W. C. Woodbridge, author of school geographies, had brought back from Europe. Having learned what the system had accomplished in other subjects, he determined to apply its principles to music teaching. Accordingly, in conjunction with George J. Webb, Samuel Eliot, and others, he founded the Boston Academy of Music in 1832, to try his ideas. Sessions were held in the rooms of the Bowdoin Street Church and later at the Odeon. Children were taught free of charge, if they would promise to attend for the entire year. In the first year there were 1,500 pupils. Mason himself taught 400 of them, and Webb took care of 150.

In a few years the school board began to be impressed, and some of its members saw that they were wrong in fearing that music study would divert the pupils from their regular tasks. Those who studied music had an added zeal for other subjects. The board passed a resolution that "one school from each district be selected for the introduction of systematic instruction in vocal music." In 1836 the introduction of music into the schools was formally authorized, but the board forgot to appropriate any money. Even this failed to stop Mason. He taught without pay for an entire year, and bought music and materials for the pupils from his own pocket. A year of this was too much for the public conscience, and in 1838 the board went the whole way and appropriated the necessary funds.

It was while he was conducting the classes at the Academy of Music that Mason started his musical Conventions. If he was to spread his ideas, there must be teachers trained to do the work. The first was held in 1834. Twelve teachers came. By 1838 there were 134, coming from ten states, and in 1849 the attendance had grown to 1,000. The

meetings generally lasted for two weeks. Those who came were taught to sing chiefly by rote, and then went home and became teachers. Meagre instruction, but considerably more than they had ever had before. Moreover, the results were so successful that Mason spent much of his time travelling around the country in answer to the demand for "conventions" elsewhere. He would often go as far west as Rochester, New York, a real journey in the days of early railroading, to meet choruses of 500 voices, many of them teachers who had travelled a hundred miles to attend.

By 1850 Mason's pioneer work in Boston was finished. He had made the Hub a self-developing musical city, not largely dependent, like New York, on musical culture from abroad. The Academy passed out of existence in 1847 because its mission had been fulfilled. In 1850 Mason went to Europe for two years, and lectured in England on his application of the Pestalozzian method to music teaching. In 1853 he returned and established his headquarters in New York, where with George F. Root, and William B. Bradbury, he established the New York Normal Institute, for training teachers. He bought a home on the side of the Orange Mountains in New Jersey which he named *Silverspring,* and he continued his activities until his death at the age of eighty, August 11, 1872.

Mason had opposition in his lifetime, and even after his work had borne fruit in Boston the intelligentsia of the day said that he and his fellow writers of hymn-tunes were degrading and cheapening music. From certain standpoints this may be true; Mason was no Handel or Bach; his tunes incline to the sentimental and their appeal is to the emotions rather than the intellect. Compare what had been before him with what he left, and then decide whether he cheapened and degraded it. Mason was the first who preached music for the masses. The festivals that grew from his conventions may have been a sorry contrast to modern per-

formances in both program and execution, but think of the thousands who participated in making music far better than anything they had ever heard before.

It has been estimated that over a million copies of Mason's books have been sold; one collection alone brought him $100,000. The best known were the *Boston Handel & Haydn Collection* (1822); *Juvenile Psalmodist* (1829); *Juvenile Lyre* (1830); *Sabbath School Songs* (1836); *Boston Academy Collection of Church Music* (1836); *Lyra Sacra* (1837); *Boston Anthem Book* (1839); *The Psaltery* (1845); *Cantica Laudis* (1850); *New Carmina Sacra* (1852); and *The Song Garden* (1866).

3. MASON'S CONTEMPORARIES

Among Mason's contemporaries and associates, THOMAS HASTINGS deserves a prominent place. He was a few years older than Mason and like his colleague enjoyed long life (1784-1872). Between the two men there was one marked difference. With Mason, music was first, and he appreciated its power to make worship more beautiful. Hastings was a pious soul who believed that music should be used to exemplify the teachings of the gospel, occupying an entirely subordinate place. Moreover, Hastings was not the musician that Mason was.

Hastings was born in Washington, Connecticut, October 15, 1784. His father, Seth Hastings, combined the professions of country doctor and farmer. Thomas and his two brothers were complete albinos, with absolutely white hair from childhood. When Thomas was twelve the family moved to Clinton, New York, and the boy obtained all the education he ever had in the country schools. His experience was practical, however, for at eighteen he was leading a village choir. He started to compile hymn collections when he was about thirty years old, and in 1816 an editor named Solomon Warriner suggested that they merge his

own *Springfield Collection* with Hastings' *Utica Collection.* The joint product was called *Musica Sacra.*

Hastings moved to Utica in 1828 and was active in a Handel and Haydn Society of that city. For several years he edited a weekly religious paper, *The Western Recorder,* and expressed his views on church music in many of his editorials. He had already published an *Essay on Musical Taste,* in which his ideas were considered radical and advanced. The essay was widely read, and a new edition was printed in 1853.

In 1832 Hastings settled in New York, where he later became associated with Mason in the New York Normal Institute. For a number of years he was choir-master of the Bleecker Street Presbyterian Church. His works were widely used, and his influence was second only to Mason's. In 1858 New York University paid him the same honor it had accorded Mason three years earlier, and conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Music.

Hastings is supposed to have written the words of six hundred hymns, and to have composed over a thousand tunes. He issued fifty volumes of music altogether. While modern hymnals contain many of his hymns, the best known is the famous tune *Toplady,* sung to Augustus Toplady's words, *Rock of Ages, cleft for me.* Many of his tunes appeared under *nom de plumes,* for Hastings was one of the first American composers to believe that a foreign name impressed the American public. He once wrote: "I have found that a foreigner's name went a great way, and that very ordinary tunes would be sung if 'Palestrina' or 'Pucitto' were over them, while a better tune by Hastings would go unnoticed." A number of his hymns were composed by "Kl—f," and there is reason to suppose that those signed "Zol—ffer" are from his pen. Hastings died in New York, May 15, 1872, eighty-eight years old. He was active until three years before his death.

It may be that the good die young, but if devotion to

church music is any sign of virtue, Mason and Hastings disproved the theory by their eighty and eighty-eight years of life. To support the argument of his elders, their young associate, GEORGE JAMES WEBB (1803-1887), decided that the average was what he wanted, and lived for eighty-four years.

Webb was an Englishman who came to Boston in 1830. The son of a landowner with an estate near Salisbury, England, he was born June 24, 1803. His father was a singer, and his mother a cultured amateur musician. He received his first musical instruction from his mother before he was seven years old, and when he attended a boarding school near his home he studied music with Alexander Lucas. He became proficient in playing both the piano and violin, and by the time he was sixteen decided to make music his career.

To continue his education he went to Falmouth, where he studied with an organist, and soon succeeded his teacher at the organ. After a few years in Falmouth he decided to try America, for many friends had told him of its opportunities. He had booked passage for New York, but the captain of a boat sailing for Boston persuaded young Webb to come with him. He went to the New England City and within a few weeks was engaged as the organist of the Old South Church and, what was most important, met Lowell Mason.

Mason needed a man like Webb, for he was beginning to formulate his plans for teaching children. Webb accordingly became one of the organizers of the Boston Academy of Music, and took charge of the secular music courses, while Mason devoted himself to the church music department. His talents as a choral conductor led to his becoming president of the Handel and Haydn Society for three years, and with Mason he was influential in promoting better choral music throughout the country.

Webb also cultivated instrumental music at the Academy,

and organized an orchestra that gave regular concerts, following in the footsteps of Graupner's Philharmonic group. This orchestra existed for fourteen years, and when the Academy had served its purpose and ceased to exist in 1847, a Musical Fund Society was organized by Tom Comer, and Webb later became conductor of its orchestra. He held the position until 1852, when he resigned because of other duties, though he remained president of the society, which continued until 1855. As an orchestral conductor he was an important link in Boston's musical life; he formed the bridge between Graupner's pioneer efforts, and the future work of Zerrahn with the orchestra of the Harvard Musical Association.

In 1871 Webb followed Mason to New York, and established his home in Orange, New Jersey. He taught vocal pupils in New York and in the summers conducted normal courses for teachers at Binghamton, New York. He died in Orange, October 7, 1887.

Only one of Webb's many compositions has survived to our day, the famous tune sung to the words *Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus.* This originally appeared as a secular song, then as a setting to *The Morning Light is Breaking,* a hymn by Samuel Francis Smith, author of *America.* At first the tune was called *Goodwin,* but it is known to-day by the name of its composer, *Webb.*

Webb wrote many sacred songs and cantatas, and compiled many collections of hymn tunes, a number of them in association with Lowell Mason. Some of them were *The Massachusetts Collection of Psalmody,* published in 1840 by the Handel and Haydn Society, *Cantica Ecclesiastica,* consisting largely of English anthems (1859), and a number of collections for young singers—*The American Glee Book* and others. The connection with the Mason family was further strengthened when Lowell Mason's son, William, married Webb's daughter, Mary.

He also wrote many secular songs, some of them pub-

lished in 1830, the year of his arrival in America. *Art Thou Happy, Lovely Lady?* was published in that year by C. Bradlee in Boston. An announcement at the end of the voice and piano copy stated that "the orchestral accompaniment may be had on application to the publisher." There were a number of songs in these early Boston years —*I'll Meet, Sweet Maid, with Thee; Homeward Bound; Oh, Go Not to the Field of War* ("as sung by Miss George with rapturous applause"); *When I Seek My Pillow;* and many others. There was also a *Boston Cotillons,* for piano, "composed and dedicated to the ladies of Boston." Between the graceful phrases of music are printed directions for the dancers. "Right and left four—Balance and turn partners—half promenade—half right and left." And again, "First Lady balance to 2nd Gent; turn the next—balance to next, turn partners and come in the center—four Gent: hands around the Lady—turn partners."

Mr. Howard Van Sinderen, husband of the late Minna Mason Van Sinderen who was the daughter of William Mason and granddaughter of Lowell Mason and Webb, has very kindly placed at my disposal some of Webb's manuscripts; a number of sacred and secular songs, showing careful workmanship. Most interesting is the *Ode to the 4th July, 1832,* for soli and chorus. Also the cantata, *Song of Death,* to words selected from Burns. One of the manuscripts has on one side the outline of a song, with merely the start of an accompaniment; and on the other side a pencilled canon, which may have been a sketch for a choral piece, or merely an exercise for his own routine.

Among the members of the Mason group was WILLIAM BATCHELDER BRADBURY (1816-1868), a younger man than Mason, but one who was imbued with his ideas and well equipped to help carry them out. Bradbury, like Mason, was successful in his work with children, he loved them and understood them, and they responded readily to his teaching. His *forte* was music for Sunday Schools, and he was

the author and compiler of books with colorful titles. There was the *Golden* series: *Bradbury's Golden Shower of Sunday School Melodies; Bradbury's Golden Chain of Sabbath School Melodies; The Golden Censer* (a musical offering to the Sabbath Schools of children's hosannas to the Son of David); as well as *Bright Jewels for the Sunday School* and *Musical Gems for School and Home.* The suggestion of gold and jewels had its point for the author too, for the books made him a fortune. His handling of children would have won the approval of the most modern of psychologists. In his later years, his home in Bloomfield, New Jersey, lay directly opposite the town school. Bradbury had fruit trees which he prized highly. Every year he protected his orchard from school-boy raids by sending baskets of cherries, apples and pears to the pupils.

He was born in York, Maine, October 6, 1816. His parents were musical and he had advantages of training in his youth. By the time he was fourteen he could play every instrument known to York. When he went to Boston he took lessons in harmony from Sumner Hill and became a pupil of Lowell Mason. In 1836, when he was twenty, Mason recommended him to the authorities in Machias, Maine, where he taught for a year and a half. After this, Bradbury went to St. John's, New Brunswick. Then he divided his time between Boston and northeastern points for a few years, and finally moved to New York in 1840, where he became the organist of the Baptist Tabernacle. As a disciple of Lowell Mason he started musical conventions in New Jersey, the first held in Somerville, in 1851. When Mason came to New York, Bradbury joined his former teacher in founding the New York Normal Institute. By this time he had added considerably to his musical background. He spent almost two years in Europe, after leaving the Baptist Tabernacle in 1847, and studied with Moscheles, Hauptmann, Wenzl, and Böhme.

In 1854 he formed a partnership with his brother for

manufacturing pianos, and the firm that produced the Bradbury piano was highly successful. Bradbury was a natural money maker, but overwork brought on an ailment of the lungs, which caused his death at his New Jersey home, January 7, 1868. His best known hymn tunes were: *He Leadeth Me; Woodworth* (Just as I am, without one plea); and *Bradbury* (Saviour, like a shepherd lead me).

Church music and songs for Sunday Schools were in great demand in the early and middle nineteenth century, and many of the composers who wrote them made large sums of money. Most of these musicians are known to us by an occasional hymn tune; their ambitious collections have been replaced by modern editions.

SILVANUS BILLINGS POND (1792-1871) was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, became a piano maker in Albany, New York, and moved to New York City in 1832, where he entered the publishing house of Firth & Hall. In 1848 the firm became Firth, Pond & Company and was one of the principal publishers of Stephen Foster's songs. In 1863 Pond left the Firth interests and established the business now known as William A. Pond & Company. He wrote many Sunday School songs, some secular songs, and compiled the *United States Psalmody.*

CHARLES ZEUNER (1795-1857) was a German who came to Boston in 1824. Baptized *Heinrich Christopher,* he changed his name to *Charles,* possibly to seem more like an American. He is best known to-day for his *Missionary Chant,* which is contained in many hymn-books. For seven years he was organist of the Handel and Haydn Society. After thirty years in Boston he moved to Philadelphia, where he held the position of organist in several prominent churches. Unfortunate moodiness and eccentricities of temperament made it difficult for him to get along with others, and a mental ailment culminated in death by his own hand when he was sixty-two years old.

Zeuner's largest composition was an oratorio, *The Feast*

of Tabernacles, which was published and performed in Boston. Tradition has it that Zeuner demanded $3,000 when he offered the manuscript to the Handel and Haydn Society. The Society felt this was too much. When the work was later given eight performances by the Boston Academy of Music at the Odeon, it resulted in complete failure financially. The hot-tempered Zeuner broke into the Academy one night, and destroyed all copies of the work that he could find, including the manuscript.

Several years later a correspondent of *Dwight's Journal of Music* wrote as follows:

> I doubt if Zeuner is appreciated. There is hardly a great composition for church or stage which one person at least would rather hear than Zeuner's "Feast of Tabernacles," the oratorio which after a few performances in Boston some years since he withdrew—there is too much reason to fear—forever!

For long life HENRY KEMBLE OLIVER (1800-1885) ranks with Mason, Hastings and Webb. He lived to be eighty-five years old. He is known best as the composer of the hymn-tune *Federal Street,* sometimes sung to Oliver Wendell Holmes' *Lord of All Being, Throned Afar,* but originally written for Miss Steele's hymn, *So fades the lovely blooming flower.*

Oliver was truly a man of parts, and a dominant factor in the business and cultural interests of nineteenth-century New England. Although he was a choir master and organist, music was his avocation. In middle life he was Adjutant-General of Massachusetts for four years, superintendent of the Atlantic Cotton Mills in Lawrence for ten years, mayor of Lawrence for a year, treasurer of Massachusetts during the Civil War, and for ten years chief of the state's Department of Labor. He was active in musical organizations, some of which he organized and managed himself. He was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, and died in Salem, where he had lived for many years.

He published several volumes of hymn tunes: *Oliver's*

Collection of Hymn and Psalm Tunes; and with Tuckerman and Bancroft *The National Lyre: a new collection of sacred music.*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BAKER (1811-1889) was Lowell Mason's successor as teacher of music in the Boston schools. He was a singer and director of church choirs in Salem and Boston, and participated in the work of the musical conventions. From 1841 to 1847 he was vice-president of the Handel and Haydn Society. He founded a Boston Music School in 1851, acted as its principal and took charge of the vocal department. When the school went out of business in 1868 Baker retired from active work.

Although Baker was himself a composer, one of his most interesting works was the *Haydn Collection of Church Music,* in which the tunes were selected and arranged from the works of Haydn, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Rossini, Mendelssohn, Cherubini, and others. In like manner the *Classical Chorus Book* contained anthems, motets and hymns arranged from the works of Mozart, Beethoven, etc. He was the author of a treatise on *Thorough Bass and Harmony,* and wrote three cantatas: *The Storm King, The Burning Ship,* and *Camillus the Conqueror.*

Baker spent his whole life in New England. He was born in Wenham, Massachusetts, and died in Boston.

ISAAC BAKER WOODBURY (1819-1858), like General Oliver, was born in Beverly, Massachusetts. In his early life he was apprenticed to a blacksmith, and devoted his spare time to music. At thirteen he went to Boston for study, and when he was nineteen went to Europe and studied in Paris and London. When he came back to America he taught in Boston, and joined the Bay State Glee Club, which travelled through New England. In 1851 he went to New York, and became editor of the *New York Musical Review.* Because of ill health he went again to Europe, and later decided to spend his winters in the South. The rigors of one of these trips proved too much for him, and

he died in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1858, thirty-nine years of age.

In his lifetime, Woodbury's music was used in churches more than that of any of his contemporaries, and though little of it is heard to-day, a number of his tunes are still found in our hymn books. Certainly he had the benefit of a good advertising man, for in Dwight's staid *Journal of Music* this advertisement appeared in 1853:

125,000 Copies in Two Seasons!
Live Music Book!
The Dulcimer
A Collection of Sacred Music
by I. B. Woodbury

The "learn-music-at-home" idea had an early advocate in Woodbury, for one of his works was called *Woodbury's Self-Instructor in Musical Composition and Thorough Bass.* With B. F. Baker he compiled the *Boston Musical Education Society's Collection of Church Music* (1842) and *The Choral* (1845). One of his first songs was a ballad, *He Doeth All Things Well, or My Sister.* He sold this for ten dollars to George P. Reed of Boston, who published it in 1844. Another of his songs which had wide use was *The Indian's Lament,* with its first line: "Let me go to my home in the far distant West."

Metcalf has given a sympathetic portrait of Woodbury:[1]

Gentleness was the characteristic of the man and his music. His compositions were for the church, the fireside and the social circle. He wrote with remarkable fluency and it was surprising how much he could accomplish in a short space of time. . . . He had a beautiful voice and sang various styles, but excelled in the ballad and descriptive music. For sport he was fond of hunting and duck-shooting. And in a letter to his paper he wrote that even in winter it was his daily custom to ride on horseback, or, when Old Boreas blew cold, in his carriage, among the leafless trees or the evergreen pines.

[1] From *American Writers and Compilers of Hymn Tunes;* copyright, 1925, by Frank J. Metcalf. Quoted by permission of the Abingdon Press.

CHAPTER VI

OUR NINETEENTH-CENTURY BACKGROUND IN SECULAR MUSIC

I. CONCERT LIFE

CITY dwellers in the early nineteenth century had plenty of musical entertainment. Both foreign and native artists found it profitable to offer their services for public and private occasions. Sometimes the concerts were for the benefit of the artists themselves, and sometimes for charity. Old newspapers ran advertisements of such affairs as a "Vocal Concert for the benefit of the Respectable Aged and Indigent Female Assistance Society" (New York, 1839) and others to raise funds for equally worthy objects. In New York the concerts were held at the City Hotel, Niblo's Gardens, the Lyceum, the Apollo, or the Broadway Tabernacle. Even Davies' Hot Pie House was not without its musical affairs; the New York *Herald* of January 7, 1839, told its readers that

> A musical party will meet this evening, at 8 o'clock, at Davies' Hot Pie House, No. 14 John Street. A professor will preside at the Piano Forte. Admission 12½ cents. [You *had* to take somebody!]

Some of the artists made impressive claims. Signor de Begnis, first buffo singer from the Italian Opera House in London, promised that at one of his concerts he would sing six hundred words and three hundred bars of music in the short space of four minutes. Many of the concerts assumed mammoth proportions. At a "Great Union Performance of Sacred Music," in the Broadway Tabernacle (N. Y., 1839) the New York Sacred Music Society was

assisted by choirs from twenty surrounding towns, one thousand singers in all.

Each of the three leading cities had a group of serious musicians in whom the better musical life centered, and who cultivated a following and did much to raise standards. Benjamin Carr, Raynor Taylor, Hupfeld, Cross and others in Philadelphia formed a group that culminated in the Musical Fund Society. In Boston, Graupner, Ostinelli, Mallet, Granger and others founded a Philharmonic Society; Graupner, Peabody and Thomas Webb the Handel and Haydn Society; and Mason and George Webb the Boston Academy of Music.

New York, too, had its musicians, and though they were forced to compromise with the public taste, they kept their own standards high, and did much for the cultivation of good music. The eighteenth century had seen musical organizations in New York. James Hewitt with his English friends had formed a Philharmonic Society which flourished for a number of years; the Germans had founded the Concordia, and the Euterpean Society celebrated its 48th anniversary in 1847. There was also a New York Sacred Music Society, directed by U. C. Hill, which presented the *Messiah* in 1831, and Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* in 1838. In 1839 a "Musical Solemnity" was held in the memory of Daniel Schlesinger, a thoroughly trained musician who had made his home in New York at the time of his death; and from this concert, largely orchestral in character, the idea of a permanent professional orchestra was born. With Hill as the motivating spirit the Philharmonic Society of New York was founded in 1842, an orchestra which is to-day acknowledged one of the finest in the world. An account of the men who formed the Philharmonic is the history of New York's musical life in the first half of the century.

URELI CORELLI HILL (1802-1875) deserves credit, above all others, for forming the Society and for maintaining its existence in its first years. H. E. Krehbiel, in his

monograph, *The Philharmonic Society of New York,*[1] presents a brief sketch of Hill:

He was not a New Yorker, but a Connecticut Yankee, and the strangeness of his Christian name suggests the idea that some of his mental peculiarities were an inheritance. In all probability his father was fond of the violin. . . .

Yankee "push," energy, shrewdness, enthusiasm, industry, pluck, self-reliance, and endurance were all present in the composition of Hill's character. It seems incontestable from the evidence that his natural gifts as a musician were not great. When he went to study with Spohr in 1835, he had already occupied a prominent position in the musical life of the city for some years. He could plan and could organize. Obstacles had no terror for him; he thought that patience and industry would surmount them. He did achieve wonderful things with the crude material at his disposal, but though he labored hard he never overcame the limitations which nature had set for him as an executant.

He remained over two years with Spohr, and when he returned he gave great vogue to that master's "School for the Violin," and became the most popular and successful violin teacher in the city. He was of the stuff that pioneers are made of, and filled with a restless energy. Despite his achievements as a conductor of amateur and professional bodies, he was continually looking for new fields to conquer. He had some of the spirit of the New England convention leader, and would have been supremely happy had he been able to count his performers by the hundreds or thousands, instead of scores. But with all his eagerness he inculcated a taste for good music, and his pupils bless his memory.

His fate was a melancholy one. Though he could earn money he could not keep it. He sought his fortunes out West, five years after the foundation of the Philharmonic, and was gone three or four years, only to find that the best field for his energies was New York. Once the Society helped him with a loan of practically all the money in the sinking fund, and had to wait long for its return.

He played in the orchestra until 1873, and was then retired because of old age, being seventy. For a while, he played as an extra at Wallack's Theatre, but was unable to maintain himself there. Some operations in New Jersey real estate had proved abortive. He tried to get up a concert for a daughter in Jersey City, and was shocked at

[1] *The Philharmonic Society of New York,* by H. E. Krehbiel: Novello, Ewer & Co.

the lack of interest in his enterprise displayed by the musical profession.

Then, the painful conviction was forced on him that he "lagged superfluous on the stage." At his home in Paterson, N. J., on September 2, 1875, he killed himself by taking morphine. In a letter of explanation and farewell he wrote these words:

"To live and be a beggar and a slave is a little too much for me, maugre I am an old man. Look at all of us! Is it not heartrending to contemplate? Ha, ha! the sooner I go the better. O, merciful father, take good care of my wife and family! Blessings on all they have done for me."

In the first five seasons of the Philharmonic, Hill conducted five of the concerts. The first program, presented at the Apollo Rooms, December 7, 1842, shows that the standards of the group were high though their performances may have been ragged. Hill conducted the orchestra in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Weber's Overture to *Oberon,* and an Overture in D by Kalliwoda. Five instrumentalists played the Hummel D minor Quintette, and the vocal numbers, rendered by Madame Otto and C. E. Horn consisted of selections from *Oberon,* Beethoven's *Fidelio,* Mozart's *Belmont and Constantia,* and a duet from Rossini's *Armida.* There is further discussion of the early Philharmonic performances in our chapter on Theodore Thomas.

The program of the first concert stated that "the vocal music will be directed by Mr. Timm." HENRY CHRISTIAN TIMM (1811-1892) was one of the first competent pianists who lived in New York. Born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1811, he had settled in New York in 1835, and after giving a concert at the Park Theatre had immediately come into public favor. His début was followed by an unsuccessful concert tour through New England, and to make a living he became second horn player in the Park Theatre Orchestra. Next he went South as conductor of an opera troupe that travelled for six months, and settled in Baltimore, where he had a position as organist. He soon returned to New York, and became chorus master and trom-

bone player for a company organized by C. E. Horn, who had leased the new National Opera House. When the theatre burned down, Timm became organist of St. Thomas's Church in New York, and later played at the Unitarian Church, where he remained for eighteen years. He lived until he was eighty-one years old, when he died in New York in 1892.

Timm was active in the formation of the Philharmonic, and was its president from 1847 to 1864. From contemporary accounts he was an excellent pianist. One legend has it that he could play scales with a full wine glass on the back of his hand without spilling a drop. The New York correspondent of Dwight's *Journal* in Boston described him as "the most elegant of our pianists," and in reviewing a concert in November, 1852, said:

> The next instrumental piece was the first movement of Hummel's Concerto in B minor, the piano-forte by Mr. Timm. How finely that gentleman plays you need not be told. The deeply melancholy character of the music was admirably conveyed in the performance of both pianist and orchestra, and was doubly effective from its contrast to the Symphony (Beethoven's 8th).

Timm was also something of a composer. He wrote a grand mass, part-songs, and made many transcriptions for two pianos, which he played in concerts with his colleagues.

DANIEL SCHLESINGER (1799-1839), whose memorial concert was largely responsible for forming the Philharmonic, was a German pianist who came to New York in 1836. He was an excellent musician, pupil of Ferdinand Ries and Moscheles, and if he had been spared he would undoubtedly have proved a powerful influence in this country.

Concert notices of the time tell something of Schlesinger's activities. On one occasion he played a Hummel concerto with orchestra, on another he joined his colleague Scharfenberg in playing the Rondo and Variations for two pianos by Henri Herz, and with Scharfenberg and another pianist,

Czerny's "Grand Trio Concertante, for six hands on two pianos."

At the memorial concert after his death in 1839—"The Musical Tribute to the Memory of the late Daniel Schlesinger"—held at the Broadway Tabernacle in 1839, an orchestra of sixty performers, the Concordia (a chorus of forty amateurs of which he had been the director), and distinguished *virtuosi* played a program that included his *Grand Overture, Full Orchestra, Composed expressly for the London Philharmonic Society;* and the *Adagio and Finale of the celebrated Quatuor in C minor, for piano, tenor, violin and violoncello.*

WILLIAM SCHARFENBERG (1819-1895) was also a German. U. C. Hill met him when he went to Cassel to take lessons from Spohr. Hill painted an enthusiastic picture of the opportunities for young musicians in America, and finally persuaded the young German to come here. He arrived in New York in 1838 and made his début as a pianist under Hill's auspices.

Scharfenberg at once took a leading position among the musicians of the city, for he had only one rival as a pianist, Daniel Schlesinger, and the latter died a few months after Scharfenberg came. Moreover it was a rivalry, as Krehbiel wrote, that was "sweetened by a most unselfish and friendly interest on the part of the elder musician." Excerpts from Dwight's *Journal* afford descriptions of Scharfenberg and his colleagues. May 1, 1852:

> The Philharmonic Orchestra is admirably drilled. The members are all inspired by the same sympathies,—mostly Germans, they believe in the German Composers, who would not regret to sit among the audience and hear their own immortality so assured. Mr. Timm . . . is President; Mr. Scharfenberg, whose delicate and polished style evinces the student of the best classics only, is vice-president. They assist in the orchestra, taking very humble parts. Mr. Scharfenberg, I think, played the cymbals. . . .
>
> Mr. Scharfenberg played a Concerto of Mendelssohn's with the orchestra. I wish he were more impassioned. Yet his reverence for

the master is very beautiful, and the quiet, uncompromising purity of his style is sure to secure your most judicious approval. Later in the evening he and Mr. Timm played a Grand Duo of Mendelssohn's upon the Bohemian march from "Preciosa." It was effective, but not striking. In fact, neither of the piano performances were strictly interesting. They were learned and skillful rather than inspired. But the audience made it a point of honor to listen silently, and recognized by their applause the admirable performance, although there was no great enthusiasm for the works.

And from Newport, R. I., August 28, 1852:

The lover of music has great privileges here. Besides the many concerts, always of a high order, there is sometimes at the hotels, but constantly in private circles, a great variety of choice music. In Mr. Scharfenberg's little cozy parlor, Beethoven, Chopin and Mendelssohn, Spohr, and other worthy associates, are daily worshipped by a few of the true worshippers. . . .

Scharfenberg was active in the Philharmonic Society from the start. In its third season he was secretary, in the ninth, vice-president, and from 1863 to 1866 president. He also formed, in 1845, the music publishing firm, Scharfenberg & Luis, whose store on Broadway was headquarters for the Philharmonic. The business lasted until 1866, when Scharfenberg left to live temporarily in Havana. On his return he became associated as reader and editor with the publisher who was to become one of the foremost in America, Gustave Schirmer. Although Scharfenberg was something of a composer on his own account, it was as editor that he made his great contribution, and hundreds of the volumes in the Schirmer *Library of Classics* were annotated and prepared by his careful pen. He enjoyed long life, and died in 1895 at the age of seventy-six in Quogue, Long Island.

CHARLES EDWARD HORN (1786-1849) belongs both in this chapter and the next. He was a serious musician, singer, pianist, and composer; as a ballad singer and composer he was influential in shaping a type of song popular

to our own day. Unlike Scharfenberg and Timm, Horn had made a reputation abroad before he came here. He was the son of Karl Friedrich Horn, a German musician who came to London in 1782 and became the vogue as a teacher among the English nobility. The father was appointed music master in ordinary to Queen Charlotte and the Princesses, and was organist at St. George's Chapel at Windsor from 1824 until his death in 1830.

The son Charles was born in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and received most of his musical training from his father. By the time he came to America in 1833, at the age of 47, he had been one of the composers at the Vauxhall, director of music at the Olympia, and was highly popular as an opera singer (although his voice was poor, and useful principally because of its enormous range). He had composed and produced twenty-two operas, some, like his setting of Moore's *Lalla Rookh,* highly successful.

When Horn came to New York he first produced English operas at the Park Theatre, where he met with great success. During the following years he was active in theatrical affairs, concert appearances with his wife, who was also a singer, and he found time to write and produce an oratorio, *The Remission of Sin.* When he directed this work in London some years later he presented it under the brief, but alluring, title, *Satan.* In 1842 he was one of the founders of the Philharmonic and sang at its first concert. Shortly after this a severe illness cost him the use of his voice, and he was obliged to give up singing. With a man named Davis, he established a publishing house called Davis & Horn. His partner withdrew after a year, and Horn continued the business alone.

In 1843 Horn returned to England for four years, and acted as musical director at the Princess Theatre in London. When he came back to America in 1847 he settled in Boston, where he was elected conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society. In 1848 he went to England for a

few months to produce another of his oratorios, *Daniel's Prediction,* and when he went back to Boston in June of the same year he was re-elected conductor of the Handel and Haydn. He performed these duties for the ensuing season only, for he died in 1849.

In the year 1839, Horn made almost thirty concert and recital appearances in New York City. First, there were the six *Soirées Musicales* that were offered by Mr. and Mrs. Horn on the Thursday of each alternate week during February, March and April. Then he appeared in a number of concerts for charity; at the affair for the benefit of "Indigent Females"; at the Schlesinger Memorial; at a "Grand Sacred Concert" at the Broadway Tabernacle; and at a benefit for his partner, Davis. He participated in many recitals offered by his colleagues; Knight, Russell, Signor Rapetti, Signora Maroncelli and others.

Many of the songs on the programs were composed by Horn, but he often presented works by Purcell, Beethoven, Rossini and others, as well as songs by his colleagues, Joseph Knight and Henry Russell. At the first and second of the *Soirées Musicales* half of the programs were devoted to Handel's *Acis and Galatea.* Horn appeared not only as a singer; many concert programs bore the line, "Mr. C. E. Horn will preside at the pianoforte." With Henry Russell, also a singer, he played the *Zampa* overture of Herold as a piano duet, and on several occasions he played duets with Scharfenberg. At one of his soirées he conducted an orchestra that numbered Scharfenberg and U. C. Hill among its members. The same program presented a solo and chorus from his oratorio, *The Remission of Sin*—"Oh, myriads of immortal spirits."

Horn paid many musical tributes to America in his music, and he made several attempts to adapt what seemed to him to be Americanisms. On many of his programs there were excerpts from his *National Melodies of America,* a song cycle set to poems of George P. Morris, at one time editor

of the New York *Home Journal* in conjunction with N. P. Willis. In his settings, Horn used supposedly native melodies. The first, *Northern Refrain,* was based on the "carol of the sweeps of the city of New York"; *Meeta,* and *Near the Lake, Where Drooped the Willow* were made from Negro airs. One of Horn's most popular songs was *Cherry Ripe.* Many were tenderly sentimental—*All things love thee, so do I; Tell her she haunts me yet* ("the words by a young lady of Louisville"); *Do you remember, Mary?; Dark Eyed One; Child of Earth with the Golden Hair* and others. In some of his songs he caught the old English spirit of merriment—*Thru the Streets of New York, Blithely and Gay; How Roses Came Red; If Maidens Would Marry;* and a setting of *I Know a Bank whereon the Wild Thyme Grows.* The majority of his larger works were composed and published in London, though a number had been reprinted in New York before he came to this country.

2. EARLY SONG WRITERS

Sigmund Spaeth once wrote that the history of American manners, morals, tastes, and absurdities is largely written in our songs. Famous historical events have always been commemorated musically, but our lighter ballads have gone further; in intimate fashion they tell of what we were thinking, and how we were consoling ourselves at the time they were written.

The last chapter discussed early nineteenth-century concerts, and musical organizations of a fairly serious character. The popular concerts and recitals of the day, bordering often on entertainments, were closely associated with songs and ballads that have either survived to our time, or have at least formed a definite link in the evolutionary chain of our popular music.

Some of these concert programs were devoted exclusively to ballads, some to operatic selections, and others to a

mixture of light orchestral pieces, instrumental solos, and contemporary ballads. The New York *Musical Review* gave an account of an anniversary concert given by the Euterpean Society at the City Hotel, January 30, 1839, in which the "orchestra was superior to that we have heard in New York, in respect to the amount of *talent* it contained." For this, it said, "much praise is due to the Society, which consists of amateurs, and especially to Mr. Quin, the leader, who is also an amateur, for the manner in which the overtures were got up."

The orchestra consisted of amateurs, with the first desks occupied by professionals. There were six first violins, five second violins, four tenors (violas), three 'cellos, and two contra bass. The wind section consisted of two clarinets, two oboes, two bassoons, four horns, and two trumpets. Drums, cymbals and kettledrums formed the percussion group. Mr. and Mrs. Horn were the vocalists, and U. C. Hill and William Scharfenberg were among the professional instrumentalists.

A compilation of New York newspaper references to music in the year 1839, made by Miss Kathleen Munro, shows that there were at least seventy concerts. Of these ten were devoted to sacred music, some of them performances by the New York Sacred Music Society with the assistance of church choirs from surrounding towns. Ten offered operatic selections from the Italian repertoire, presented by the Seguins, and such visiting artists as Madame Albini, Madame Vellani, and Signora Maroncelli. Six were chiefly instrumental recitals, one given by Baron Rudolph de Fleur, pianist of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia. Fourteen were a mixture of vocal and instrumental selections. The largest classification was that of the ballad concerts; there were at least thirty of them. The Horns were the most prominent of the recitalists, and not only offered their own ballad concerts, but participated in those given by others, and in concerts and recitals of various types.

Lowell Mason.

(See page 142.)

Gottlieb Graupner.
(See page 135.)

Two of the most prominent singers of the time were visiting Englishmen who were also ballad composers. The name of Joseph Philip Knight will be immortal, among bassos particularly, for *Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep,* which he wrote when he visited America in 1839. Henry Russell can be forgiven much for his setting of Morris's *Woodman, Spare that Tree.*

JOSEPH PHILIP KNIGHT (1812-1887) was a prolific ballad composer and singer who became eventually a clergyman of the Church of England, and was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter to the charge of St. Agnes in the Scilly Isles. At the age of sixteen he had studied harmony under Crofe, at one time organist of Bristol Cathedral. The single year he spent in the United States, 1839, was one of the most productive of his career.

At the concert for the benefit of the Indigent Female Assistance Society it was announced that "Mr. J. P. Knight will make his first appearance in this country, and will sing four of his most popular songs." Two of these songs were written by himself: *Oh Lord, I Have Wandered,* and *The Veteran.* Three days later, March 1st, he sang his setting of T. H. Bayly's *She Wore a Wreath of Roses,* in which the unfortunate heroine is introduced, first wearing roses, then orange blossoms and finally a widow's sombre cap.

Knight made nine appearances in New York in the first half of the year, and returned to the city in the Fall, for another series of concerts. For October 9th, the newspapers announced a Grand Concert at which "Mr. Knight, in addition to his most popular songs, will introduce three of his latest compositions, which have never yet been heard in public." These were *Cupid, 'mid the roses playing, Twenty years ago,* and most important of all, *Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep.* His American visit also inspired *Oh, Fly to the Prairie,* and *The Old Year's Gone, and the New Year's Come.*

The song that did much to establish Knight's vogue as a

song writer was *The Grecian Daughter,* to words by Thomas Haynes Bayly, composer and writer of *Long, Long Ago.* The verses were prophetic of the coming school of self-pity:

Oh! never heed my mother dear,
The silent tears I shed;
Indeed I will be happy here,
Then ask me not to wed.
By day you shall not see me weep,
Nor nightly murmur in my sleep;
But ask me not to be a bride,
For when my own dear Lara died,
I kiss'd his brow, I breath'd a vow,
Ah! bid me not to break it now.

HENRY RUSSELL (1812-1900) spent more time in America than Knight; he was here for nearly nine years—1833-1841. He had a keen sense of dramatic values, and platform effectiveness. A master of hokum, he could draw cheers from his audiences at will. He was well educated musically, and at one time he had been a pupil of Rossini in Naples. Although of Jewish extraction, he came to America as organist of the First Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York, and then travelled extensively as a concert singer.

Russell was very busy in New York during the year that Knight was in this country, and the two often appeared on the same programs. He must have been a drawing card, for his appearance was generally featured. On February 25th, the Board of Managers of the New York Sacred Music Society had "the honor to state that they have prevailed on Mr. Russell to remain in town for this occasion, when he will perform his celebrated Sacred Songs of *The Skeptic's Lament, Wind of the Winter's Night, The Maniac, The Charter Oak*" and others. The performance was "intended to surpass that of any other occasion." Three days later the committee of the concert for Indigent Females felt "happy to announce that Mr. H. Russell had kindly

volunteered his services." His participation in Mr. Davis's benefit (March 1st) was announced as "Mr. Henry Russell's Last Appearance in New York." Like many other farewell appearances it was followed by concerts March 5th and May 24th.

After a number of Russell's concerts in the fall of 1839, Mrs. Horn, giving a concert of her own, advertised that she had "the pleasure of announcing the valuable services of Mr. H. Russell, who has politely postponed his departure for the South." Whether he lacked funds for travelling, or just decided he didn't want to go, the latter part of December found him still in New York, giving a series of concerts with the Seguins.

John Hill Hewitt gives an account of Russell in his book, *Shadows on the Wall:*

He spent much of his time in Baltimore, though New York was his headquarters. In person he was rather stout, but not tall. His face was prepossessing, of the Hebrew cast, dark and heavy whiskers and curly hair. He was an expert at wheedling audiences out of applause, and adding to the effect of his songs by a brilliant pianoforte accompaniment. With much self-laudation he used often to describe the wonderful influence of his descriptive songs over audiences.

On one occasion he related an incident connected with "Woodman, Spare that Tree." He had finished the last verse. . . . The audience were spell-bound for a moment, and then poured out a volume of applause that shook the building to its foundation. In the midst of this tremendous evidence of their boundless gratification, a snowy-headed gentleman, with great anxiety depicted in his venerable features, arose and demanded silence. He asked, with a tremulous voice: "Mr. Russell, in the name of Heaven, tell me, was the tree spared?" "It was, sir," replied the vocalist. "Thank God! Thank God! I breathe again!" and then he sat down, perfectly overcome by his emotions. This miserable bombast did not always prove a clap-trap; in many instances it drew forth hisses.

Russell's voice was a baritone of limited register; the few good notes he possessed he turned to advantage. His "Old Arm Chair," for instance, has but five notes in its melodic construction. . . .

Russell once called on me and asked me to write him a song on an "Old Family Clock" (he was remarkably fond of the prefix *old;* a

wag of a poet once sent him some words addressed to an "Old Fine-tooth Comb"). I wrote the words. He then changed his mind, and employed me, promising good pay, to write a descriptive song on the "Drunkard," to stir up the temperance people. I pleased him much by beginning the song in this way: "The *old* lamp burned on the *old* oaken stool." He made a taking affair of it; and he made money on it too, but I never even got his promise to pay. . . .

The Old Arm Chair was published in 1840, and is one of our very early mother songs.

I love it! I love it, and who shall dare
To chide me for loving that old Arm chair.

'Tis bound by a thousand bands to my heart
Not a tie will break, not a link will start,
Would ye learn the spell, a mother sat there.

A few years later Russell decided that the idea was good for another song, especially if it drew a moral from the first. Accordingly he published *Oh! Weep Not,* a companion to *The Old Arm Chair,* copies of which sold for 6¼ cents.

Oh! Weep not, oh! weep not, nor idly sigh
Thy tears can recall not the days gone by.

But neglect not the precepts, forget not the prayer
Which thy mother taught thee from her old arm chair.

This custom of following a successful song with a companion, or sequel, was prevalent at the time. When Bayly had scored a success with *Oh, No, We Never Mention Her,* he may have decided that he had been a bit hard on the lady, and presented her side of the story to the public with *She Never Blamed Him, Never,* "answer to the admired ballad, *Oh, No, We Never Mention Her.*" Instead of "blaming him,"

She sighed when he caressed her
For she knew that they must part;
She spoke not when he press'd her
To his young and panting heart;

The banners waved around her
And she heard the bugles sound—
They pass'd—and strangers found her
Cold and lifeless on the ground.

In one respect times were changing. In the eighteenth century songs were sung by certain artists with "unbounded" applause. As competition became keen they were announced as sung with "rapturous" applause—which must have proved emotionally wearing to the audience.

The songs that belong to Russell's American period were *The Brave Old Oak; The Charter Oak; The Old Bell; The Ivy Green; Our Way Across the Mountain, Ho; Woodman Spare that Tree; The Wreck of the Mexico; A Life on the Ocean Wave; I Love the Man with a Generous heart; Those Locks, those Ebon Locks,* and many others, including *The Old Sexton,* the gravedigger who sings, as he "gathers them in"; "and their final rest is here, down here on the earth's dark breast."

Although he was a favorite with the public, Russell had his critics, for there were some who did not fall victim to his theatrical charms. One reviewer in Boston wrote that the only item Russell had omitted from his program was the "old boot jack." His methods were not designed for Americans alone, for when he returned to England, he continued the same kind of concerts, and the same ways of getting publicity. If he had his tongue in his cheek here, he at least failed to remove it when he went home. Dwight's *Journal* of April 16, 1853, contained the following item, under the heading "Miscellaneous."

A Life on the Ocean Wave! Ho, ho, etc. Mr. Henry Russell, a great charlatan, has put forth a scheme for ameliorating the condition of the poor, by advertising in the program of a week's entertainment, just concluded at the Strand Theatre, that he will each evening present a ticket to every person at entrance, which will entitle them to a chance of obtaining a free passage to America. The drawing will take place after his entertainment.

He lived to be eighty-eight years old. In 1889 *A Life on the Ocean Wave* was made the official march of the Royal marines, and *Cheer, Boys, Cheer,* has for many years been the only air played by British regimental fife and drum corps when a regiment goes abroad. His sons have achieved fame on their own account. One of them, Henry Russell, is an impresario, and the other, Landon Ronald, an eminent British composer.

And now for the rest of the Hewitt family, the sons and daughters of the James Hewitt who came to New York in 1792. Few of the songs of JOHN HILL HEWITT, his eldest son (1801-1890), are sung to-day, but they were once so popular that their composer became a decided influence in shaping the style of our lighter ballads. His life was so varied, and his exploits so colorful, that he occupies a unique position in both the musical and literary history of America. Any man who won a poetry contest against Edgar Allan Poe warrants mention as a curiosity, if for no other reason. Hewitt has been termed the "Father of the American ballad." Obviously, this is too great a claim, for English influences have been too pronounced for us to grant that title to any of our native composers.

In the letters of his father, written just before his death to his younger son, James Lang Hewitt, the elder Hewitt expressed his concern over the ways of John, the rolling stone:

> John I am still uneasy about. When you see him, or write, tell him his father in his latter moments did not forget him—left him his blessing, with the hope that he will turn his mind to one particular object, that he may get thro the World respected.

and a few weeks later:

> In the *Weekly Mirror* and *Advertiser* of here [New York] I see the last two papers that have poetry of John's. Very pretty, but he ought to write to me.

In an undated document addressed to James L., in which the father disposes of his worldly goods, there is another reference to John:

> . . . there is a reserve in my character which others have said was pride. No—it has been that I should not force myself into others' company. John unfortunately has this latter—it is right for a young man to be in some degree reserved—but in case of business that must in a great degree be laid aside, as it is necessary to have some degree of effrontery to get on in the world. This I am afraid will keep John, with all his talents, poor like myself. It is a fact that a man with independence, without talent, will make a fortune, while the modest man, let his talents be ever so great, will be kept in the background.

John, as we shall see, never let modesty deter him in later life.

This eldest son of James Hewitt was born in Maiden Lane, New York, July 11, 1801. When he was eleven the family moved to Boston, and the boy was placed in the public schools. Later he was apprenticed to a sign painter, but he disliked the work so much that he ran away. He then entered the employ of a commission firm named Lock and Andrews, and stayed with them until they failed a few years later. By this time the family had moved back to New York, and in 1818 John secured an appointment to West Point. Various legends have sprung up regarding his career at the military academy, one to the effect that he was breveted a second lieutenant after successfully completing three years of study. Another story tells that at the end of four years he graduated, but resigned his commission immediately afterwards. Still another connects him with a plot of the Southern cadets to get control of the Academy and blow up the superintendent in 1820.

None of these accounts is accurate. The records of the War Department show that Hewitt was admitted to the Academy from New York on September 21, 1818. When he was a member of the graduating class in 1822 he was turned back to the next line class because of deficiency in

studies and did not return in the following year. There is no record of his participation in any disturbance.

At the time of his death in 1890, an obituary notice in the Baltimore *American* said that among his fellow cadets were Beauregard, Robert E. Lee, Polk, Johnson, and Jackson. While at the academy he had studied music with Willis, the leader of the West Point band, and when he left and went South, he turned to music teaching as the pleasantest way to earn a living. He also started his editorial work, and became associated with newspapers in the various cities he lived in. Soon after leaving West Point he married his first wife, Estelle Mangin, who bore him seven children.

Shortly after his marriage, Hewitt's father persuaded him to join a theatrical company he was organizing to tour the South. The venture ended in failure, and the company was burned out in a fire in Augusta, Georgia. He stayed in Augusta for a short while and then went to Columbia, South Carolina, where he taught music, composed, and commenced the study of law. From Columbia he went to Greenville, and established a newspaper called the *Republican*. Meeting with reverses he returned to Augusta.

It was about this time (1825) that he composed his first song, *The Minstrel's Return from the War*. On the original manuscript of this song, now at the Library of Congress, the composer in later years pencilled the following memorandum:

> This song, as crude as it is, was one of my first musical efforts. It was composed in 1825 in the village of Greenville, S. C. now a city of 10,000 souls. When I returned to the North, I took this book with me to Boston. My brother James was a music publisher. I gave him a copy to publish—he did it very reluctantly—did not think it worthy of a copyright. It was eagerly taken up by the public, and established my reputation as a ballad composer. It was sung all over the world—and my brother, not securing the right, told me that he missed making at least $10,000.

He returned to the North because of his father's death in 1827. He remained for a short while in Boston, and worked on the staff of the *Massachusetts Journal.* He soon departed for the South again, and intended to go back to Georgia, but a visit to Baltimore determined him to stay in that city, where he spent the greater part of his long life.

In Baltimore he immediately became active in newspaper work, music, and matters theatrical. He was also achieving some contemporary fame as both composer and poet. He became the editor of the *Visitor,* and when that paper sponsored a literary contest, he entered a poem under a *nom de plume.* He called it *The Song of the Wind,* and it was awarded the prize over Edgar Allan Poe's *The Coliseum.* In his book of memories, *Shadows on the Wall,* Hewitt told the story of the contest:

> The proprietors of the journal . . . offered two premiums; one of $100 for the best story, another of $50 for the best poem. I was editor of the paper at the time. The committee on the awards . . . decided that Poe's weird tale entitled "A Manuscript Found in a Bottle" should receive first premium. There were two poems selected from the four-score offered, as worthy of the second award. They were "The Coliseum" by Poe, and "The Song of the Wind," by myself. The judges were brought to a stand, but, after some debate, agreed that the latter should receive the second prize, as the author of the former had already received the first. This decision did not please Poe, hence the "little unpleasantness" between us.
>
> Poe received his money with many thanks; I preferred a silver goblet, which is now in my family.

The opening lines of Hewitt's poem were as follows:

> Whence come ye with your odor-laden wings,
> Oh, unseen wanderer of the summer night?
> Why, sportive, kiss my lyre's trembling strings,
> Fashioning wild music, which the light
> Of listening orbs doth seem in joy to drink?
> Ye wanton 'round my form and fan my brow,
> While I hold converse with the stars that wink
> And laugh upon the mirror stream below.

The "little unpleasantness" between Poe and Hewitt had had fuel to feed it several years before the contest. When a volume of Poe's poems *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and Minor Poems* had appeared three years earlier (1829), Hewitt, as reviewer for the *Minerva,* admiring "the richness and smoothness of Thomas Moore and the grandeur of Byron," took occasion to assail the uneven and irregular rhythm of the comparatively unknown poet, whom with all his "brain cudgelling," he could not compel himself to understand "line by line, or the sum total."

The result of the contest, added to previous insults, was a little too much for the moody Poe. The next time he met Hewitt on the street, he accused him of using underhand methods as editor of the *Visitor* to win the prize. Words resulted in blows, but they were separated before any serious damage was done. Hewitt never forgave Poe for achieving fame; they parted as friends outwardly, but in *Shadows on the Wall* he expressed his real opinion:

> Poe was not the poet he was said to be; he added but little to the literary reputation of our country. His "Raven" to be sure, gained him vast renown (particularly after he had rested in the grave for nearly 26 years!); but the idea was not original—it was taken from the old English poets. The "Manuscript Found in a Bottle" a composition which won several prizes, was only a new version of the "Rhyme of an Ancient Mariner."

For many years tributes to Poe have called forth reminders of the contest from Hewitt's admirers. When the University of Virginia unveiled the Poe monument, a correspondent of the New York *Herald* asked if it "would not be well to recognize the talents of one who was contemporary with Poe, and whose poetic genius won the prize over the very poem, the 'Coliseum,' quoted in the editorial column of the New York *Herald* of October 21" The underrated genius complex went to extremes among Hewitt's admirers, there was even a tradition that he had

sold ten of his song manuscripts to Stephen Foster, one of them *Old Folks at Home.*

In 1840 Hewitt moved to Washington, where he established and edited a paper called the *Capitol.* Five years later he went to Norfolk, Virginia, and then returned to Baltimore in 1847. Shortly after this he was offered a position as music teacher at the Chesapeake Female College in Hampton, Virginia. He went there and stayed for nine years. In Hampton his wife died.

When John Brown's raid made it apparent that northern Virginia would be an active scene for future hostilities between North and South, Hewitt left Hampton for Chambersburg and later went to Richmond. When Virginia seceded from the Union, he offered his services to the Confederacy, but he was then over sixty, and was not accepted for active military service. Because of his West Point training, Jefferson Davis appointed him to the thankless task of drill master of raw recruits.

In 1863 he went to Savannah, Georgia, and married a former pupil, Mary Alethea Smith. Four more children were subsequently added to the family.

After the War, Hewitt returned to Baltimore, and remained there for the rest of his long life. He became one of the characters of the city, and when he died at the age of eighty-nine, Baltimore felt that it had lost one of its links with the past. He had seen Fulton's first steamboat on the Hudson, he was present when the first dispatch was sent over Morse's telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington, and he was a passenger on the first train of cars that had been pulled out of Baltimore by a locomotive.

Hewitt composed over three hundred songs. *The Minstrel's Return from the War* brought him a reputation early in life. This was followed by another song, which his brother James published, and had the foresight (or was it hind-sight?) to copyright. This song was *The Knight of the Raven Black Plume,* agreeable both in words and

music. The opening phrase is akin to Mendelssohn's *On the Wings of Song,* undoubtedly a mere coincidence, as Hewitt could hardly have been familiar with Mendelssohn's song at the time. *On the Wings of Song* was probably written in 1834; Hewitt's song was published before 1835. Others of his songs were *The Mountain Bugle; Take Me Home; Our Native Land; All Quiet Along the Potomac; Rock Me to Sleep, Mother;* and *Where the Sweet Magnolia Blooms. Take Me Home to the Sunny South* expressed the southern sentiment after the War.

Although his greatest success was in a narrative type of ballad, Hewitt's oratorio, *Jephtha* was given successfully in Washington, Georgetown, Norfolk and Baltimore. When it was presented at the Broadway Tabernacle in New York with a chorus of 200 and an orchestra of 50, it was roughly handled by the critics. The composer also published several cantatas: *Flora's Festival; The Fairy Bridal; The Revellers;* and *The Musical Enthusiast.* His operas were *Rip Van Winkle; The Vivandière; The Prisoner of Monterey;* and *The Artist's Wife.*

In 1838 N. Hickman of Baltimore published a volume of Hewitt's miscellaneous poems. Many of these possess true imagery, and show genuine talent. *Shadows on the Wall,* the book of memories published in 1877, contains many of his later poems. His connections with theatrical enterprises led him to write plays, several of which were produced: *Washington; The Scouts; The Jayhawker; The Marquis in Petticoats; The Log Hut;* and *Plains of Manassas.*

The musical tradition of the Hewitt family has survived to the present generation. HORATIO DAWES HEWITT, the eldest son of John Hill Hewitt, was a musician and composer as well as a music critic. Born in Baltimore, he spent much of his life there, though he lived at various times in New Orleans and St. Louis, owning music stores in both cities. He composed a comic opera, and many songs that

enjoyed success. He survived his father by only four years, and died in Baltimore in 1894.

Of the brothers of John Hill Hewitt, JAMES LANG HEWITT, born in 1807, devoted his life to the music publishing business which had originally been started by his father when he bought Benjamin Carr's New York branch of the Musical Repository in 1798. He first appeared as a publisher on his own account when he joined J. A. Dickson at 34 Market Street, Boston, in 1825. After his father's death he moved back to New York, and became one of the prominent dealers and publishers of the city until the late 1840's. He died in 1853.

The third son of James Hewitt, HORATIO NELSON HEWITT, continued the music business in Boston for a number of years and later moved to New York. The youngest son, GEORGE WASHINGTON HEWITT, was trained as a musician and after a disastrous publishing venture in Philadelphia, settled in Burlington, New Jersey. He was a prolific composer, and his salon pieces for piano were much in demand. His son, HOBART DOANE HEWITT, born in 1852, is still living in Burlington as a teacher of violin and piano. At one time associated with the publishing firm of Theodore Presser in Philadelphia, he has published many compositions.

Both of James Hewitt's daughters were musicians. SOPHIA HENRIETTE, the eldest, married Louis Ostinelli, the violinist, who was one of the group that formed the Philharmonic Society with Graupner in Boston. Her daughter, ELIZA OSTINELLI, became a well-known opera singer after studying at the Conservatory at Naples. At one time she was one of the prominent prima donnas of Europe. She married the Italian Count Biscaccianti, a 'cellist.

Sophia was organist of the Handel and Haydn Society from 1820 to 1829. She had been brought before the public as a pianist when she was only seven years old, in New York. She also sang and appeared occasionally at the New

York concerts of the Euterpean Society. Parker's *Euterpiad* of May 11, 1822, gave the following estimate of her performances on the piano:

> Her playing is plain, sensible and that of a gentlewoman; she neither takes by storm, nor by surprise, but she generally wins upon the understanding, while the ear, though it never fills the other senses with ecttacy [sic] drinks in full satisfaction.

Sophia died in Portland, Maine, in 1846. Her younger sister, ELIZA, never married, but was a music teacher, first in Boston, and then in Burlington, where she lived with her brother.

There were many other song writers in the first half of the nineteenth century who contributed to our ballad literature. JOHN C. BAKER was perhaps best known for his song, *Where can the soul find rest?* From this account, the soul has a long search. First the winds are consulted:

> Tell me, ye winged winds, that round my pathway roar,
> Do ye not know some spot, where mortals weep no more,
> Some lone and pleasant dell, some valley in the West,
> Where free from toil and pain, the weary soul may rest?
>
> *Chorus*
>
> The loud winds dwindled to a whisper low
> And sighed for pity as it answered, No! No!

The second and third verses address the "mighty deep" and the "serenest moon," with no better results. Finally the bard goes to headquarters and finds the answer:

> Tell me, my secret soul, oh! tell me hope and faith,
> Is there no resting place from sorrow, sin, and death;
> Is there no happy spot where mortals may be bless'd
> Where grief may find a balm, and weariness a rest?
>
> *Chorus*
>
> Faith, Hope, and Love, best boons to mortals giv'n
> Wav'd their bright wings and whispered, "Yes, in Heav'n."

John C. Baker was a member of the Baker family, a New Hampshire concert group that gave vocal concerts in "more than half the States of the Union," during the middle part of the century. There were six members of the family, four men and two women: John, George, Henry, Jaspar, Sophia and Emilie.

Among the "Songs and Glees" of the Baker family were *The Parting Requiem; The Inebriate's Lament; The Little Sailor Boy's Lament; The Indian Girl; The Sailor's Grave;* and *Mary's Last Words.*

THOMAS BRICHER was organist of the Bowdoin Street Church in Boston in the fifties. Among his contributions to balladry were *Oh! Home of my Boyhood, my Own Country Home;* and *Our Fathers' Old Halls,* "as sung at the concerts of the Boston Musical Institute."

To WILLIAM CLIFTON we owe one of the most complete examples of noble resignation—*The Last Link is Broken* (published about 1840):

The last link is broken that bound me to thee,
And the words I have spoken have rendered me free;
That bright glance misleading on others may shine,
Those eyes smil'd unheeding when tears burst from mine:
If my love was deem'd boldness that error is o'er,
I've witnessed thy coldness and prize thee no more.

Refrain

I have not lov'd lightly, I'll think on thee yet,
I'll pray for thee nightly till life's sun has set.

If FREDERICK WILLIAM NICHOLLS CROUCH (1808-1896) had postponed writing *Kathleen Mavourneen* for twelve years we might have been able to claim it as an American song. Crouch was an Englishman who came here in 1849 at the age of forty, and lived here until his death in 1896. An excellent 'cellist, he had been a member of the Drury Lane Theatre in London, and had taught singing. *Kathleen Mavourneen* was first published in 1839, and scored an immediate success.

The composer came to America as 'cellist in the Astor Place Theatre in New York. Afterwards he went to Boston. Next to Portland, Maine, where he gave an excellent series of chamber music concerts; then to Philadelphia as conductor of a series of Saturday concerts, and afterwards to Washington, where he started an unsuccessful music school. At the time of the Civil War he was in Richmond, and joined the Confederate Army as a trumpeter. If Stonewall Jackson, on a forced march, had not ordered burned all superfluous baggage of officers and troops, Crouch would have published his manuscript notes as a history of the Civil War. After the War he settled in Baltimore as a singing teacher, and many years later died in Portland. Among the songs he wrote in America was *The Blind Piper,* published in Philadelphia in 1856. He was also the composer of two operas, *Sir Roger de Coverley* and *The Fifth of November.*

Many of the songs of the day were published anonymously, and it is difficult to determine which of them were of American origin, and which were reprinted by American publishers from British editions. A great variety of subjects were treated. Love predominates, of course, and sometimes such renunciation of worldly joys as was expressed in *I Will be a Nun:*

> I've been long enough in mischief, 'tis sufficient I have done
> And my Mother's often told me that I must be a Nun.
>
> My Mother now is satisfied; and men must let me be,
> The Nuns will surely like to have a Novice mild as me.

Sometimes the songs dealt with more practical subjects, such as the *Multiplication Table,* published by John G. Klemm in Philadelphia, which covered all items up to twelve times twelve.

The minstrel show that flourished from the thirties and forties to the turn of the century is one of the most distinctly American types of show that has ever been de-

veloped. No other nation could have produced it, and it was not only popular here, it captivated England as well. Evidence shows that Gottlieb Graupner may have been the first of the "black-faced" singers, but the man to whom credit is due for popularizing the minstrel type is THOMAS (DADDY) RICE. Sometime around 1830 Rice borrowed a Negro's clothes to sing the *Jim Crow* song in Pittsburgh. The audience demanded so many encores that the forgotten Negro finally came in and demanded his raiment.

In 1843 the *Big Four* troupe of Dan Emmett, Frank Brower, Dick Pelham and Billy Whitlock started in business as the *Virginia Minstrels,* and the show was on. From groups of four, six and eight, the troupes finally enlarged to forty and fifty, and the interlocutor and end men, jokes, doubling in brass, parades from the railroad station, and all that goes with them became a necessary part of American life.

In 1852 Joseph Gungl, a German orchestral leader, disgruntled because his trip to America had been a failure, complained bitterly of his treatment:

> . . . the so-called minstrels have the best business here. The companies are composed commonly of six or seven individuals of the masculine gender. They paint their faces black, sing negro songs, dance and jump about as if possessed, change their costumes three or four times each evening, beat each other to the great delight of the art appreciating public, and thus earn not only well deserved fame, but enormous sums of money. I am of the opinion that they look upon the latter as worth more than all the rest.

It was natural that minstrel shows should produce a song literature of their own; such favorites as *Big Sunflower, Old Dan Tucker, Root, Hog or Die,* H. C. Work's *Wake Nicodemus,* numerous songs by Stephen Foster, and Dan Emmett's *Dixie. Zip Coon* (Turkey in the Straw) was one of the earliest. Generally the songs were published under the name of the troupe that introduced them. L. V. H. Crosby, of the *Harmoneons,* had his signature printed on

published copies of the songs his company sang. The title page of the *Harmoneon's Carolina Melodies,* executed in three colors, depicted Crosby as *Pomp,* seated in the center with a fiddle, James Power with bones as *Toney* at one end, and John Power with a tambourine as *Sambo* at the other. In between were F. S. Pike as *Fanny,* with a triangle, and F. Lynch as *Gumbo* with a banjo. The songs included, *O Where is De Spot dat I Was Born on; Sailing on the Ole Canal; I Forget the Gay World;* and the sentimental *She Sleeps in the Valley,* and *Farewell, To-Night We Part.*

J. H. BURDETT was the arranger for *Campbell's Minstrels* who first appeared at Barnum's Museum and in later years occupied the *Palace of Music* in New York. *Campbell's Melodies,* as published by Wm. A. Hall & Company in New York from 1848, included such favorites as *Dinah Crow; Emma Snow; Susan Dear; Bella Rosa; Poor Nelly Ann; Negro Traveller;* and a truly "high-brow number," an *Operatic Chorus from Ernani.*

Dan Emmett was connected with Bryant's Minstrels when he wrote *Dixie* in 1859. This famous troupe played at Mechanic's Hall in New York continuously for almost nine years, 1857-1866. Emmett is discussed in the chapter on Civil War Songs. E. P. CHRISTY was important for a number of reasons, one of them being that several of Stephen Foster's songs appeared under his name before the real composer was disclosed to the public. Christy was first heard in Albany in 1844, and later made his début with his company of four at Palma's Opera House in New York. The troupe went to England in 1850 and took the British Isles by storm. Christy announced himself as a composer on a number of occasions; but knowing that he was most certainly not the author of *Old Folks at Home,* it is impossible to accept without reservation his claim to *Jim Crow's Polka, The Other Side of Jordan, Walk in the Parlour* and others.

These Negro minstrel songs are not easy to classify. They are not properly Negro songs at all, as we know them

to-day. They are songs largely in imitation of the Negro's style of singing, his happy, carefree dispcsition, and in some cases, his troubles. Sometimes they were lively, at other times sad. The influences that shaped them are easily found, but often they were poor samples of the Negro's idiom, if he had an idiom in those days. Substituting "de" for "the," "dar" for "there" did not make a Negro song. Yet the public was rarely particular in such matters. In addition to supplying the people with an entertainment they heartily enjoyed, with a type of show that was characteristically American, and which is incidentally being revived to-day via the radio, they spread the popularity of a song writer whose works have extended to the farthest corners of the world, and are more loved to-day than when they were written—Stephen Foster. If our "minstrels" accomplished nothing more than enhancing Foster's reputation, they were well worth while.

3. STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER (1826-1864)

I

Stephen Foster provided one of the summits of American music. To-day he could offer his work without apology or without reservation, for time has proved its worth. Foster was one of the greatest *melodists* we have yet produced, and some of his simplest songs are among the most beautiful that have ever been written, anywhere. He accomplished what many a better-trained musician has failed to do; he wrote melodies that can be understood by everybody, so poignant, so direct in their appeal that they grow in our affections the more we hear them.

Father Time has had the privilege of correcting John S. Dwight, who once wrote in his *Journal of Music* (1853):

> We wish to say that such tunes [*Old Folks at Home*], although whistled and sung by everybody, are erroneously supposed to have

taken a deep hold of the popular mind; that the charm is only *skin-deep;* that they are hummed and whistled *without musical emotion,* whistled "for lack of thought"; that they persevere and haunt the morbidly sensitive nerves of deeply musical persons, so that they too hum and whistle them involuntarily, hating them even while they hum them; that such melodies become catching, idle habits, and are not popular in the sense of musically inspiring, but that such and such a melody *breaks out* every now and then, like a morbid irritation of the skin.

A less musical writer in the *Albany State Register* (1852) was more tolerant:

We confess to a fondness for negro minstrelsy. There is something in the melodious "Uncle Ned" that goes directly to the heart, and makes Italian trills seem tame. . . . God bless that fine old colored gentleman, who we have been so often assured has

"Gone where the good niggers go."

Old Folks at Home the *last* negro melody, is on everybody's tongue, and consequently in everybody's mouth. Pianos and guitars groan with it, night and day; sentimental young ladies sing it; sentimental young gentlemen warble it in midnight serenades; volatile young "bucks" hum it in the midst of their business and their pleasures; boatmen roar it out stentorially at all times; all the bands play it; amateur flute players agonize over it at every spare moment; the street organs grind it out at every hour; the "singing stars" carol it on the theatrical boards, and at concerts; the chamber maid sweeps and dusts to the measured cadence of *Old Folks at Home;* the butcher's boy treats you to a strain or two of it as he hands in the steaks for dinner; the milk-man mixes it up strangely with the harsh ding-dong accompaniment of his tireless bell; there is not a "live darkey," young or old, but can whistle, sing, dance and play it, and throw in "Ben Bolt" for seasoning; indeed at every hour, at every turn, we are forcibly impressed with the interesting fact, that—

"Way down upon de Swanee Ribber
Far, far away,
Dere's whar my heart is turnin' ebber
Dere's whar de old folks stay."

Old Folks at Home had been published less than a year when this was written.

In some respects, Foster was akin to Schubert. He

had a natural gift of melody that shone because of its simplicity. Schubert with all his natural genius lacked the power of self-criticism and produced hundreds of works that are forgotten to-day. From almost two hundred of Foster's published works only a dozen or so are sung any more, but these few are so potent in their charm that they have long since earned their composer's immortality. His limitations were his power; the few chords he used made his songs direct and simple, and always natural. Had he been a trained musician, his charm might have vanished.

Many legends have been told of Stephen Foster, and many of them are untrue. Even his brother, Morrison Foster, when he wrote Stephen's biography, included many traditions that are not founded on fact. Thanks to such careful biographers as Harold Vincent Milligan we know the truth about Foster to-day, and the truth is fully as romantic as the fiction.

II

Foster's life was altogether tragic. It represented a disintegration that ended almost literally in the gutter. From a parentage of aristocrats on one side, and hardy pioneers on the other, a weakling was produced who lacked the stamina to fight life's battles. Stephen's well-to-do family loved him, did all in their power to protect and shield him, and yet failed to understand him. Pioneer surroundings are rarely kind to artistic souls, and Stephen was probably born too soon, for it never occurred to the Fosters that the young man's dreaming ways, and his indolence, were in fact his very strength. In the family letters there were many references to the boy's "strange talent for music," but not once was there the thought that the talent should be cultivated. There were few music teachers near at hand, and such diversions were not for able-bodied men. It may be that the world would have been the loser if a musically

trained Stephen Foster had not been satisfied to write songs of the utmost simplicity, but his own fate might have been less tragic.

He was born in Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh, on July 4, 1826, the day John Adams and Thomas Jefferson died. He spent his boyhood around Pittsburgh and Allegheny, attended the local schools, and an academy at Athens, near Towanda, where his eldest brother lived. At sixteen he wrote his first published song, *Open thy Lattice, Love.* In 1846 he went to Cincinnati to act as bookkeeper for his brother Dunning, and there he met W. C. Peters, a music publisher he had known in Pittsburgh. He made Peters a present of *Uncle Ned, Oh! Susannah,* and several other songs, which were published as *Songs of the Sable Harmonists.* There was no mention of Foster's name on the printed copies, and the publisher made $10,000. This determined Foster to give up the book-keeping he disliked so heartily, and to make a business of song-writing.

Orders began to come to him for songs, and he made a contract with Firth, Pond & Company of New York through which he received a royalty on every copy published. The common belief that Foster did not receive adequate payment for his works is not altogether true—from some he gained many thousands of dollars. Later, when dissipation had reduced him to a vagabond, he was exploited by unscrupulous publishers. Because he needed money, he had to accept anything that was offered him, but in his better days he dealt chiefly with reputable firms who gave him the benefit of what his compositions earned.

In 1851, E. P. Christy, of Christy's Minstrels, asked Foster to write songs for him which he could sing before they were published. One of these was *Old Folks at Home,* and a clause in the agreement specified that the first editions were to name Christy as the composer. Morrison Foster said that Christy paid $500 for this privilege, but this, as we shall find later, was greatly exaggerated. Foster

reserved the publishing rights, and had the royalties on the sales.

Until *Old Folks at Home* was published Foster had never been south of the Ohio River. His idea of Negro singing had been gained from colored church services and from minstrel shows. The name of the *Swanee River* had been suggested by a brother who found the name on the map, and Foster used it because it sounded better than the "Pedee" he had used originally. In 1852 he did take a trip through the South, and observed many incidents of southern life.

III

When Stephen was six his mother wrote:

. . . Stephen has a drum and marches about with a feather in his hat and a girdle round his waist, whistling "Auld Lang Syne." There still remains something perfectly original about him.

When he was ten he himself wrote to his father:

I wish you to send me a commic songster for you promised to. If I had my pensyl I could rule my paper or if I had the money to buy black ink but if I had my whistle I would be so taken with it I do not think I would write a tall. . . .

This same year he went on a shopping trip with his mother to the music store of Smith & Mellor in Pittsburgh. He picked a flageolet from the counter, and in a few minutes amazed clerks and customers by playing *Hail Columbia.*

Brother Morrison wrote, years later:[1]

Melodies appeared to dance through his head continually. Often at night he would get out of bed, light a candle and jot down some notes of melody on a piece of paper, then retire to bed and to sleep.

And yet to his adoring family these countless indications of talent never once suggested a solution for the boy's

[1] *Songs and Musical Compositions of Stephen Collins Foster,* by Morrison Foster.

future. His musical inclinations troubled them. In 1840 his mother wrote, with apparent relief:

> He is not so much devoted to music as he was; other studies seem to be elevated in his opinion; he reads a great deal and fools about none at all.

It is not hard to understand why Stephen's family did not take his love for music seriously. Colonel William Barclay Foster, his father, was a man of practical affairs. A love of pioneering, and disregard of its dangers, left little room for softer pleasures. He had settled in Pittsburgh when it was a border settlement, twenty days from Philadelphia by pack horse and wagon. Finding employment with Anthony Beelen and Ebenezer Denny, merchants "in dry goods, hardware, groceries, stationery, perfumery, china, glass and queensware" he made himself valuable by taking charge of the firm's shipments of furs, pelts, flour, salt and other products of the neighboring country (including whiskey), and seeing that they reached New Orleans safely by way of the huge flat-boats that navigated the rivers. Sometimes he would return overland, with frequent encounters with Indians. Often he would sail from New Orleans to New York, through the heart of the Spanish Main and its pirates. In New York and Philadelphia he bought goods for the Pittsburgh store, carrying them over the mountains on six-horse wagons.

In Philadelphia he met Eliza Tomlinson, daughter of an aristocratic family from Wilmington. In 1807 they were married, and spent their honeymoon on the three-week horseback trip to Pittsburgh. William Foster became so valuable to his employers that they gave him a partnership. He became a substantial citizen, and acquired wealth which he placed at the disposal of his country when the national treasury was depleted in the War of 1812. In 1814 he bought a large tract of 171 acres about two miles out of the city. This he named Lawrenceville. Part of the

land he donated as a burial ground for soldiers; thirty acres were sold to the government for an arsenal, and on a spot overlooking the river he built the "White Cottage" that became the Foster homestead.

IV

With the exception of Stephen, the baby of the family, the Foster children were like their father, well equipped to fight frontier battles. The eldest son, William Barclay Foster, junior, was seventeen years older than Stephen, and became a civil engineer who helped build the Pennsylvania Railroad by taking charge of the most difficult part of the work: the section that crossed the Allegheny Mountains. The other three sons, Henry, Dunning and Morrison all became successful men of business, so where was there thought for a musician when Stephen came to manhood?

"Little Stephy" was loved and petted. Brother William was like a father, and when the boy was in his early teens he took him to live with him in Towanda that he might go to the Academy at Athens. But Stephen found little anywhere to hold his interest for long. He was generous, he was loving, he had his longings, but while he was in the most important years of his life there was no one who understood, who could show him where to turn.

Only one of the many relatives seemed to have any conception of Stephen's temperament. Uncle John Struthers lived in a log-house in Youngstown, Ohio. The visits to Uncle Struthers were glorious—the old man let the boy do as he pleased, and told him stories of Indians and hunting that fired his imagination. The uncle prophesied that Stephen would become "something famous." Pity he could not point out where that fame would lie!

The outward, self-created standards of business success and solid citizenship were all the Fosters knew, and inability to meet those standards was failure. All sorts of occupa-

tions were suggested, and some of them tried. When he dropped out of Jefferson College after a few dismal days, his father wrote to William:

I regret extremely that Stephen has not been able to appreciate properly your generous exertions in his behalf by availing himself of the advantages of a college education, which will cause him much regret before he arrives at my age and he will no doubt express these regrets in much sorrow to you, should you both live long after I shall be no more. He is at school now with Mr. Moody, a first rate teacher of mathematics in Pittsburgh, and it is a source of comfort to your mother and myself that he does not appear to have any evil propensities to indulge; he seeks no associates and his leisure hours are all devoted to musick, for which he possesses a strange talent.

It was not until the songs he had written as a diversion became popular beyond even the publisher's hopes, that Stephen, grown to manhood, realized that here was his occupation. Too late to learn how to write with the mind as well as the heart, he had nothing in him that would cultivate his gifts so that they would grow to something bigger. He could acquire no background that would withstand the ravages of early success. The "evil propensities" his father had feared became realities, and Stephen had nothing with which to fight them.

His marriage was not a success, though he worshipped his wife and little daughter. Jane Denny McDowell was the daughter of one of Pittsburgh's leading physicians. She was a talented singer and had been a member of the "Stephen Foster Quartet" which gathered for singing at the Foster home. For this group Foster wrote some of his earliest songs. They were married July 22, 1850. Little is known about his married life. Probably they separated several times, and then tried to make a fresh start. A letter written by a sister in 1853 seems to indicate something wrong, for it expresses concern for "poor Stephy," who had "had trouble enough already." At this time he was not the inveterate drinker he later became; dissipation could not have been the cause of the first separation. His

wife and little girl were with him part of the time he lived in New York, but he lived alone at the time of his death. When news of his passing reached Pittsburgh his wife came to New York with Morrison to bring the body back home.

There were probably a number of reasons for frequent partings. It is not unlikely that love for his parents, the "Old Folks at Home," was so uppermost in his heart that his wife felt a neglect that was not consciously intended. Stephen was not fitted for the harness of a marriage that demanded his whole being. He was a dreamer, thoroughly impractical, wholly improvident, and probably difficult at the breakfast table. How could he have been an ideal husband?

V

He was never business man enough to realize the full commercial value of his best songs. The gift to Peters was quite in keeping with his methods. Common law copyright was not established in those days, and many songs of which Foster gave manuscript copies to minstrel performers were published by others. Sometimes they were copyrighted by those who had no right to them.

It was in 1849 that Foster made a contract with Firth, Pond & Company which protected his interests. The letter from the firm gives the details:

Your favor of the 8th instant is received and we hasten to reply. We will accept the proposition therein made, viz., to allow you two cents upon every copy of your future publications issued by our house, after the expenses of publication are paid, and of course it is always our interest to push them as widely as possible. From your acquaintance with the proprietors or managers of different bands of "Minstrels," and from your known reputation, you can undoubtedly arrange with them to sing them and thus introduce them to the public in that way, but in order to secure the copyright exclusively for our house, it is safe to hand such persons printed copies only, of the pieces, for if manuscript copies are issued, particularly by the author, the market will be flooded with spurious issues in a short time.

The next paragraph contained advice that Foster would have done well to follow:

It is also advisable to compose only such pieces as are likely both in the sentiment and melody to take the public taste. Numerous instances can be cited of composers whose reputation has greatly depreciated from the fact of their music becoming too popular and as a natural consequence they write too much and too fast and in a short time others supersede them.

The minstrel troupes did indeed spread the popularity of Foster's songs. Some were well known to the public before they were published. For a number of years E. P. Christy had the official privilege of being the first to sing his works. Existing letters show what arrangements were made. On June 12, 1851, Foster wrote to the singer:

I have just received a letter from Messrs. Firth, Pond & Co. stating that they have copy-righted a new song of mine ("Oh! boys, carry me 'long") but will not be able to issue it for some little time yet, owing to other arrangements. This will give me time to send you the m.s. and allow you the privilege of singing it for at least two weeks, and probably a month before it is issued, or before any other band gets it (unless they catch it up from you). If you will send me 10 $ immediately for this privilege, I pledge myself, as a gentleman of the old school, to give you the m.s. I have written to F. P. & Co. not to publish till they hear from me again. This song is certain to become popular, as I have taken great pains with it. If you accept my proposition I will make it a point to notify you hereafter when I have a new song and send you the m.s. on the same terms, reserving to myself in all cases the exclusive privilege of publishing. Thus it will become notorious that your band brings out all the new songs. You can state in the papers that the song was composed expressly for you. I make this proposition because I am sure of the song's popularity.

Eight days later Foster acknowledged receipt of the check and forwarded the manuscript with the following explanation:

I regret that it is too late to have the name of your band on the title page, but I will endeavor to place it (alone) on future songs, and

will cheerfully do anything else in my humble way to advance your interest.

There are many references to arrangements with Christy. Some of these disprove Morrison Foster's statement that Stephen received $500 from Christy for *Old Folks at Home*. John Mahon published some reminiscences of Foster in the New York *Clipper* (1877). He tells of meeting him in 1861, "a short man, who was very neatly dressed in a blue swallow-tailed coat, high silk hat." At Mahon's home they talked of many things:

. . . my wife asked Stephen if he knew "The Old Folks at Home."

"I should think I ought to," he replied, "for I got $2,000 from Firth, Pond & Co. for it."

"Why," said I, "how could that be? Was not E. P. Christy the author and composer?"

"Oh, no," he replied, laughing, "Christy paid me $15 for allowing his name to appear as the author and composer. I did so on condition that after a certain time his name should be superseded by my own. One hundred thousand copies of the first edition were soon sold, for which I received a royalty of two cents a copy. . . ."

Foster had himself suggested to Christy that the minstrel's name be given as composer of *Old Folks at Home*. When he wrote it there was some public prejudice against Negro songs, and Foster preferred to remain in the background. In his biography of Foster,[2] Milligan publishes the following letter, written by Foster to Christy, May 25, 1852, less than six months after *Old Folks at Home* was first copyrighted:

As I once intimated to you, I had the intention of omitting my name on my Ethiopian songs, owing to the prejudice against them by some, which might injure my reputation as a writer of another style of music, but I find that by my efforts I have done a great deal to build up a taste for the Ethiopian songs among refined people by making the words suitable to their taste, instead of the trashy and really offensive words which belong to songs of that order. Therefore I have concluded to reinstate my name on my songs and to pursue the

[2] *Stephen Collins Foster*, by Harold V. Milligan: G. Schirmer, Inc.

Ethiopian business without fear or shame and lend all my energies to making the business live, at the same time that I will wish to establish my name as the best Ethiopian song-writer. But I am not encouraged in undertaking this so long as "The Old Folks at Home" stares me in the face with another's name on it. As it was at my own solicitation that you allowed your name to be placed on the song, I hope that the above reasons will be sufficient explanation for my desire to place my own name on it as author and composer, while at the same time I wish to leave the name of your band on the title page. This is a little matter of pride in myself which it will certainly be to your interest to encourage. On the receipt of your free consent to this proposition, I will, if you wish, willingly refund the money which you paid me on that song, though it may have been sent me for other considerations than the one in question, and I promise in addition to write you an opening chorus, in my best style, free of charge, and in any other way in my power to advance your interests hereafter. I find I cannot write at all unless I write for public approbation and get credit for what I write. As we may probably have a good deal of business with each other in our lives, it is best to proceed on a sure basis of confidence and good understanding, therefore I hope you will appreciate an author's feelings in the case and deal with me with your usual fairness. Please answer immediately.

There is no record of Christy's reply. A copy marked "Fiftieth Edition" still bore Christy's name as composer, and the *Social Orchestra,* a collection of Foster's melodies, published in 1854, mentions E. P. Christy as composer in the caption title of the variations on *Old Folks at Home.* A reprint edition issued as late as 1873 by Oliver Ditson & Co. in Boston credits words and music to Christy.

A royalty account in Foster's handwriting, dated January 27, 1857 (now in the Library of Congress), gives some interesting data. A footnote at the bottom states:

In the amounts recd. I have included $15 on each of the two songs "Old folks" and "Farewell Lilly," from E. P. Christy, also $10 on each of the songs, "Dog Tray," "Oh boys," "Massa's in" & "Ellen Bayne."

There are two columns of figures; one the amount he had already received on the songs, the other what he thought they would bring him in the future. The songs

included were all published from 1849 on, and in the eight years Foster had received $9,596,96; an average of a little less than $1,200 a year. He anticipated that the future value of the thirty-seven songs was $2,786.77. *Old Folks at Home* heads the list. In its five and a quarter years it had yielded $1,647.46; Foster considered it good for $100 more. *My Old Kentucky Home,* only three and a half years old, had brought $1,372.06. This, too, should bring another hundred. *Old Dog Tray,* a youngster of two years, had over a thousand dollars to its credit, and promised another hundred and fifty.

The account shows that Foster's chief income came from a few of his songs—some of the oldest had brought as little as $8.00 altogether. *Willie We Have Missed You* had earned almost five hundred dollars, and Foster expected that its future would bring an equal amount. *Gentle Annie* was but an infant, her $39.08 should increase to over $500.

VI

Soon after this Foster sold out his royalty interests, and the "profitable offer" that took him to New York in 1860 was possibly an arrangement with Firth, Pond & Company whereby they agreed to pay him $800 a year for twelve songs, and another, which came to little, for six songs at $400 per year from Lee & Walker.[3] Stephen did not have character enough in his last days to keep producing under the promise of an assured income. He was constantly drawing ahead on his payments, and before he died he took anything he could get for his songs. He would write one in the morning, sell it for a pittance in the afternoon, and have the money spent by evening. He formed a sort of song-writing partnership with George Cooper, who afterwards had a long career as a writer of song lyrics.

Morrison Foster gave only a brief account of his brother's death:

[3] For further discussion of these arrangements see *Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour* by John Tasker Howard.

In January, 1864, while at the American Hotel, he was taken with an ague and fever. After two or three days he arose, and while washing himself he fainted and fell across the wash basin, which broke and cut a gash in his neck and face. He lay there insensible and bleeding until discovered by the chambermaid who was bringing the towels he had asked for to the room. She called for assistance and he was placed in bed again. On recovering his senses he asked that he be sent to a hospital. He was so much weakened by fever and loss of blood that he did not rally. On the 13th of January he died peacefully and quietly.

The first indication the family had of Stephen's accident was a letter from Cooper to Morrison Foster, then in Cleveland:

January 12th, 1864

Your brother Stephen I am sorry to inform you is lying in Bellevue Hospital in this city very sick. He desires me to ask you to send him some pecuniary assistance as his means are very low. If possible, he would like to see you in person.

The letter had probably not been delivered when a telegram passed it:

STEPHEN IS DEAD. COME ON.
GEORGE COOPER.

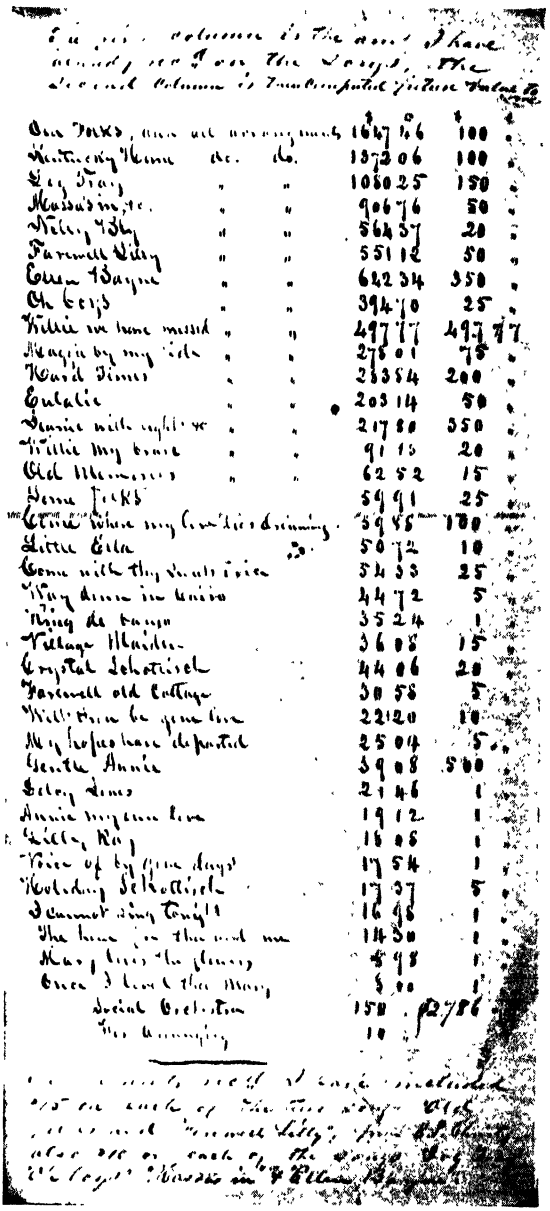
Cooper gave Milligan a detailed and presumably accurate account of Foster's death:[4]

Early one winter morning I received a message saying that my friend had met with an accident; I dressed hurriedly and went to 15 Bowery, the lodging-house where Stephen lived, and found him lying on the floor with a bad bruise on his forehead. Steve never wore any night-clothes and he lay there on the floor, naked and suffering horribly. He had wonderful big brown eyes and they looked up at me with an appeal I can never forget. He whispered, "I'm done for," and begged for a drink, but before I could get it for him, the doctor who had been sent for arrived and forbade it. He started to sew up the gash in Steve's throat, and I was horrified to observe that he was using black thread. "Haven't you any white thread," I asked, and he said no, he had picked up the first thing he could find. I decided the

[4] *Stephen Collins Foster*, by Harold V. Milligan: G. Schirmer, Inc.

Stephen Foster

(See page 187.)



Foster's Own Account of His Income from Royalties (1857). Library of Congress.

(See page 198.)

doctor was not much good, and I went down stairs and got Steve a big drink of rum, which I gave him and which seemed to help him a lot. We put his clothes on him and took him to the hospital. In addition to the cut on his throat and the bruise on his forehead, he was suffering from a bad burn on his thigh, caused by the overturning of a spirit lamp used to boil water. This had happened several days before, and he had said nothing about it, nor done anything for it. All the time we were caring for him, he seemed terribly weak and his eyelids kept fluttering. I shall never forget it.

I went back to the hospital to see him, and he said nothing had been done for him, and he couldn't eat the food they brought him. When I went back again the next day they said "Your friend is dead."

So ended the life of a man who made the world a better place to live in. A man to whom home meant everything, and for whom home was impossible. This longing was the strongest emotion of his nature; and it is as a poet of homesickness that he was greatest. Many times he descended to the lowest depths of cheapness, but time has not preserved the things that were unworthy of him. When he tried his hand at sentimental love songs, a lesser Stephen Foster sang.

A few of his nonsense songs have survived along with the songs of home. *Oh! Susannah* is still the joyous thing it was when it was written. *De Camptown Races,* in which the "Camptown ladies" chant "doo-dah," is still popular with college boys, young and old. The melodies are vital.

Why try to analyze his tunes, so lovely in their simplicity? Classifying their intervals may well be left to scholars. Foster at his best was inevitable rather than obvious. He was good enough musician to harmonize his songs as they should be harmonized—quite simply. What more can we ask of a man who has touched our hearts?

4. RAMPANT VIRTUOSI

By the middle of the nineteenth century each of the principal cities of the United States had its music-loving public

—small indeed, but no doubt representing as high a percentage of the general population as that which fills our concert halls to-day. For these music lovers there were a few organizations that provided good music, played by those who loved it for its own sake. Nor was the man on the street neglected, for early in the 1800's bright stars of the musical firmament abroad scented our American dollars and came over here to gather them in abundance. The fact that people will pay any amount to *see* famous artists they have read about in the papers is as old as the hills. Modern press agents may learn much from their grandfathers.

It is not easy to believe that a New York hatter paid several hundreds of dollars for a pair of seats to Jenny Lind's first New York concert merely because he must hear some beautiful music. The hatter became a person, and he sold more hats. Under the leadership of P. T. Barnum advertising became an art, and music profited—in dollars anyway. Some of the artists were sincere, others were tricksters and showmen. The latter made the most money. They all had their share in making the musical history of America, and one should be cautious in making fun of our ancestors for their hero worship, for we are not one whit different to-day in our attitude towards music and in our box-office habits.

Few of the early *virtuosi* were Americans, most of them were periodical visitors from abroad, but they affected our musical life so deeply that they cannot be ignored. Most important of all was the effect on the newer communities in the West. While New York, Boston and Philadelphia had resident organizations which attempted the best music of the day, some of the Western cities were too busy clearing land and building houses to give much thought to music; but they had money to spend, and the bright stars of the musical world went among them to get their share of it. The West acquired the listening habit before it learned to

make music itself. The eccentricities of some of the *virtuosi,* and more especially their imitators, may have been responsible for a prevalent opinion regarding all musicians. An editorial in the Pittsburgh *Evening Chronicle* (1853) calls a spade a shovel:

A hobby of society at the present day is to be music-mad, and the adulation and toddyism lavished upon every Piano-Forte player of any talent is enough to disgust all sensible people with the instrument forever. From the language of the musical critiques of the Eastern press, one would suppose that there was nothing else worth living for in this life but music, and Piano Forte playing especially, and the musical world, following the key-note, look for the advent of each fresher greater Signor Pound-the-keys with a devotion and religious constancy unparalleled. He makes his advent and the whole town talks. . . . And Signor Pound-the-keys for having rattled and splurged and hammered and tinkled and growled through three or four musical compositions with long-line names, fills his pockets for one night's work with as many dollars as three-fourths of the community earn in a year, while the mustached gentleman who assists him by quavering, quivering and shouting through three or four songs in as many different European languages, which is all gibberish to all of the audience with perhaps the exception of some dozen, pockets one-half as much more.

We think music is an art which deserves fostering and cultivating as much as any other among our people, but we feel no ways backward in saying that from a common-sense point of view, the musical furore which pervades this country for wonderful piano playing and extraordinary effects of vocal powers in foreign languages, like what it is, is thorough humbug.

The Americans are a musical people, but we want to be educated up to the science and so long as nine-tenths of our people do not know even the A.B.C. of music, it is folly for them to listen to the most finished and eloquent combinations of it.

Ole Bull (1810-1880) was the most brilliant violinist of his time. He was a Norwegian who enjoyed international fame, and spent much of his time in America—five visits altogether. Huge audiences were always thrilled by the fire of his playing, but more sober critics called him a trickster. He could play on all four strings of his fiddle at once. His admirers said that his colossal strength en-

abled him to do it, while sceptics claimed he had a flat bridge. Vast crowds were awed by the way he ended his pieces with the softest of pianissimos. Some who stood in the wings said that at such times his bow never touched the strings at all. William Mason wrote that Ole Bull was a law unto himself. He burst into full blossom without first showing various degrees of growth.

Born in Bergen, Norway, in 1810, he first came to America in 1843. His first tour lasted over two years, and he gave over two hundred concerts in the eastern states, and in Havana. His box office receipts were about $400,000. When he returned in 1852 he stayed for five years, and went all the way to California with a concert party that included the child prodigy, ADELINA PATTI. Early in 1855 he tried his hand at managing an opera company, and took over the Academy of Music in New York. He really tried to make it an American institution, and offered a prize of $1,000 for the "best original grand opera by an American composer, upon a strictly *American subject.*" Foreign adaptations would not be accepted. In his announcement he gave native composers a chance to declare their independence:

> The national history of America is rich in themes both for the poet and the musician; and it is to be hoped that this offer will bring to light the musical talent now latent in the country, which only needs a favorable opportunity for its development.

But the Academy closed its doors in March, and none of our latent talents had a chance to show their manuscripts.

It was during his second visit that Ole Bull embarked upon his most ambitious scheme—establishing a colony in Pennsylvania called *Oleana,* where there would arise a New Norway "consecrated to freedom, baptized in independence, and protected by the mighty flag of the Union." He purchased a large tract of land, described in Dwight's *Journal of Music:*

> Ole Bull's Norwegian Colony is situated in Potter County, Pa. . . . Ole Bull has built himself a beautiful Norwegian cottage for his

summer residence. He proposes to establish a Polytechnic school for this colony for the advancement of the arts and sciences generally, to be conducted by the most scientific men of Europe. His plan is to make it a civil and a military school to be open to the youth of the Union. . . . An armory and a foundry are to be built for practical purposes. . . . The corps when graduated, to be received into the regular army as a new corps. The Government is to have the benefit of the result of all discoveries in the arts and sciences, in return for which he asks the preference in all contracts for cannons, arms, ammunition etc. . . . This idea of the Norwegian is certainly a good one. . . . West Point has become an exclusive and aristocratical institution, and we greatly want an institution as proposed by Ole Bull, for the people at large. . . . His knowledge of the sciences extends vastly beyond horse hair and fiddle strings.

But it was not to be. Bull had fallen victim to a group of frauds who had no title to the land; who sold him what was not theirs. Even the improvements he had already made were a trespass on the property of others, and long litigation followed that almost broke his health, as well as his heart. He returned to Bergen in 1857, and did not come back for ten years.

When he returned in 1867 he gave his first concert in Chicago, and a year later married an American, Sara Chapman Thorpe, in Wisconsin. He spent the Summer of 1872 in Norway, and then came back here for his fourth visit, which lasted for a year. His last tour was in the season of 1879-80, with Emma Thursby. His failing health resulted in his death in Norway the following Summer.

Bull's compositions are interesting because they represent a translation of everything into his own style. In a way, he was an intense nationalist, as much of a Norwegian as Grieg. The climate of his native country was in his veins—he had a wild, poetic, northern imagination that fired everything he did. He chose many American subjects for the works he played here, but they were probably no more American than Dvořák's *New World Symphony*. He described the Revolution by introducing *Yankee Doodle*, "piped and screamed" alternately with *God Save the King*,

"amid discordant tremolos and battle storms of the whole orchestra."

His war horse was the *Polacca Guerriera,* a warlike piece which he played with orchestra with telling effect. Among his tributes to America was the *Grand March to the Memory of Washington,* published in 1845; *Niagara,* and *Solitude of the Prairie.* In his *Musical Memories;*[1] George P. Upton described Bull:

> Ole Bull belonged to no school. Perhaps that was another secret of his success, for people neither know nor care about schools, but like a player to be himself. Ole Bull certainly was all that. He imitated certain of Paganini's eccentricities by attempting effects of a bizarre sort, but he was always Ole Bull. . . . He rarely attempted the classical, probably because it is so unyielding in construction that it does not admit of moods or humors, so his repertory was comparatively small. . . . It was impossible to resist the magic of his bow even when you suspected it of sleight-of-hand.

There has been nothing in American history to compare with the furore that JENNY LIND (1820-1887) created in the 'fifties. But if Americans made fools of themselves they at least had the comfort of knowing that their English cousins had done so before them. Probably no more curious combination has ever existed than that of Barnum as manager and Jenny Lind as artist. Barnum the showman, who first showed how to work the press, and planted stories of his own as news in any paper he wished; and Lind, the plain little lady with angelic voice, deeply religious by nature, who abandoned opera and the stage because it was too immoral. There can be no question of her consummate artistry and her exquisite voice. The masses were not alone in worshipping her. Clara Schumann said: "What a great, heaven-inspired being she is! What a pure, true artist soul! Her songs will ever sound in my heart." And Mendelssohn: "She is as great an artist as ever lived and the greatest I have known," though he admitted on a later occasion, "She sings bad music the best."

[1] *Musical Memories,* by Geo. P. Upton: A. C. McClurg & Co.

Barnum had a double motive in bringing Jenny Lind to America. He was fairly certain that he would make money by it, even if he did have to guarantee her $1,000 each for 150 concerts, pay all her expenses, and deposit $187,500 in cash with his London bankers as security for fulfilment of the contract. He confessed the other motive himself:

> Inasmuch as my name has long been associated with "humbug," and the American public suspect that my capacities do not extend beyond the power to exhibit a stuffed Monkey-skin or a dead mermaid, I can afford to lose fifty thousand dollars in such an enterprise as bringing to this country, in the zenith of her life and celebrity, the greatest musical wonder in the world. . . .

And so the man who managed Tom Thumb, who had made a fortune by charging two shillings for a look at a horse with his tail where his head should be, sold Jenny Lind to the American public as extensively as he sold his circus years later.

She had fears of Barnum that she never quite overcame. A rival manager who bid for her American tour told her that Barnum would put her in a box and exhibit her about the United States at twenty-five cents admission. Because Barnum was sensitive about his reputation as a showman, Jenny capitalized his inferiority complex by altering the contract in her own favor on every possible occasion.

Her first concert in America was given at Castle Garden, New York, on the 11th of September, 1850. Its program was in many ways typical of the period. Singers or instrumentalists rarely gave recitals. The star of the occasion would make two or three appearances, and the rest of the evening was generally devoted to music of the orchestra, and of assisting artists. Despite her lavish contributions to charity, Jenny Lind made $100,000 from her two years in America. She toured both East and West, and conquered wherever she went. She did little to raise musical standards by presenting good music, but she did allow Americans to hear a voice and artistry that were very nearly perfect.

There were other famous singers. MARIA MALIBRAN, daughter of the Manuel García who gave New York its first taste of Italian opera, had been here with her father in 1825, and had stayed two years. HENRIETTE SONTAG, who had made a great success in opera and a sensation in concert, was in America when Jenny Lind was with us. Sontag went to Mexico City in 1854, where she died of cholera.

Among pianists, HENRI HERZ was largely responsible for the fondness for variations, fantasias, and florid runs and trills that permeated nineteenth-century piano music. Herz was a Viennese who spent most of his life in Paris. After several successful years as a pianist, writer and teacher, he joined a piano maker in Paris, and lost a fortune. To repair his losses he came to America in 1845, and toured the United States (going all the way to California), Mexico, and the West Indies. He was here for six years. His brilliancy and bravura were immense, but he lacked solider qualities. He knew what the public wanted, and he was able to give it to them. He dazzled foreigners as well as Americans. He once wrote that Parisians could understand and appreciate nothing but variations.

Herz was known to Americans by his compositions long before he actually came. Schlesinger and Scharfenberg often played the *Rondo and Variations for Two Pianos,* as well as the *Bravura Variations on the Romance of Joseph.* There were also *Grand Variations* for the harp and piano, and other "grand duos." When he died in 1888, Herz had written eight piano concertos, and over two hundred piano pieces, all forgotten to-day.

SIGISMUND THALBERG, who came in 1856-7, was a pianist of more thorough musicianship than Herz, but he too won by display. Upton [2] remembers his playing as

almost entirely confined to his own operatic fantasies, like the "Moise" and "Lucia." . . . The melody of the aria stood out very clearly in

[2] *Musical Memories,* by Geo. P. Upton: A. C. McClurg & Co.

the midst of a most dazzling display of scales, arpeggios, shakes, and coruscations of every sort, and the whole keyboard was none too big for the exhibition of his elegant and absolutely perfect technic. But there was no more soul in it than there is in the head of a kettledrum. It was simply marvellous mechanism. . . . It was rather a pyrotechnic display, with the rockets left out, for Thalberg never soared. The real attraction of his work was its elegance and its clearness, even in the most intricate mazes with which he enclosed a melody. He had a host of imitators, and the Thalberg fantasies were all the rage for a time. Every little piano thumper tackled them. But Thalberg, his school of virtuosity, and his fantasies are now only memories. The fantasies to-day are empty as last year's birds' nests.

5. LOUIS MOREAU GOTTSCHALK (1829-1869)

Gottschalk was a native American, but he had spent so much time abroad, and had achieved such a substantial foreign reputation, that he was regarded as a foreigner by the great majority of Americans; and was accordingly most successful. He combined the attractions of pianist-composer and *beau ideal.* He was the first of our matinée idols.

He was born in New Orleans in 1829, the son of Edward Gottschalk, an English Jew who had studied medicine in Leipsic, and Aimée Marie de Braslé, a Creole. Because of his precocious talent, the little boy was given music lessons when he was three years old. When he was only six, he was able to substitute for the organist of one of the churches, and at eight he gave a public concert for the benefit of one of the violinists from the French opera in New Orleans.

When he was thirteen he went to Paris, and studied with Hallé, Stamaty, and Maledan. Through his aunt, La Comtesse de Lagrange, he was admitted to the exclusive social circles of Paris, and in many countries he became the favorite of royalty and the aristocracy. He started his career as composer in his early youth, and several of his most popular pieces, including the *Bananier* and *Bamboula,*

were written when he was fifteen. He became a pupil of Berlioz, who said of him:

> Gottschalk is one of the very small number who possess all the different elements of a consummate pianist—all the faculties which surround him with an irresistible prestige, and give him a sovereign power. He is an accomplished musician—he knows just how far fancy may be indulged in expression. He knows the limits beyond which any liberties taken with the rhythm produce only confusion and disorder, and upon these limits he never encroaches. There is an exquisite grace in his manner of phrasing sweet melodies and throwing light touches from the higher keys. The boldness, the brilliancy, and the originality of his playing at once dazzles and astonishes, and the infantile naïveté of his smiling caprices, the charming simplicity with which he renders simple things, seem to belong to another individuality distinct from that which marks his thundering energy—thus the success of M. Gottschalk before an audience of musical cultivation is assured.

Chopin predicted that he would become a "king of pianists." After concert tours through France and Spain, he returned to America, where he made his début in Niblo's Garden, New York, February 10, 1853. The resulting sensation was almost comparable to Jenny Lind's reception a year and a half before. Perhaps the highest tribute was an offer from Barnum for $20,000 a year and all expenses. This Gottschalk refused, no doubt with scorn. He commenced his tours of other cities, and in the Winter of 1855-6 gave eighty concerts in New York alone.

After this he spent six years in the West Indies. In 1862 he came back to the States, and for three more years toured his native America. In 1865 he went to South America, and lived there for his few remaining years. He died in Rio de Janeiro in 1869.

Some of Gottschalk's music is played to-day, much of it is still in print. *The Last Hope* may belong to the Victorian era, with its saccharine melody punctuated with runs that delighted many an aspiring pianist at pupils' recitals, but its restful phrases are still useful as movie music. *The*

Dying Poet may have achieved its vogue because of its title, but it was effective nevertheless. *Pasquinade* represented Gottschalk in a capricious mood, and in such he was at his best. There was true individuality in *The Banjo, Le Bananier, Bamboula, Dance Ossianique* and others of their kind. Gottschalk in many ways was a forerunner of Ethelbert Nevin—at heart and by necessity a sentimentalist, he was a composer of *salon* music *par excellence.* And we must never forget that he was the first American composer and pianist to make a foreign reputation; he achieved an international rank that would satisfy the most ardent propagandists for American music to-day.

To know the man himself, it is a simple matter to piece together contemporary accounts. He never married, but it is certain that his erotic nature led him into many love affairs. Women literally flung themselves at him. There are records of ladies of the audience rushing to the piano in a body, seizing his white gloves, tearing them to bits and fighting over the pieces for souvenirs. When he practiced on the second floor of a piano store in New Orleans, women fought for places on the stairs where they could listen, maybe catch a glimpse of him, and if they were lucky actually touch him. One of his biographies was written by Octavia Hensel. Her friendship with Gottschalk, which she presents in the third person, is described in terms of such fervor, and her opinions are offered with such bias and such scorn for adverse criticism of her hero, that one is tempted to suspect her own relations with him. She refers to slanders which were circulated when Gottschalk left for South America, never to return. He wrote that it was best to ignore them:

> It is beneath my dignity as a man of honor to notice such slanders. Surely my friends can never credit them; and, if believed by those who are not my friends, I only pray kind heaven had given them better minds. A man whose nature allowed him to commit so dishonourable an act could also lie, and disown it! Let the story of my whole life

be told, every act scrutinized; and, if you can find in it anything to prove me capable of such unmanly conduct, cast me from your regard, blot my name forever from your memory.

According to Mme. Hensel, Gottschalk died from natural causes. He was giving a monster festival in Rio Janeiro. There were to be 800 performers, led by the composer. He had been appointed director-general of all the bands of the army, navy and national guards. Several new works had been composed for the occasion. The festival started at the opera house, November 26, 1869. On the morning after the first program Gottschalk awoke too ill to get up, and had to be carried to the opera house in the evening. He collapsed before the first number, was taken to Tijuca, a neighboring village, and died there December 18th.

Contradicting Hensel's account, many stories persist to the effect that Gottschalk was assassinated. If these are true, the assassin and his motive are to-day a mystery. The composer's body was brought back to New York, and he was buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, where a large monument marks his grave.

He was something of a *poseur*. He always wore white gloves to his concerts, and never took them off until he was on the platform, facing his audience. Then, with perfect deliberation, and supreme indifference, he would remove them, one finger at a time, as he calmly surveyed his audience, and nodded to friends in the front rows. He once told George Upton that he did this to compose himself before playing.

Richard Hoffman wrote in his *Recollections:*[1]

I have often seen him arrive at a concert in no mood for playing, and declare that he would not appear; that an excuse might be made, but that he would not play. He cared no more for the public than if he had been in a private drawing-room where he could play or not as

[1] *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years*, by Richard Hoffman: Charles Scribner's Sons.

he pleased, but a little coaxing and a final *push* would drive him onto the stage, and after a few moments the fire would kindle and he would play with all the brilliancy which was so peculiarly his own.

There was a genial, friendly side of his nature that he showed to his friends. William Mason in his *Memories of a Musical Life*[2] published a note he once received from him:

> If you have nothing to do, come and spend the evening with me on Sunday next. No formality. Smoking required, impropriety allowed, and complete liberty, with as little music as possible. I was going to mention that we will have a glass of wine and chicken salad.
>
> Your friend,
>
> GOTTSCHALK.

He had a sense of humor, and was delighted when an engraver printed the title page of a revised edition of *The Last Hope* as "The Latest Hops."

To know Gottschalk as a pianist it is best to read contemporary criticisms, and recollections by those who heard him. These indicate that he was really an excellent pianist, a sound musician, who could have played the best in music if he had wished, but who sensed what the vast public most wanted to hear, and gave it to them with a vengeance. No artistic conscience stood between him and material success. He craved applause, and used the surest means of gaining it. In Boston, the intolerant Dwight, who had fallen under the spell of Ole Bull's bow, perhaps unwillingly, steeled himself to Gottschalk's charms, and wrote what he thought of him, or possibly what he thought he ought to think of him:

> . . . It *was* great execution. But what is execution without some thought and meaning in the combinations to be executed? . . .
>
> Skilful, graceful, brilliant, wonderful, we own his playing was. But players less wonderful have given us far deeper satisfaction . . . of what use were all these difficulties? . . . Why all that rapid tossing of handfuls of chords from the middle to the highest octaves, lift-

[2] *Memories of a Musical Life,* by William Mason: The Century Co.

ing the hand with such conscious appeal to our eyes? To what end all those rapid octave passages? since, in the intervals of easy execution, in the seemingly quiet impromptu passages, the music grew so monotonous and commonplace: the same little figure repeated and repeated, after listless pauses, in a way which conveyed no meaning, no sense of musical progress, but only the appearance of fastidiously critical scale-practising.

The New York papers, musical and unmusical, were loud in their praise. The *Tribune* even went so far as to make comparisons with Beethoven which were not altogether flattering to Beethoven; Gottschalk, a young man, went beyond the old fogies of classical music. The *Home Journal* said that his playing had the effect of an orchestra, and quoted a lady of the audience who said that he had the dexterity of Jaell, the power of de Meyer, and the taste of Herz—all of which was intended as a compliment.

Richard Hoffman [3] wrote:

. . . Thalberg and Gottschalk joined forces and played some duets for two pianos at the Niblo concerts. One in particular, on themes from "Trovatore" composed by both of them . . . was wonderfully effective and created the most tremendous furore and excitement. A remarkable double shake which Thalberg played in the middle of the piano, while Gottschalk was playing all over the keyboard in the "Anvil Chorus," produced the most prodigious volume of tone I have ever heard from the piano. . . . Possessed of the languid, emotional nature of the tropics, his music recalled the land of his birth and the traits of his people.

William Mason can be trusted for a sound opinion: [4]

I knew Gottschalk well, and was fascinated by his playing, which was full of brilliancy and bravura. His strong, rhythmic accent, his vigor and dash, were exciting and always aroused enthusiasm. He was the perfection of his school, and his effects had the effervescence and sparkle of champagne. He was as far from being an interpreter of chamber or classical music, but notwithstanding this some of the best musicians of the strict style were frequently to be seen among his

[3] *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years*, by Richard Hoffman: Charles Scribner's Sons.

[4] *Memories of a Musical Life*, by William Mason: The Century Company.

audience. . . . He first made his mark through his arrangement of Creole melodies. They were well defined rhythmically, and he played them with absolute rhythmic accuracy. . . . He did not care for the German school, and on one occasion, after hearing me play Schumann . . . he said, "Mason, I do not understand why you spend so much of your time over music like that; it is stiff and labored, lacks melody, spontaneity, and naïveté. It will eventually vitiate your musical taste and bring you into an abnormal state."

Although an enthusiastic admirer of Beethoven's symphonies and other orchestral works, he did not care for the pianoforte sonatas, which he said were not written in accordance with the nature of the instrument. It has been said that he could play all the sonatas by heart, but I am quite sure . . . that such was not the fact. . . .

George Upton [5] tells a different story:

Gottschalk was a great lover of Beethoven's music, especially the sonatas. How well I remember the last time I saw him! We spent an afternoon together in 1864, and he played for me in his dreamy way the so-called "Moonlight" sonata of Beethoven, some of Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" music, and his "Lieder ohne Worte," running from one piece to the other with hardly a pause except to light a fresh cigar or interview the Merry Widow Cliquot. I remember asking him why he didn't play that class of music in his concerts. He replied: "Because the dear public don't want to hear me play it. People would rather hear my 'Banjo' or 'Ojos Creollos,' or 'Last Hope.' Besides, there are plenty of pianists who can play that music as well or better than I can, but none of them can play my music half so well as I can. And what difference will it make a thousand years hence, anyway?"

If he had played any other sonata but the "Moonlight," it would be easier to credit his love for the Beethoven sonatas.

[5] *Musical Memories,* by Geo. P. Upton: A. C. McClurg & Co.

Chapter VII

THE FOREIGN INVASION OF 1848

THE middle of the nineteenth century saw hundreds of foreign musicians migrating to America. Many of them came in 1848 because they were reduced to poverty by the series of revolutions in Central Europe which had reached their climax in that year. It was natural that they should seek America, where gold had been discovered in California, the war with Mexico had just ended in victory for the United States, and the country was about to have one of its most prosperous periods.

It is difficult to determine precisely what the effect of this invasion has been. Some think that American composers were forced to give way to the Germans and Austrians, and that American music would be a more vital thing to-day if it had not been shoved aside by foreigners. In many ways the experience of the latter eighteenth century was repeated. This mid-century immigration was the second of the foreign invasions.

It is obvious that the immigrants did not kill American music. They may have increased our ancestors' love of a foreign label, and thus made it harder for Americans of average ability to earn a living. Yet, Stephen Foster's career was just starting when they came, and Lowell Mason was at the height of his fame. Moreover, many of the newcomers were highly skilled musicians who helped to raise our musical standards.

It is not with foreign *virtuosi* that this chapter is concerned. The brilliant soloists who reaped a harvest at the box office were mostly visitors—the immigrants we are now

discussing were musicians who came here to live, to play in our orchestras, to teach, and to take an active part in our every-day musical life. Living among us they exerted a far more powerful influence than those who merely dazzled us at occasional concerts.

The most important group of musicians who came from Europe was an orchestra of about twenty-five members called the GERMANIA SOCIETY. There had been a few well-trained foreign orchestras who attempted concerts here from 1846, but none of them had been able to get a foothold. The Germania was the first orchestra in America whose members made it their principal business to play together, and rehearsed daily. The Philharmonic in New York, and the few orchestral societies in other cities gave only a few concerts a year, and the players were all engaged in other musical pursuits. The Germanians' playing was better than any Americans had heard before. They did not achieve great financial success—Boston was the only city that gave adequate support to their concerts—but they did manage to hold together for six years, and in that time played in all our principal cities.

They brought to America some music we had never heard before—theirs was the first performance of Wagner's overture to *Tannhauser*. Native orchestras had tried Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream* music, but none before the Germanians had played it with the necessary finesse and lightness. When the orchestra finally disbanded, its members settled in various of our cities, joined other organizations, and continued their activities separately.

When the little band first came to New York in 1848, it made a modest beginning. It was booked to appear as part of the bill at Niblo's Astor Place Theatre. In a small advertisement in the *Tribune* and other newspapers of October 5th Wm. Niblo respectfully announced that the *Lady of Lyons* would be performed that evening,

after which the Grand Instrumental Concert by the Germanic Music Society, consisting of 25 performers, from Berlin, directed and conducted by Herr Lenschow.

The performance was to conclude with the farce, *The Secret.*

In a few days the Germanians started their own concerts at the Broadway Tabernacle. The *Tribune* had a music critic who deplored concessions to public taste:

. . . the company seemed to excel particularly in the execution of light waltzes and polkas. . . . We should be glad to hear more of the old classical compositions of Beethoven, Mozart, and Weber, which they are capable of giving with such power and expression.

In the same issue the Germanians had a paid advertisement, which gave their own ideas of how their concerts should be reviewed:

. . . Selections from Donizetti, Strauss, Auber, Rossini and others were greeted by the audience with perfect enthusiasm. The march by Lenschow was a gem. . . . The prompt and efficient manner of the conductor presented [surely a careless compositor was responsible for this "s," instead of "v"] those too common vexatious delays, so that the concert was finished at an early hour. The modest and gentlemanly deportment of the whole band was the subject of general remark. An overwhelming house is expected at their next concert. . . .

The Germanians did make concessions to the apparent taste of the public, and for their early programs at least, put together some potpourris to satisfy the demand for descriptive fantasias. Thomas Ryan, in his *Recollections of an Old Musician,*[1] describes *Up Broadway:*

It was supposed to be a graphic tone-picture of sights and sounds seen and heard from Castle Garden to Union Square, which was at that time the boundary of New York's bustling life.

This potpourri began with a musical picture of Castle Garden. . . .

[1] *Recollections of an Old Musician,* by Thomas Ryan: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Moving up . . . you next came to Barnum's Museum, with "Barnum's Band" of six or eight brass instruments, which . . . played all day long on a high balcony outside his Museum on Broadway, nearly opposite the Astor House. It was side-splitting to hear the imitation of this brass band. . . .

. . . a firemen's parade with brass band came next. Naturally it was preceded by a violent ringing of firebells, and a rushing down a side street with the machine. When that noise died away, music from the open door of a dance hall was heard; with of course all its accompaniments—the rhythm of dancing feet, and the calling out of the figures. Then . . . we passed by a church whence came the sound of organ music and the chanting of a service by a number of voices. After that we heard in the distance a faint kind of Turkish patrol music; then a big *crescendo* and sudden *fortissimo* introduced us to Union Square and its life; and two brass bands in two different keys prepared our nerves for the usual collision and fight between two opposing fire companies. Finally, fireworks were touched off, the *Star-Spangled Banner* was played, and the potpourri ended, sending every one home in smiling good humor.

All of this, remember, was in America, around 1850. Surely there is nothing new.

CARL LENSCHOW resigned after a year or so of conducting the Germanians, and settled in Baltimore. He was succeeded in 1850 by CARL BERGMANN (1821-1876) who had joined the orchestra as 'cellist a few months before. Bergmann was a talented and capable musician, an inspired conductor, and something of a composer. It was he who arranged the *Broadway* potpourri. When the Germanians disbanded in 1854, he went to New York, and a year later became one of the conductors of the Philharmonic Society. For ten years he alternated with Theodor Eisfeld as director, and from 1866 to 1876 was the sole conductor of the orchestra. At his death in 1876 he was succeeded by Theodore Thomas.

Bergmann was responsible for one of the pinnacles of the Philharmonic's career, his methods of conducting and his interpretations are still a tradition. Toward the end

of his life he went to pieces physically and morally, and the directors had to force his resignation. He died soon after.

Boston was the scene of most of the Germanians' triumphs, for Boston had a group of music lovers who enjoyed the classics. During several seasons the orchestra made the city its Winter headquarters; in 1852-3 it gave a series of twenty subscription concerts there. In these concerts were played six symphonies by Beethoven, two by Mozart, one each of Haydn and Mendelssohn. Alfred Jaell played a number of piano concertos with the orchestra; Ole Bull engaged the band for his Boston concerts; it toured with Jenny Lind.

On November 27, 1852, the Germanians gave Boston, and America, its first hearing of *Tannhauser* when they played its *Finale*. Dwight the critic, lover of the classics and champion of the romanticists, Mendelssohn and Schumann, could never swallow Wagner, and he wrote:

> . . . an arranged Finale from Richard Wagner's Tannhauser agreeably disappointed us in being less strange than the fame of this bold innovator had led us to expect. . . . The melody was beautiful, not particularly original, but rather *Spohr*-ish.

It later proved most important to New England that CARL ZERRAHN (1826-1909), flute player of the Germanians, decided to make Boston his home when the orchestra disbanded. Until his death in 1909, at the age of 83, he was one of the most influential of Boston's many musicians. From 1855 to 1863 he conducted one of the several orchestras known in Boston by the name of Philharmonic. From 1865 to 1882 he led the concerts of the Harvard Musical Association. For forty-two years (1854-1895), he was conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society, and the other choral organizations which prospered under his direction included the Worcester (Mass.) Music Festivals, which he conducted for thirty years.

There were others who settled here. THOMAS RYAN, an Irishman, who came in 1844 at the age of 17, lived in New England until he died in 1903. In 1849 he became an early member of the Mendelssohn Quintette Club, one of our first chamber music organizations. This club travelled through the country for fifty years. It was most important in the middle of the century, for it was then that it acted as musical missionary. Ryan played viola and clarinet. The first violin was August Fries, a German who came to Boston in 1847. His brother, Wulf Fries, was 'cellist. Wulf played with the club until 1870, and from 1875 until his death in 1902 was one of New England's best known teachers. Francis Riha, the second violinist, had come to America in 1846 with the ill-fated Steyermark Orchestra. Edward Lehman played viola when Ryan played the clarinet, and flute when Ryan played the viola.

The club jumped into immediate favor. William Schultze, who had been first violinist of the Germanians, succeeded August Fries as first violin of the Quintette Club in 1859. He was with it for almost twenty years. In 1854 Carl Meisel took Riha's place as second violin. Ryan and Wulf Fries were still with the club when it disbanded in 1895.

Dwight wrote of them in 1852:

Dear especially and justly to the lovers of good classic music is this fraternity of five young artists. . . . To them we owe our *sphere* of periodical communion with the great German masters in their most select and genial moods. . . . No society has ever given us such a series of good programs. . . . Think how much of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn—of the masters, who used to seem so far off, unapproachable to us novices in music—they have this winter opened to us in their eight subscription concerts.

One more word, since now is the time for it. We earnestly trust that the Messrs. Fries, Riha, Ryan and Lehmann will not abandon the high ground they have taken, from any dismay at a momentary fluctuation in their outward success. Recent rehearsals, the pro-

gramme of that last "extra" concert, together with paragraphs in newspapers congratulating us that the Club were henceforth to "play more miscellaneous music," have been ominous. There is but one ground on which such a Society can stand and outlive temporary discouragements, and that is the ground of almost strict adherence to classic chamber compositions, in their original forms. Mr. Ryan's *arrangements* of things like the "Invitation to the Dance," movements of pianoforte sonatas, &c. are certainly clever and creditable to him; but such things are never as satisfactory as the originals to hear, and they crowd out of the programme too many genuine works, which it seems due to our musical culture that we should have every chance to hear. Classic music is the peculiar field of this little Club; if they enter other fields, the weakness of a mere quintette enables them but poorly to compete with popular orchestras and bands.

THEODOR EISFELD (1816-1882) was in America for only eighteen years (1848-1866), but he did much for our musical life, especially in New York. When he arrived he had been director of the Court Theatre at Wiesbaden, and of the Concerts Viviennes at Paris. For fifteen years (until 1864), he was a conductor of the Philharmonic Society in New York, alternating with Bergmann in later years. In 1851 he commenced a series of chamber music concerts, which, like the Mendelssohn Quintette Club, did real pioneer work. The first program offered Haydn's Quartet in B flat, Mendelssohn's D minor Trio, and Beethoven's Quartet in F. In 1857 Eisfeld became the first conductor of the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society, and from 1864 shared the directorship with Theodore Thomas, until he returned to Wiesbaden in 1866. His health had suffered greatly from exposure and shock when he had been one of the few survivors of the burning of the ship *Austria,* in midocean in 1858.

Eisfeld was something of a composer. One of his works was played by the orchestra at a Jenny Lind concert. One newspaper critic became poetic in reviewing it:

Mr. Eisfeld's "Concert Polonaise" was a spirited, refreshing orchestral piece. It moved on with a triumphant and intoxicating wealth of

harmony, worthy to clothe the noble rhythmic outline of the Polonaise form, like a young Bacchus crushing red grapes with every step.

OTTO DRESEL (1826-1890) was the pianist at the first of the Eisfeld soirées. He was one of the musicians who came in 1848. He had been a pupil of Hiller and Mendelssohn, and was an intimate friend of Robert Franz. Apthorp, in *Musicians and Music Lovers*,[2] coupled Franz and Dresel in a splendid tribute:

In both of these men was found in the highest perfection . . . the sense of musical beauty, the keenest sense for beauty of expression, beauty of form, proportion and color. They were staunch, life-long friends; their agreement on musical subjects was as complete as their friendship; they both worked together toward the same end; though they lived long apart, neither gave anything to the world without the ordeal of its passing through the other's criticism; they died within two years of each other.

In 1852 Dresel moved to Boston, where he lived until his death in Beverly, Mass., in 1890. Forty-two of his sixty-four years were spent in America. He became the leading pianist of Boston, and gave chamber music concerts similar to Eisfeld's in New York. Under "Local Intelligence," Dwight's *Journal* announced his coming:

With great pleasure we announce the arrival of Mr. OTTO DRESEL, a pianist and composer of the highest order, who formerly in New York held rank with Timm, Rackeman and Scharfenberg. We have truly needed such an artist and such a teacher among us. Those who have read the papers upon Chopin in our columns, will rejoice in the opportunity of hearing his most delicate and deep music from the hands of an authentic, passionate interpreter. Mr. Dresel, too, is equally at home in the works of Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Robert Franz, &c., which as well as his own tone poems, he possesses in his mind and fingers. Mr. Dresel is a gentleman of superior culture and refinement. He is not a mere finger virtuoso, but one who makes the piano a means and not an end. His intention is to reside in Boston and give instruction; and to

[2] *Musicians and Music Lovers*, by William F. Apthorp: Charles Scribner's Sons.

no one can we more confidently commend those who would become initiated into the genuine and enduring classics, old and new, that have been written for our common parlor instruments.

Dresel's works have not had the immortality of those of his friend Franz. He was a musician of the head rather than the heart, and of the two the heart is more often required. Maybe he was too severe a critic of his own work. His few piano pieces and songs were highly praised in their composer's day, and his unpublished *In Memoriam,* to words by Longfellow, had several performances in its original form as a ballad for soprano and orchestra. The Civil War inspired his *Army Hymn,* to a poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes, for soli, chorus and orchestra. There were also a piano-trio, and a quartet for piano and strings, often played at his chamber music concerts.

JULIUS EICHBERG (1824-1893) did not come to America until 1856, but when he went to Boston in 1859 he started a career as conductor and educator that lasted until 1893. For years he was supervisor of music in the Boston Public Schools, and his chamber music, and études and pieces for the violin were much used. We know Eichberg to-day as a composer of operettas. *The Doctor of Alcantara* is still a favorite, and the patriotic chorus, *To Thee, O Country,* is widely sung.

We have had references to Dwight's *Journal of Music,* and perhaps there is no more fitting place than this to introduce its founder and editor, JOHN S. DWIGHT (1813-1893), who was at the height of his career during the foreign immigration. He was so much the friend of classic music that he was often assailed as a *Germanophile* by those who wanted American musicians to have a better chance. Dwight was needed just at the time he was most effective, though the cause of American music may have suffered at his pen. He was the foe of humbug, of charlatanism, and though he made some grave errors, he generally knew what he was talking about.

Dwight was born in Boston in 1813, and after graduating from Harvard in 1832, he became a Unitarian minister. But his heart was in music and teaching, and after a few years in the ministry, he became a teacher of music and Latin at the Brook Farm community. In 1837, with a group of five contemporaries he founded the *Harvard Musical Association,* for the purpose of raising the standard of musical taste at the University, preparing the way for a professorship of music, and collecting a library that would contain music and musical literature in all its branches. These aims were all realized, and the association's soirées, and later its orchestral concerts, were a regular part of the musical life of Boston. It is still in active existence.

It was the moral backing of the Harvard Musical Association that led Dwight to establish his *Journal of Music* in 1852. He was editor, publisher and proprietor for six years. In 1858 the Oliver Ditson Company took it over, and retained Dwight as editor. In 1878 it was sold to other publishers and was discontinued in 1881. Dwight probably never had more than five or six hundred subscribers until he went with Ditson, but he was an influence nevertheless. Musicians read his paper and courted his praises.

An account of Jullien's career in America may well belong in the chapter on *virtuosi,* for Jullien was certainly a prima donna conductor. Yet many of the men in his orchestra, such musicians as the Mollenhauer brothers, stayed here when Jullien returned. Louis Antoine Jullien (1812-1860) could almost have taught Barnum some tricks, and maybe he did, though he did not come here until three years after Jenny Lind. His father was a band master, and the son was familiar with instruments and music from the cradle. As a youth he studied composition with Le Carpentier and Halévy at the Paris Conservatoire. In 1836, when he was twenty-four, he left the Conservatoire without graduating, and soon became a conductor of dance music. In

1840 he appeared in London as conductor of the *Concerts d'été* at the Drury Lane Theatre. He had an orchestra of ninety-eight and a chorus of twenty-four. Then came the *Concerts d'hiver,* and the *Concerts de Société,* and Jullien began to be the fashion.

His aim was always to popularize music, and to do this he used the largest band, the best performers, and the most attractive pieces. When he had attained vogue, he played whole symphonies on a program, and sometimes two in an evening. Jullien would have made a fortune in our movie palaces. Almost eighty years ago he did what our movie conductors do to-day—presented music with showmanship. And if good music could be made theatrical it would and does appeal to the masses.

Jewelled baton, white gloves, all contributed to the effect. None of these details were assumed for the benefit of Americans alone, they were part of his stock in trade both here and abroad. When he came in 1853 he had considerable foreign reputation, and his advance agents did much to excite the curiosity of New Yorkers. One newspaper was playful:

> Jullien's "monster" ophicleid is exhibited in Broadway, and there is much talk of his *Monster drum,* used in his concerts when great, *striking* effects are required, and played upon, it is said, by a drummer at each end. This has not yet arrived, it probably will take two ships to bring it. But Jullien has a bigger drum than that at his command; namely the great *press* drum, which stretches its sheep skin over the whole land, and is a wonderful *E pluribus unum* made up of a vast number of all sorts of drums, including *snare* drums, *side* drums, *bass* drums, humdrums and doldrums. This is the great drum suspended over Jullien's orchestra, one end of it in Europe, the other (now the loudest) in America; and Jullien is the king of the drummers thereupon.

Jullien was an apostle of the bigger and better idea. His preliminary advertisements occupied nearly an entire column on the front pages of the newspapers for an entire week:

CASTLE GARDEN
M. JULLIEN

has the honor to announce that his first series of

GRAND CONCERTS
VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL

In the United States of America
will commence on

MONDAY EVENING, Aug. 29, 1853,

and be continued

EVERY EVENING
For
ONE MONTH ONLY

. . . . . .

Encouraged by his European success, M. JULLIEN has been induced to introduce his musical entertainments to the American public, well assured that such patronage as it may be considered they merit will be liberally awarded. With this view, he has engaged CASTLE GARDEN. When the improvements now in progress are completed, from both its natural and artificial advantages Castle Garden will form the most perfect

SALLE DE CONCERT
IN THE WORLD

M. JULLIEN'S Orchestra will be complete in every department and will include many of the most distinguished Professors, selected from the Royal Opera Houses of London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Brussels, etc.

. . . . . .

The selections of music, in addition to those of a lighter character, will embrace the grander compositions of the great masters, the gradual introduction of which, with their complete and effective style of performance, cannot fail, it is believed, to contribute to the enhancement of musical taste.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS

The programme (which will be changed every evening) will be selected from a Repertoire of

TWELVE HUNDRED PIECES

and will include a Classical Overture and two Movements of a Symphony by one of the great masters, a grand Operatic Selection, to-

gether with Quadrilles, Waltzes, Mazurkas, Polkas, Schottisches, Tarantelles, Galops, etc.

. . . . . .

In addition to the above general arrangements, M. JULLIEN will each evening, introduce one of his celebrated NATIONAL QUADRILLES, as the English, Irish, Scotch, French, Russian, Chinese, Indian, Hungarian, Polish, &c.: and at the beginning of the second week will be produced the

AMERICAN QUADRILLE

which will contain all the

NATIONAL AIRS

and embrace no less than

TWENTY SOLOS AND VARIATIONS,

for twenty of M. JULLIEN'S solo performers, and conclude with a

TRIUMPHAL FINALE

The American Quadrille has been composed by M. JULLIEN since his arrival in America, and is now in active preparation. Several other new Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas, &c. will also be introduced during the season.

And the amazing part of it was that it was all true. The audiences saw a good show, and they heard some good music along with the clap-trap, all played perfectly. Whatever Jullien's faults may have been, he was a musician and he knew how to conduct an orchestra. The New York *Courier and Enquirer* knew what it was talking about when it said:

Monsieur Jullien is a humbug; which may be news to our readers, but it is not news to M. Jullien. Let us not be misunderstood. M. Jullien is not a pitiful humbug, or a timorous humbug, or worse than all, an unsuccessful humbug; he is a splendid, bold, and dazzlingly successful humbug; one who merits his great success almost as much as if he had not employed the means by which he has achieved it. M. Jullien, having blazoned himself and his principal artists in infernal scarlet and black all over the town, for some months—having issued an infinite series of portraits of himself, and ruined the prospectus of the Art Union by establishing several free galleries of portraits of his colleagues,—having occupied (and handsomely paid for) a large portion of valuable space in our columns and those of our

principal contemporaries by informing them of what they knew perfectly well before or did not want to know at all,—having brought over from England forty and odd orchestral performers, when we could hardly support those who were already here, and created a dearth in the musician market by recklessly buying up the services of sixty more . . . having done all this, he sends us a vast and ponderous card of admission printed in scarlet and gold. . . .

. . . Exactly in the middle of the vast orchestra was a crimson platform edged with gold, and upon this was a music stand, formed by a fantastic gilt figure supporting a desk, and behind the stand a carved arm chair decorated in white and gold, and tapestried with crimson velvet, a sort of throne for the musical monarch. He steps forward, and we see those ambrosial whiskers and moustaches which Punch has immortalized; we gaze upon that immaculate waistcoat, that transcendant shirt front, and that unutterable cravat which will be read about hereafter; the monarch graciously and gracefully accepts the tumultuous homage of the assembled thousands, grasps his sceptre, and the violins wail forth the first broken phrase of the overture to *Der Freyschutz.* The overture is splendidly performed.

. . . Other conductors use their batons to direct their orchestras. Not so with M. Jullien. His band is so well drilled at rehearsal that it conducts itself at performances, while he uses his baton to direct the audience. He does everything with that unhappy bit of wood, but put it to its legitimate purpose of beating time. . . . The music is magnificent, and so is the humbug, as M. Jullien caps its climax by subsiding into his crimson gilded throne, overwhelmed by his exertions, a used up man. . . .

. . . The discipline of his orchestra is marvellous. He obtains from fifty strings a pianissimo which is scarcely audible and he makes one hundred instruments stop in the midst of a fortissimo which seems to lift the roof, as if a hundred men dropped dead at the movement of his hand . . .

Jullien started a custom which modern jazz bands claim as their own. He arranged airs from *Masaniello,* and other works, so that the men in the orchestra sang as they played.

Even Dwight capitulated when Jullien went to Boston, though his New York correspondent had warned him that he was extravagant and foppish as compared to Bergmann, and that Anna Zerr, his soloist, "shame to say, had stooped to pick up one night and sang 'Old Folks at Home' for the

b'hoys; one would as soon think of picking up an apple-core in the street." Probably Dwight forgave the quadrilles and galops for the way in which Jullien played the Scherzo from Mendelssohn's *Scotch* Symphony, or the Adagio from Beethoven's A Major Symphony. He wrote:

> Jullien *can* play the best kind of music . . . if he makes a colossal toy of the orchestra in his quadrilles and polkas, he has also his Beethoven, his Mendelssohn and Mozart nights, in which he proves his love and power of interpreting the finest works. . . . We were present last week at his Mendelssohn night, and never before have we so felt the power and beauty of the A minor or Scotch Symphony.

The climax of Jullien's American career came when he was playing at the Crystal Palace in New York. One night the program announced a piece called *Night,* or the *Firemen's Quadrille.* He had always gone after vivid effects. If his music pictured a battle he used everything but real cannon. Even Handel once said that he would introduce the discharge of artillery into his choruses if he could. Pat Gilmore, the bandmaster, did actually use heavy guns for the first beat of each measure in the national anthems at the Boston Peace Jubilee in '69, but he had more room outside the hall than Jullien had in New York, and there were fewer horses to be frightened. Jullien had to content himself with his monster drum.

Before the *Firemen's Quadrille* commenced, the audience was warned that something unusual might happen. Jullien loved to spring a surprise, but a lot of fainting women might be too much of a good thing. Wiping his brow with his gorgeous silk handkerchief, he arose from his throne and faced his men. The piece started quietly, like a nocturne or lullaby. A hush through the house made the suspense more thrilling. Then the music picked up a bit, the violins fluttered as they told of the awesome mystery of darkness. You could almost see ghosts. Suddenly the clang of firebells was heard outside. Flames burst from the ceiling. Three companies of firemen rushed in. dragging their

hoses behind them. Real water poured from the nozzles, glass was broken. Some of the women fainted, and the ushers were rushing here and there yelling that it was all part of the show. And all the while the orchestra was playing at a tremendous fortissimo.

When Jullien thought they had had enough, he signalled for the firemen to go, and in a glorious blare of triumph the orchestra burst into the *Doxology*. Those of the audience who were conscious joined in the singing.

Such was Monsieur Jullien. When he went back to Europe in 1854 he may have had some money in his pocket, but he didn't know how to keep it. When Covent Garden burned in '56, the manuscripts of all his famous quadrilles were lost. In '57 he sank between five and six thousand pounds in an opera venture. Then he toured the British sticks with a small orchestra.

His hard luck was too much for him; it got on his nerves, and he finally ended in a mad-house, where he died in 1860. Maybe he belonged there all the time, but he at least practiced insanity in the grand manner.

It is not because of his showmanship and his playing that we are chiefly concerned with Jullien, though they were highly important in cultivating American concert-goers. It is principally because Jullien was shrewd enough to play works by native American composers during his visit. He gave them a hearing and at the same time crystallized the beginning of a controversy that has not yet ended, and which will probably never end. At this time a few of our composers began to be conscious of their nationality, and to feel slighted over the recognition they were not receiving. And after all, this was probably the most important result of the foreign invasion of '48. It made the American composer conscious of himself, and if at first he had to fight for his existence with poor equipment and meagre talents, the very contrast afforded by his foreign rivals made an issue of his rights.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AWAKENING OF A NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

I. ANTON PHILIP HEINRICH (1781-1861)

WE are anxious to-day to make an important person of the American composer. He must have international standing and at the same time be a nationalist. He must appeal to music lovers throughout the world, and yet choose native subjects for his musical ideas. He must be both Wagner and Grieg. Whether he is here or not, we must make a place for him, and secure his recognition in advance. If he doesn't exist, we must create him by hot-house methods. We want bigger and better composers in this country. All of which sounds like a twentieth-century idea, a final awakening to the fact that our composers haven't had a fair chance. Seventy-five years have passed since Ole Bull hoped that his offer of a thousand dollars for an American opera "would bring to light the musical talent now latent in this country, which only needs a favorable opportunity for its development." And he was careful to specify that it be the work of an American composer, upon a strictly American subject.

Even Ole Bull, in 1855, was only repeating what had been said before, for there were a few brave apostles of the American composer from the beginning of the century. Strange to say, one of the first who felt he should be encouraged because he was an American composer was a foreigner, a Bohemian named Anton Philip Heinrich. He called himself Anthony when he came to America.

Histories of American music have quite neglected Father Heinrich, and if he is to be judged on the lasting merits

of his work, he is hardly entitled to much of a place among our composers. Yet he is highly important, not alone as an eccentric, but because he was one of the first to seek for nationalism, and to capitalize his limitations. In his own mind, these limitations were geographical, not flaws in his own powers of expression.

Heinrich was born to wealth, and subsequent reverses turned him to the music he loved as a source of livelihood. Had he only had talent equal to his ardor, his life story would have satisfied the most romantic of biographers; for there are scenes in garrets, interviews with royalty, and disappointments that sing the old, old song of genius starving for want of recognition. The only thing missing is the genius. His friends hailed him as the Beethoven of America, but the only similarity was that he may have written as many notes.

Some years ago the Library of Congress acquired a whole trunkful of Heinrich's manuscripts, his own copies of his published works, and his personal scrap book. Mr. Sonneck catalogued these works with his accustomed thoroughness, and in his notes called attention to the various duplications of similar material in separate works. Through Heinrich's own data on his manuscripts it is possible to piece together the principal facts of his life.

He was born in Bohemia in 1781. As a young man he became an officer in a large banking house in Hamburg. His business called for travelling, and once when he was in Malta he bought a Cremona violin, which he learned to play. It is supposed that he married an American in Bohemia, a lady "abundantly rich in beauty, accomplishments and qualities of a noble heart," who died in 1814. A few years later Heinrich came to America, and settled in Philadelphia, where he was director of music at the Southwark Theatre. It was at about this time that news reached him that his banking house had failed, and he was reduced to poverty. He went to Kentucky, and for a while gave

violin lessons in Louisville, and then lived among the Indians at Bardstown. Parker's *Euterpiad* (April 13, 1822) tells of his reverses:

The author but a few years since was merely an amateur and a prosperous merchant whom sudden misfortune transformed into a professor, the only character in which he expected to gain honest livelihood . . . this transformation had not taken place until he was verging on forty.

It was in 1820 that he published his *Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or the Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature.* In his preface to this work he stated his position as an American composer:

In presenting this work to the world, the Author observes, that he has been actuated much less by any pecuniary interest, than zeal, in furnishing a Volume of various *Musical Compositions,* which, it is hoped, will prove both useful and entertaining.

The many and severe animadversions, so long and repeatedly cast on the talent for Music in this Country, has been one of the chief motives of the Author, in the exercise of his abilities, and should he be able, by this effort, to create but one single *Star* in the *West,* no one would ever be more proud than himself, to be called an *American Musician.*—He however is fully aware of the dangers which, at the present day, attend talent on the crowded and difficult road of eminence; but fears of just criticism, by *Competent Masters,* should never retard the enthusiasm of genius, when ambitious of producing works more lasting than the *Butterfly-effusions* of the present age.—He, therefore, relying on the candour of the public, will rest confident that justice will be done, by due comparisons with the works of other Authors (celebrated for their merit, especially as regards Instrumental *execution*) but who have never, like him, been thrown, as it were, by *discordant events,* far from the emporiums of musical science, into the isolated wilds of nature, where he invoked his Muse, tutored *only* by ALMA MATER.

So much for Heinrich's own opinion of himself and his work. Parker's *Euterpiad* quite agreed with him. Under the head of *criticism* appeared the following review:

In attending to other duties we fear we have too long neglected the pleasing task of recommending the above *American production* to the

favorable notice of the public. . . . It is . . . with great satisfaction that we feel ourselves authorized to say, that whoever has the will and ability to overstep the fence and unveil the hidden treasure, will be no less surprised than delighted with his discovery. With what success the first attempt of this kind was made in Boston, and to whom the honor of it belongs, has already been stated in our former numbers; and we can only add now that the vigour of thought, variety of ideas, originality of conception, classical correctness, boldness and luxuriance of imagination, displayed throughout this volume, are . . . extraordinary. . . . His genius . . . triumphs over everything.—He may, therefore, justly be styled the *Beethoven* of America, and as such he is actually considered by the few who have taken the trouble to ascertain his merits. . . .

In another paragraph the writer holds that one of the melodies "is a strain that would do credit to the Beethoven of Europe."

In 1827 Heinrich went to London, presumably to study music. By 1832 he was back in America, this time in Boston as organist of the Old South Church. Another trip to Europe followed shortly, and pencilled notes on his manuscripts tell of incidents during his travels and sojourns. In 1834 he was in London, playing in the orchestra of the Drury Lane Theatre for thirty-six shillings a week. There were frequent trips to the Continent, and in 1835 he suffered a severe illness. Notes on one of his manuscripts (*The Jager's Adieu*) are dated London, November 24, 1835:

Composed and arranged under severe bodily affliction, and at the time of finishing this work, I was under the painful necessity of becoming a patient in the London Hospital. . . . Later, during the above year, I was also laid up very sick, in the Hospital of the Merciful friars at Buda (Hungary) and at Vienna, "im Spital der Barmherzigen brüder."

When he was in Grätz in 1836 he had a performance of his symphony, *The Combat of the Condor.* Things didn't go too well.

The gentlemen of the orchestra went this introductory movement twice very handsomely through, namely on the 25th of May, 1836.

On the 7th of June another rehearsal took place, but having obtained only a few violin performers, and those mostly strangers to their parts, there was great deficiency in the effect. The actual concert took place on the 10th of June following, when this first movement met with public introduction; however, as there were by far too few violin performers and basses, and again some new gentlemen, not enlisted before, the author must confess that he suffered by it.

In 1837 he was in Bordeaux, where he suffered more misfortune:

After having been severely robbed in the Hotel de la Paix, Rue Chapeau rouge, kept by a Mr. Sansot, I retired for consolation to a solitary garret in the boarding house of Madamoiselle Jouano, Rue devise Ste. Catharine no. 7, and wrote this work [*The Columbiad, Grand American national chivalrous symphony*]. I finished at the same place "The Condor," and my instrumental phantasy "Pocahonta." The Muses had not favoured me with a pianoforte, in fact, since two years, I have been so situated, as constantly travelling about, that practical music is estranged to me, but I trust notwithstanding, that at some day or other, this work and those other productions alluded to will be found worthy of public patronage, especially in the United States, and should I not live, to derive any benefit from these works may my daughter Antonia, the child of my sorrows, be benefitted by them or should she be in prosperity, may they then serve to some other charitable purpose. I have travelled so far through France without letters of introduction and without holding a special converse with any human being, that after my disaster in the "Hotel de la Paix," not to mention other disappointments and misfortunes on my journey, I found it necessary to seclude myself for a few weeks at Bordeaux and find diversion and comfort in these compositions. May the blessings of Heaven rest upon them, and on my daughter Antonia, who alas! is far distant from me, and whom my eyes, as yet, have never beheld.

When his wife died in 1814, he had left his infant daughter with a relative at Grund, near Rumburg. When he came to Europe she had disappeared. When he went back to America in 1838 he found that she had followed him, and they eventually discovered each other.

From this year, until his death in 1861, Heinrich spent most of his time in and around New York. There were a

couple of years abroad shortly before he died, but he devoted himself principally to the business of being an American musician. In 1840 he solicited subscriptions to his *Jubilee,* "a grand national song of triumph, composed and arranged for a full orchestra and a vocal chorus—in two parts, commemorative of events from the landing of the Pilgrim fathers to the consummation of American liberty." In publishing this work he asked for the support of "statesmen, legislators, and other distinguished citizens." He spent several years in lining up his patrons for the piece, and journeyed to Washington to get the names of high government officials. It may be that this is the work that he wished to dedicate to the President. He asked John Hill Hewitt to introduce him, and Hewitt describes the incident in *Shadows on the Wall:*

> The eccentric Anthony Philip Heinrich . . . visited Washington while I was in that city, with a grand musical work of his, illustrative of the greatness and glory of this republic, the splendor of its institutions and the indomitable bravery of its army and navy. This work Heinrich wanted to publish by subscription. He had many names on his list; but, as he wished to dedicate it to the President of the United States, and also to obtain the signatures of the Cabinet and other high officials, he thought it best to call personally and solicit their patronage.
>
> He brought with him a number of letters of introduction, among them one to myself from my brother, a music-publisher in New York. . . . I tendered him the hospitalities of my house . . . promising him to go the rounds with him the following morning and introduce him to President Tyler.
>
> Poor Heinrich! I shall never forget him. He imagined he was going to set the world on fire with his "Dawning of Music in America"; but alas! it met with the same fate as his "Castle in the Moon" and "Yankee Doodliad."
>
> Two or three hours of patient hearing did I give to the most complicated harmony I ever heard, even in my musical dreams. Wild and unearthly passages, the pianoforte absolutely groaning under them, and "the old man eloquent," with much self-satisfaction, arose from the tired instrument, and with a look of triumph, asked me if I had ever heard music like that before? I certainly had not.

At a proper hour we visited the President's mansion, and . . . were shown into the presence of Mr. Tyler, who received us with his usual urbanity. I introduced Mr. Heinrich as a professor of exalted talent and extraordinary genius. The President after learning the object of our visit, which he was glad to learn was not to solicit an office, readily consented to the dedication, and commended the undertaking. Heinrich was elated to the skies, and immediately proposed to play the grand conception. . . .

We were shown into the parlor. . . . The composer labored hard to give full effect to his weird production; his bald pate bobbed from side to side, and shone like a bubble on the surface of a calm lake. At times his shoulders would be raised to the line of his ears, and his knees went up to the key-board, while the perspiration rolled in large drops down his wrinkled cheeks. . . .

The composer labored on, occasionally explaining some incomprehensible passage, representing, as he said, the breaking up of the frozen river Niagara, the thaw of the ice, and the dash of the mass over the mighty falls. Peace and plenty were represented by soft strains of pastoral music, while the thunder of our naval war-dogs and the rattle of our army musketry told of our prowess on sea and land.

The inspired composer had got about half-way through his wonderful production, when Mr. Tyler arose from his chair, and placing his hand gently on Heinrich's shoulder, said:

"That may all be very fine, sir, but can't you play us a good old Virginia reel?"

Had a thunderbolt fallen at the feet of the musician, he could not have been more astounded. He arose from the piano, rolled up his manuscript, and taking his hat and cane, bolted toward the door, exclaiming:

"No, sir; I never plays dance music!"

I joined him in the vestibule . . . As we proceeded along Pennsylvania Avenue, Heinrich grasped my arm convulsively, and exclaimed:

"Mein Gott in himmel! de peebles vot made Yohn Tyler Bresident ought to be hung! He knows no more apout music than an oyshter!"

Heinrich was active among the New York musicians of the 40's and 50's. He was the chairman of the first meeting of the Philharmonic Society, although there is no record of any further connection with the orchestra. On June 16, 1842, a "Grand Musical Festival" at the Broadway Tabernacle was devoted largely to his works. At this

time he lived at 41 Liberty Street. A note on his *Warrior's March to the Battlefield* states that it was

Finished on the 1st of May 1845 at my lodgings, say: desolated garret in Liberty Street no. 41, where I had dwelt for many years *quasi* in solitude, wrote many things etc. etc. but which lodging I was obliged leaving, with much melancholy, the house going to be pulled down, as Music had no charms for the proprietor of the building, but more the hammer's din, in order to destroy the composer's garret, to make room for cocklofts and commercial stores. I loved thee dearly cherished and sequestered attic, notwithstanding many sorrows and inconveniences which I experienced there, but where my imagination wandered free and independent.

William Mason, in his *Memories*,[1] gives a picture of Heinrich at about this time:

. . . there lived in New York an elderly German musician who had somehow gained the cognomen of Father Heinrich. During a visit which he made to Boston . . . I was presented to him as a youth of some musical promise. He immediately showed me one of his pianoforte pieces in manuscript, and said:

"Young man, I am going to test your musical talent and intelligence and see if you appreciate in any degree the importance of a proper observance of dynamics in musical interpretation."

He had placed the open pages of the Mss. on the pianoforte desk, and I was glancing over them in close scrutiny.

"I wish to tell you before you begin to play that I have submitted this piece to one or two of the best musicians in New York and they have failed to bring out the intended effects in an important phrase. . . ."

About half way down the 2nd page I discovered a series of sforzando marks over several notes of the inner parts, and immediately determined to bring out these notes with all possible force. . . . On coming to the passage referred to I put a tremendous emphasis on the tones marked sforzando, playing all the other voices by contrast quite softly. To my boyish satisfaction I found I had hit the mark. The excitement and pleasure of Father Heinrich was excessive and amusing. "Bravo, bravo!" he cried; "you have great talent, and have done what none of our best musicians in New York have accomplished."

When Jenny Lind came in 1850, Heinrich tried to call her attention to his works. If he could only get the *night-*

[1] *Memories of a Musical Life*, by William Mason: The Century Co.

ingale to sing some of his songs his fortunes were made. He was ready when she arrived. One of the works could be played by her orchestra as a feature number—*Jenny Lind and the Septinarian,* "an artistic perplexity" (he wasn't quite seventy yet, but that made little difference). The first part was "Jenny Lind's Journey across the ocean, a grand divertissement for the orchestra"; the second was "Jenny Lind's maelstrom on the shipwreck of a book, a phantasy for the pianoforte." Then there was *Barnum: invitation to Jenny Lind, the museum polka.*

He didn't get very far with Jenny Lind. After she married Goldschmidt he tried to see her husband about his works. He sent him a whole volume of songs. Receiving no reply he wrote him a couple of letters, asking when he could see him. Goldschmidt returned the volume of music without comment, and enclosed a pair of tickets to one of Jenny Lind's concerts. Heinrich called this the greatest insult of his artistic career.

The Philharmonic also offended his dignity. He had enough works scored for orchestra to fill the Society's programs for an entire season. The committee was a little too slow in considering his music to please Heinrich, and when he was finally informed that they would give him a performance, he withdrew his application, and continued to enjoy the sweets of martyrdom.

In 1853 came a triumphant moment in Heinrich's career. He was given a Grand Valedictory Concert at Metropolitan Hall. Nearly all of the prominent musicians took part. The orchestra, "a numerous and powerful one," was under the direction of Theodor Eisfeld and Heinrich himself. Mme. Otto was the principal vocalist. H. C. Timm presided at the pianoforte. Advance information spread to Boston, where Dwight's *Journal* told its readers that the

enthusiastic veteran is to have a concert, for the production of those strange and elaborate works of his. He has gone on in his solitary attic, composing oratorios, operas, symphonies, and songs, merely com-

posing, not publishing [this is not altogether accurate] till he has accumulated several large chests full of original compositions, his only wealth. May the devoted old servant of St. Cecilia be cheered by a full house, and may some of that inspiration, which has sustained his long labors appear in his works and be felt by his audience.

The program was lengthy, and of course the majority of the works were by Heinrich. The opening number was for orchestra—*The Wildwood Troubadour, a musical Auto-Biography*. This "festive ouverture" was in four movements, representing the "Genius of Harmony slumbering in the forest shades of America."

After songs by Wallace, Loder and Hobbs, there came another of Heinrich's orchestral works, *The New England Feast of Shells,* a "Divertimo Pastorale Oceanico." This opened with an *Andante* movement—"The home Adieus of the Nymphs and Swains departing to the Maritime Festival." Then an *Andantino*—"The fanciful curvetings of the Mermaids in the ocean surf" (Yes, in New England!). The *Finale Brillante*—told of "The romantic 'Love Feast,' resulting in the destruction of the 'bivalves' at the 'sacrifice of shells,' *vulgate* 'Clam Bake.' "

The second part of the concert commenced with a tribute to England—*National Memories,* a "Grand British Symphony, by gracious acceptance, dedicated to H. B. M. Queen Victoria." Then came arias by Mozart and Weber, and a Quintette from Heinrich's Oratorio, the *Pilgrim Fathers.* The closing selection was intended as a climax—*The Tower of Babel, or Language Confounded.* This consisted of two parts—first, the *Sinfonia Canonicale,* and then the *Coda fugato,* representing "The Dispersion, which will be characterized by a gradual cessation of melodies, and consecutive retirement of each individual performer." Heinrich may have had his doubts about the endurance of the audience, for the program adds: "If time permits, the whole Symphony will be given; if not, the *Dispersion* alone."

In 1858 he went to Europe again, and spent a season

in Prague and in Dresden. A note on the manuscript of *Der Felsen von Plymouth* is dated Prague, April, 1859:

> The foregoing musings were chiefly written during the winter season of 1858 & 1859 in a desolate, comfortless chamber, without any fire whatsoever, during great sufferings of cold, as without the aid and solace of a pianoforte. The wanderer leaves now his winter-quarter for more genial climes, on his musical experimental tour, under the banner: *Hope on, hope ever.*

He eventually came back to America, and lived to see his eightieth birthday in New York. He was very ill at the time and died two months later—May 3, 1861.

Detailed review of Heinrich's music from a critical standpoint is futile. His works are marked by bombast, repetition, and a constant striving for the grand manner, which he could never achieve. The statement in Dwight's *Journal* that Heinrich merely composed in his attic, and did not publish his works, is hardly accurate when the Library of Congress collection contains nearly two hundred printed pieces. Many of these are pianoforte editions of the manuscript orchestral works. There are a number of duplications under different titles; the composer had a habit of reworking his material.

His works were played in his time. Scharfenberg featured the *Pocahontas* Waltz at a number of his recitals. The Handel and Haydn Society of Boston performed his *Funeral Anthem* in 1832. Mrs. Ostinelli (Sophia Hewitt) played *Paganini's Incantation* at a concert in Boston.

Heinrich's importance in a history of American music lies in his treatment of nationalistic material. Others had taken the Indian as a subject for musical description, but Heinrich was the first to use the red man as a theme for orchestral works on a large scale. In this he was truly a pioneer. The *Indian Carnival or The Indian's festival of dreams* was a "Sinfonia eratico fantachia" [sic] for orchestra, with a score of sixty-four pages. He used its theme for a toccata for piano, published in 1849. His

Indian Fanfares (published for piano, but recommended as quick-steps for military band) comprised *The Comanche revel, The Sioux galliarde,* and *The Manitou air dance. The Mastodon* was programmatic. The score of this "grand symphony in three parts" occupies three volumes. The movements are: *Black Thunder, the patriarch of the Fox tribe; The Elkhorn pyramid, or the Indians' offering to the spirit of the prairies;* and *Shenandoah, a celebrated Indian chief.*

Manitou mysteries or The voice of the Great Spirit was described on the manuscript title page as a "Gran sinfonia misteriosa indiana." *Pushmataha, a venerable chief of a Western tribe of Indians,* was a fantasia for thirty-three instruments. A note at the end states that "the author composed this fantasia under peculiar circumstances which have given it great wildness. An arrangement from the score for the pianoforte will be found at the end. The composer begs, that no decision on its merits will be made, unless performed by a master."

In at least one of his works Heinrich claimed that he was transcribing authentic voices of nature. He explained this phenomenon in a note on the manuscript score of *The wild wood spirits' chant or Scintillations of Yankee doodle, forming a grand national heroic fantasia scored for a powerful orchestra in forty-four parts, designed as introductory to the second part of the oratorio of the Pilgrim fathers, entitled The consummation of American liberty. Composed and inscribed as a legacy to his adopted country, the land of Washington, by Anthony Philip Heinrich.* The note was as follows:

> There is no fact better authenticated than that poets, (who were grave historians in ancient times), heard, or feigned to hear, the voices of spirits, and the music of the spheres, and men have always believed that "myriads of beings walk the earth unseen by mortal eyes."—But, whether that be fact or fable, the author has himself heard the *genii of music,* (if any credence is to be given to his imagination) in an American forest—and although strange vicissitudes have chased him

since, and as the storms of more than sixty winters have left their chill upon him, yet, the impressions of that ethereal music were so deep, and his recollections so vivid, that by the help of sketchings *scored* upon that mystic ground in the State of Kentucky, then the abode of Sylphs and Naiads, he has been able to *note* down that music on these pages, as he heard it from an invisible hand.

When he dedicated a work to the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia, he chose a subject appropriate to that city —*The treaty of William Penn with the Indians—Concerto grosso—An American national dramatic divertisement, for a full orchestra, comprising 6 different characteristic movements, united in one.*

He considered it entirely appropriate to use foreign languages in titles and programs of works on American subjects, and occasionally to indulge in a confusion of tongues. Hence *Der Felsen von Plymouth oder die Landung der Pilgrim Väter in Neu-England,* and the published *Storia d'un violino of the premier violon to His Majesty Andrew the 1st, King of the Yankee Doodles.* . . . "Composto dal General Jackson's primo fiddler."

Heinrich liked to make gestures, especially magnanimous tributes to such colleagues as Beethoven and Mendelssohn. *To the spirit of Beethoven* was a "monumental symphony for a grand orchestra—an echo from America to the inauguration of Beethoven's monument at Bonn." *The tomb of genius* was a "sinfonia sacra, for grande orchestra, to the memory of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy."

The account of Heinrich's music could continue for many pages, but lack of space forces us to leave that task to his biographer. We may laugh both at and with the dear old man, principally at him, I fear, and yet he had a real idea in his poor eccentric head, an idea that others more talented than he have failed to carry out. We must respect him for what he tried to do, and never forget that he was the first to make the attempt. That he failed to accomplish

his ends was unfortunate, in many ways tragic, but the important fact is that Heinrich was the first to attempt American nationalism in the larger forms of musical composition.

2. WILLIAM HENRY FRY (1813-1864)

William Henry Fry is important as the composer of the first publicly performed grand opera by a native American. He is equally important as one of the first who fought the battle of the American composer; not wisely perhaps, but bravely. A curious combination, this Fry, the son of the publisher of the *National Gazette,* well-educated, and a discriminating critic who let his patriotism get the better of his judgment. Modern societies for the spread of American music might well take Fry as their patron saint.

Fry was educated principally along literary lines, but he had an overwhelming love for music. His older brother had piano lessons, and William taught himself to play by following the instructions he heard given to his brother. After he had composed an overture at fourteen years of age, he studied theory and composition with Leopold Meignen, the Philadelphia musician and publisher who had graduated from the Paris Conservatoire. Before he was twenty, Fry had written three more overtures; one of them won him a gold medal, and a performance by a "Philharmonic Society" that existed in Philadelphia.

Grand opera was heard frequently in the principal American cities by the time Fry reached manhood. New Orleans had started its operatic career with Paisiello's *Barber of Seville* in 1810, and during following seasons enjoyed three or four operas a week. New York heard its first grand opera, *Der Freischutz,* in 1825. Soon after this, in the same year, Manuel García brought his family and troupe to New York, and gave seventy-nine performances in a year's time at the Park and Bowery Theatres. Other

companies had followed. Rossini and Boeldieu were favorites, even though their works were adapted to the capacities of resident and travelling companies. In 1832, Lorenzo da Ponte was living in New York—the Italian poet who had written the libretto to Mozart's *Don Giovanni.* He persuaded Montressor to bring his opera troupe to America.

Arthur Seguin and his wife Ann, distinguished opera singers from England, came to America in 1838, and soon formed their own company. They made extended visits to the cities of the United States and Canada. Filippo Trajetta, an Italian, had come to Boston as early as 1799, and after living in New York and Virginia, settled in Philadelphia as a singing teacher in 1822. He founded an "American Conservatorio," and was an earnest propagandist for Italian opera.

Fry had plenty of opportunity to know the works of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and Auber, and so he tried his hand at opera and wrote *Leonora,* a lyrical drama in three acts. The libretto was the work of Fry's brother, Joseph R. Fry, who adapted it from Bulwer's *The Lady of Lyons.* It was produced at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, June 4, 1845, by members of the Seguin troupe, and enjoyed a run of twelve nights. Eighty-four years later, in May of 1929, Dr. Otto Kinkeldey, then music chief at the New York Library, arranged a presentation of excerpts from *Leonora* in concert form. It was presented at a concert of the Pro Musica Society, following a number of works by American moderns. The critics were all present and offered their opinions. Chotzinoff, in the New York *World,* said:

> When Mr. Kinkeldey . . . arrived at the music of Mr. Fry's opera the joke seemed to me to be on Pro Musica, for "Leonora," though outmoded, was found to contain tunes the absence of which was the main feature of the modern pieces which preceded the exposure of the operatic antiquity.

Oscar Thompson, in the *Post*, deplored the levity of the audience, and added:

> . . . at least one tenor-soprano duet in mellifluous thirds would not have been laughed at, it is fair to assume, if it had been heard in a performance of "Norma," "Puritani" or "Somnambula" at the opera.

Henderson in the *Sun* said that Mr. Fry evidently lived in his time, and probably thought "Norma" the greatest opera ever written. Peyser in the *Telegram* made comparisons with the present:

> . . . As much of the music as one heard last evening played the sedulous ape to Bellini, Donizetti, and Auber, besides faintly remembering the neo-Weberian ways of Reissiger tradition. Who shall say that, properly mounted and sung, Fry's ambitious opus would not, in its archaic way, furnish better diversion than "Egyptian Helen"?

The original production in Philadelphia was lavish; the composer paid for it himself. There was a chorus of eighty, and an orchestra of sixty; the settings were the finest that could be built. In true operatic style, the work presented recitatives and arias, ensemble numbers, choruses, coloratura cadenzas, and a climax that was indeed melodramatic.

The libretto was almost too well adapted to musical setting. The regularity of rhythm and meter prevented Fry from achieving much in the way of variety. The Philadelphia performances were given in English, for Fry was one of the first to cry for opera in the native tongue. The Grecian muse spoke Greek. "Shall our American muse chant in a foreign tongue? Forbid it, national sense, pride, ambition." But thirteen years later, when *Leonora* was revived and sung by an Italian company at the New York Academy of Music, practical considerations demanded that it be translated into Italian. Even Fry could compromise with necessity.

As music critic for the *Tribune* he failed to supply a precedent for Deems Taylor in reviewing his own work. He

stepped aside and allowed his colleagues to fill his column for him. The *Express* was a bit patronizing:

Our impressions of "Leonora" are of a mixed character. The opera seems to us a study in the school of Bellini. It is full of delicious, sweet music, but constantly recalls the Somnambula and Norma. It is marked by skill in instrumentation, the secret of which the composer seems effectively to have probed. It has many flowing melodies, many pretty effects, much that should encourage its author to renewed efforts; but, like all early efforts, it is full of reminiscences. . . . The peculiarities which most strongly distinguish his production are sweetness of melody and lack of dramatic characterization. All the characters sing the same sort of music—a love passage or a burst of stormy passion is treated much in the same style. . . . Were Mr. Fry now to write an opera, he would probably rely more on his own strength—he would know when he was composing, and when he was remembering. . . .

The *Times* attempted analysis:

"Leonora" is Mr. Fry's first operatic effort for the public, and like all first works, it contains much that is admirable, and much that might be better. Its principal characteristic is melody. The fertility of Mr. Fry's invention in this respect is remarkable, and it is the more remarkable from the fact that he does not seek his inspiration in the shady and sentimental groves of the minor scale, like most young composers, but in the broad and healthful uplands of the major mode. The best melodies of the opera, orchestral and vocal, are in the long-breathed, deep-chested major. The exceptions to this general rule are, we should suppose, intentional, as in the drinking song, "King Death," where sackcloth and ashes and a touch of brimstone are needed, and in the opening of the second act, where sentimentalism and an oboe are necessary, and elsewhere as occasion demanded. But the prevalent coloring of Mr. Fry's sentimentality is manly; it does not remind you of the greenhorn who trembles when he speaks to a lady, and sits down on his hat in a perspiring tremor. What the literature of the day (especially dramatic literature) lacks, this Opera supplies and illustrates—namely, *abandon*. . . .

A frank acknowledgment of the superabundant merit of one of the first essentials of opera leads us naturally to the contemplation of a fault which is sometimes unpleasantly apparent in Mr. Fry's work. There is a certain suggestiveness in the opening bars of some of the melodies which carries our memory to past pleasures afforded by other

composers. . . . It happens, invariably, that the first works of any composer bear certain ear-marks of other hands. It is the case in Mr. Fry's first opera, and it was the case in Mr. Beethoven's first symphony.

The *Musical Review and Gazette* saw little of merit in *Leonora:*

. . . The inexperienced hand can be traced not only in the choruses and *ensemble*-pieces, but in the phrasing of most of the songs of the opera. Almost everything is poorly shaped and put together, and what is still worse, worked closely after the most common pattern. . . .

We have learnt to esteem Mr. Fry in his literary pursuits for the very opposite qualities he displays in his music. . . . Mr. Fry, as *homme de lettres* presents to us a strong-minded individuality, while the music to his opera has not a fathom of individuality whatever. . . . Mr. Fry knows his own language thoroughly, but he has no command over that of music. . . . The whole orchestration of *Leonora* is somewhat like a picture in which trees and houses are daubed in red, and the people make a very green appearance.

. . . it is not a very pleasant task to tell a man whose *literary* ideas we respect and have often made our delight, that he bores us with the poverty of his *musical* ones. . . . Mr. Fry can be passionate and inspired; he seems to be one of those men—of which our country seems to be richer than any other—who attempt everything grand and beautiful; but whether he has on the musical field, the power to finish his attempts successfully, can only be added when he favors us with another opera of more recent composition. *Leonora* makes us fear he has not.

Soon after the Philadelphia production of *Leonora* Fry went abroad as foreign correspondent for the New York *Tribune*. He stayed in Europe for six years, and though he was unsuccessful in getting *Leonora* produced in Paris, he found much to enjoy. He made the acquaintance of Berlioz, and had the friendship of a number of leading European musicians.

When he returned to America in 1852, he was ready to take up the banner for the American composer. He had had some experiences in Paris which furnished him with

ammunition; he had tasted some of the joys of martyrdom. He became music editor of the *Tribune,* and in the Winter of 1852 and 1853, he gave New York a series of lectures on music, which, except for the audience, rivaled our present educational series on the radio. Fry's own paper gave him its moral backing, and ran this announcement:

Wm. Henry Fry, Esq., proposes a course of lectures upon the Science and Art of Music, and upon the most colossal scale. Yet imposing as is his programme, it does not seem to us impossible, and of the very great benefit and actual necessity of such an undertaking there is no doubt. Mr. Fry's proposition is nothing less than to give a general, and, to a fair extent, adequate comprehension of the whole subject of musical composition, including its scientific relations, its history, its ethics and its æsthetics.

To accomplish this design, which implies extensive illustration, the following essentials are named: A corps of principal Italian vocalists; a grand chorus of one hundred singers; an orchestra of eighty performers; a military band of fifty performers.

Lectures of this sort are clearly not matters to be lightly undertaken or executed, and ample time is allowed for the preparation, because negotiations must be commenced with artists. Ten lectures are proposed, at five dollars for the course, and ten thousand dollars is the estimated whole expense. The proposal has a lordly air, and it promises such real advantages to the many who love music and yet know nothing about it, that we shall hope for its entire success.

The subscriptions were sold, and the series actually started in Metropolitan Hall, November 30, 1852, with a chorus and an orchestra of eighty.

Mr. Fry [said the *Tribune*] at first labored under considerable embarrassment, but it soon wore off. . . . He began with a glowingly poetic assertion of the universal presence of Music in Nature . . . then explained the elementary ideas and technical expressions and rules of music in a very succinct manner, the orchestra and chorus illustrating as he went along. As an illustration of the ordinary major chord the "Star Spangled Banner" was performed.

The second part of the lecture . . . opened with some specimens of Chinese music. . . . This was followed by the overture to Der Freyschutz which marked all the advance of Christian upon Pagan civilization.

The second lecture . . . indicated . . . a degree of curious learning in the music of China, Siam, India and Europe of the middle ages.

Following lectures covered the human voice, the ballad, the orchestra, church, oratorio and chamber music, the nature and progress of musical ideas, the "difference between formal and inspired music," the lyrical drama, and the connection between literature and oratory and music.

It was in the last lecture that Fry cut loose and gave his American ideas about music. The *Musical World* reported his statements at length, and if there is a familiar sound in their phrases, kindly remember that they were uttered in 1852. He was reported as saying that there is no taste or love for, or appreciation of, true Art in this country. The public, as a public, know nothing about Art. We pay enormous sums to hear a single voice, or a single instrument but we will pay nothing to hear a sublime work of art performed. As a nation we have totally neglected Art. In this country politicians reap all the public applause and emoluments to the exclusion of their betters. Our colleges ignore Art.

Hitherto there has been too much servility on the part of American artists. The American composer should not allow the name of Beethoven or Handel or Mozart to prove an eternal bugbear to him, nor should he pay them reverence. He should only reverence his Art, and strike out manfully and independently into untrodden realms, just as his nature and inspirations may incite him, else he can never achieve lasting renown.

Until this Declaration of Independence in Art shall be made—until American composers shall discard their foreign liveries and found an American school—and until the American public shall learn to support American artists, Art will not become indigenous to this country, but will only exist as a feeble exotic, and we shall continue to be provincial in Art.

We have some good musical societies, said Fry, and they

should devote a portion of their rehearsals to American compositions, and perform the best of them in public. The American public decry native compositions, and sneer at native artists. We now have symphonies, operas, cantatas, and other American compositions which are as good and better than the *first* similar compositions by the much-talked-of "great masters," and we should listen to these first compositions of American composers with as much respect and as bright anticipations as the people of former days listened to the *first* symphonies of Handel, Beethoven, and Mozart.

An American composer cannot get his works brought out at home unless he has a fortune which will enable him to bear the expense himself. An American composer cannot get his works brought out in Europe at all—not even by paying for it. In Europe, an American artist is spit upon, and finally the whole world over, artists are not and never have been treated as they should be—especially at meal time. Instead of being assigned seats of honor at the table with other guests they are too often consigned to the kitchen to take their chance with the servants.

When the *Musical World* printed these statements, Fry protested that he had been misquoted in a number of important places. It was not the public, but the *critics* who ignored the existence of American musical works. Nor had he said that an American artist was spit upon in Europe; merely that when he had tried to have an opera produced, he was spit upon because he was an American.

I took the best possible introductions, and offered to pay the expenses of a rehearsal, according to my invariable custom to expect nothing as a favor. I wished the music to be heard simply; given book in hand without dress or decoration, and so pronounced upon—a frightful hazard, but one which I was willing to abide by, in the same way that I had my works performed at my lectures in New York without the necessary aids of the opera house. . . . When I asked for this simple rehearsal—so easily accorded and so fairly required—the director of the opera in Paris said to me: "In Europe we look upon America as an industrial country—excellent for electric telegraphs,

but not for art . . . they would think me crazy to produce an opera by an American."

It was when Jullien brought his orchestra to America in 1853 that Fry's symphonies were heard, for Jullien liked new music. He may also have realized that Fry was critic of the *Tribune*. There were four of these symphonies; *Childe Harold, A Day in the Country, The Breaking Heart,* and the *Santa Claus* symphony. A colleague on the *Tribune* described *Santa* for the public:

We have seen it stated that the composer of Santa Claus intended it for an occasional piece—a sketch, etc. This is not so. He intended it—in regard to instrumentation—as the means of exposing the highest qualities in execution and expression of the greatest players in the world. As to spirit, he designed it in the introductory movement to represent the declamatory style in which he conceives oratorios ought to be written. Next, the verisimilitude which should mark music adapted to festivities from its rollicking traits and abandon. Then, he designed to show all the sexual peculiarities of the orchestra, *dramatically* treated. Likewise the accents of English speech as related to English music. He wished also, to prove as he believes, that the Lullaby, poetically handled, is as sublime as the Madonna and Child, if looked at artistically, and connected with it may be four separate counterpoints, all distinct and all painting different ideas and facts.

Next he wished to connect the music of nature with the tragedy of human life—the latter played by M. Bottesini—and the composer essayed, too, to paint the sublimest music in the world—that of the deity singing the monody of the passing world in the winter's wind. Next, he wished to individualize in music our only remaining fairy,—the character being grotesque, yet withal gentle and melodious, and with the sweetest mission that ever fairy performed. Next he desired to paint the songs of the stars—the fluttering ecstasies of hovering angels—on the purest harmonies of the violins, only to be achieved by artists who have given a life of labor and love and lyrical devotion to extract the transcendental element in their instruments.

Next, he designed to paint the change from starlight to sunlight by poetical analogies and mathematical facts. Then he sought to imitate the mother's cry to her little ones by rousing them on Christmas morning, and by the playing of Bo-peep, which as a little love story, admits of dramatic harmonies. The introduction of toys into the

orchestra at this point, may be considered by the thoughtless as a burlesque, but not so did the composer consider it. The divine words, "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven," make the artistic painting of children and their toys, as much of a mission of art as the writing of a hallelujah chorus. The finale, too, of this symphony, where an orchestra of drums is introduced to represent the rolling of the spheres, is among the composer's ideas of the necessity of towering sonority to crown a long work designed to be of religious and romantic character.

With all these preparations for a heaven-storming work that would plunge its creator into immortality, Fry was naturally hurt when Richard Storrs Willis, brother of Nathaniel, dismissed *Santa Claus* with a few lines in the *Musical World* and termed it a composition hardly to be criticized as an earnest work of art. It was rather "a kind of extravaganza which moves the audience to laughter, entertaining them seasonably with imitated snow-storms, trotting horses, sleighbells, cracking whips, etc."

Fry rushed for his pen and wrote a twenty-five-page letter, which Willis published. He said that his piece was the longest "unified" instrumental composition that had ever been written on a single subject, and therefore entitled to an extended review. Any work which began in Heaven "and then swings down to Hell, returns to Heaven and thence to earth to depict the family joys of a Christmas party" was certainly worth more than passing notice.

He pleaded his Americanism:

> I think that the American who writes for the mere dignity of musical art, as I understand it, without recompense deserves better treatment at the hands of his countrymen at least. This is more due from an American, as the Philharmonic Society of this city is an incubus on Art, never having asked for or performed a single American composition during the eleven years of its existence.
>
> . . . As the chances for an American to put before the public any work of musical High Art depend, in this country, upon the accidental presence of such [conductors] as M. Jullien . . . there ought to be at least one technical journal in this city where technical criticism and extended analysis of works are habitually rendered.

In replying, Willis made the most of his opportunity:

. . . the length of a piece of music is novel ground, certainly, upon which to base its musical excellence, or its requirement for a very long criticism.

Dwight lent his voice from Boston:

Why . . . is not friend Fry willing practically to submit the merit of the American symphonies to what he himself maintains to be the only true test?—namely to time and the world's impression. . . . Of course the bulk of our public concerts and musical entertainments must consist of pieces of a guaranteed excellence, of works that the world *knows* to be good, sure to give pleasure, sure to inspire and reward attention. It will not do to invite the public to perpetual experimental feasts of possibilities; to assemble a concert audience, like a board of jurors, to listen to long lists of new works and award prizes . . . If a work have genius in it, it will sooner or later make its mark upon the world. . . .

It is of no use to tell us why we ought to like *Santa Claus,* the thing is to make us like it.

3. GEORGE F. BRISTOW (1825-1898)

Fry's reference to the Philharmonic Society drew another man into the controversy—George Frederick Bristow, a native composer who had been one of the first violins of the Philharmonic since the society was founded in 1842. Bristow wrote to the *Musical World:*

As it is possible to miss a needle in a hay-stack, I am not surprised that Mr. Fry has missed the fact, that during the eleven years the Philharmonic Society has been in operation in this city, it played once, either by mistake or accident, one single American composition, an overture of mine. As one exception makes a rule stronger, so this single stray fact shows that the Philharmonic Society has been as anti-American as if it had been located in London during the Revolutionary War, and composed of native-born British tories. . . .

It appears the society's eleven years of promoting American art have embraced one whole performance of one whole American overture, one whole rehearsal of one whole American symphony, and the performance of an overture by an Englishman stopping here—Mr.

Loder—(whom your beautiful correspondent would infer is an American) who, happening to be conductor here, had the influence to have it played. . . .

This drew an official statement from the Philharmonic, as well as Bristow's resignation. The Society had formulated a policy in regard to American compositions at the very beginning, and had included this clause in its constitution (April 23, 1842):

If any grand orchestral compositions such as overtures, or symphonies, shall be presented to the society, they being composed in this country, the society shall perform one every season, provided a committee of five appointed by the government shall have approved and recommended the composition.

H. C. Timm, as president, signed the answer to Bristow's letter, and it was printed in the *Musical World* two weeks after Bristow's challenge:

In your journal of the 4th inst. appears a letter from Mr. Geo. F. Bristow, in which he undertakes to censure the spirit and action of the New York Philharmonic Society in such a remarkable and unjustifiable manner that the Board of Directors feels it a duty to the public and their constituents to make a reply. . . .

Now the society had existed four years before any American composition was suggested to members for performance. . . . During the remaining seven years, several American compositions by either native or adopted citizens of this country were brought to the notice of the Society and performed, as follows:

Overture to Marmion, by George Loder (English), performed twice at concerts.

Overture by H. Saroni (German) performed at public rehearsal.

Overture by F. G. Hansen (German) performed at public rehearsal.

Overture by Theo. Eisfeld (German) performed at public rehearsal.

Overture by Geo. F. Bristow (American) performed at concert.

Indian March by F. E. Miguel (French) performed at public rehearsal.

Descriptive Battle Symphony, by Knaebel (German) at public rehearsal.

Symphony No. 1, by Geo. F. Bristow (American) performed twice at public rehearsal.

Duetto for two cornets, by Dodworth (American) performed at concert.

Serenade by William Mason (American) performed at concert.

Several songs by W. V. Wallace (Irish) performed at concert.

Application was also made by A. P. Heinrich (German) for the performance of several of his compositions, and when he was informed the society was ready, withdrew.

The same issue of the *World* contained this item:

At the regular meeting (March 11, 1854), Mr. Bristow's resignation as one of the Board of Directors and as performing member of the Society was accepted.

Forgiveness followed soon, and Bristow was not absent from the Society's roster for very long. He was connected with the orchestra for almost forty years from its founding. He had a long and honorable career. His father, William Richard Bristow, was an English musician who came to New York in 1824. The son George was born in New York in 1825, and at the age of eleven was playing the violin at the Olympic Theatre. In addition to his work with the Philharmonic, he was conductor of the Harmonic Society from 1851 to 1862. From 1854 until his death in 1898 he was a visiting teacher in the New York public schools.

As director of the Harmonic Society, Bristow did what he could to bring out the works of American composers. In 1852 the society performed *The Waldenses,* an oratorio by Asahel Abbot, who was described as "a phenomenon, . . . a sturdy self-made New Englander who has for some years taught music in New York; but, what is more, can boast himself the composer of an incredible number of oratorios and other scores in great forms."

Dwight had his doubts about Abbot:

He has instructed several of his pupils to be likewise composers of great oratorios. To hear him talk, you would suppose that great

oratorios grew on every bush, where he resided. We know nothing of the merit of Mr. Abbot's music, and trust that it will have a fair chance. The "Waldenses," we understand, is one of a series which he designs to sketch in honor of the different races that have struggled for liberty through the last 1600 years.

W. J. Henderson has described Bristow as "a most earnest man, filled with real love for his art, and self sacrificing in labor for its benefit; one of the earliest of the long-suffering band of American composers, who will be remembered always as one who strove to push American music into artistic prominence."

Bristow may be coupled with Fry for another reason than being a pioneer fighter for the rights of the native composer. Fry wrote the first native grand opera to be produced; Bristow composed the second. And what is more, Bristow chose a native subject—Irving's legend of *Rip Van Winkle*. Bristow's opera was produced in New York in 1855, soon after the Fry-Willis controversy, and Bristow's differences with the Philharmonic. It was also the same year that Ole Bull had announced his prize for an American opera during his ill-fated management of the Academy of Music. Fry's *Leonora* had been produced in Philadelphia ten years before, and three years were to pass before it was to have its New York production. It must have been a bitter pill for Fry to see his colleague's work produced before his own. The *Musical World* hinted at a political situation:

Mr. Bristow's grand opera *Rip Van Winkle,* produced at Niblo's on Thursday evening, is the second one composed in this country by an American. As musical intelligence it is due to the reader that we should give the following historical facts. . . . The first opera by an American was *Leonora,* composed by Mr. W. H. Fry, and produced in Philadelphia by the Seguin troupe about ten years ago. . . . Mr. Fry composed several other operas, which have not yet been produced. The managers of all the theatres in New York, as is well known, are in utter fear of a journal whose editor has made war on Mr. Fry and all his productions from the moment *Leonora* appeared. The public

is sufficiently acquainted with the causes of this hostility, but is hardly aware that its exercise up to this time, through the acknowledged subserviency of the managers of all the theatres, deprived Mr. Fry of a hearing in New York for any of his operas; though his symphonies through Mr. Jullien, who defied the wrath of the editor in question, have been frequently performed. . . .

This tends to contradict the belief that *Leonora* enjoyed its New York performances because its composer was music critic of the *Tribune*.

Willis, whom Fry had assailed as unfriendly to American composers, was one of the first to welcome *Rip Van Winkle:*

Sebastopol has fallen, and a new American opera has succeeded in New York! The clash of Russian steel with the bristling bayonets of the Allies has not been more fierce and uncompromising than the strife in lyric art between the stronghold of foreign prejudice and the steady and combined attacks of native musicians. It is true, the enemy has long since given evidence of his respect in other departments of art. But chiefly by a blind deference to the pompous pretensions of foreign interpreters of the art divine, has the real strength of our native musical genius been kept in abject abeyance, or suffered to linger in worse than aboriginal obscurity by our chilling reserve, if not studied neglect.

It is, however, neither good nor wise in us, to remain longer insensible to our own sources of power, or to the palpable weakness and misgivings of the enemy. This position may not be questioned, either in view of a proper respect for ourselves, or of a sincere regard to the welfare of the natives of other climes. Indeed, the truest policy for the foreign artist or artisan, is to labor long and largely for the development of the *creative* as well as the executive ability of the community in which he dwells, since hereby he most thoroughly exemplifies the workings of a truly benevolent heart, and most directly contributes to the permanent employment of a larger number of his brother artists.

Rip Van Winkle had a run of four weeks at Niblo's, following its première, September 27, 1855. Comparison of box-office receipts with those of other current attractions shows that it was third in popularity among the New York theatres. On the Monday of the week following its opening, *Rip Van Winkle* drew $700. The Metropolitan Thea-

tre drew $4,500, and the Broadway $1,050. The Italian opera at the Academy of Music was next to *Rip Van Winkle* with $600. Wood's Minstrels and Buckley's Minstrels took in but $300 and $250 apiece.

J. R. Wainwright's libretto to the opera took a few liberties with Irving's story, though it followed the original in its essentials. The librettist introduced imaginary episodes from the Revolution, and conceived a love affair between Rip's daughter Alice, and a British officer. This gave opportunity for love duets, as well as soldiers' choruses by both Continental and British troops. In the *Musical World,* Willis discussed the American elements of the score:

> But if the subject be quite American, is the music of Mr. Bristow quite American?
>
> Though agreeable and fluent it is somewhat devoid of character. It takes a long time before a nation has adapted art to its own nature. . . . If the English had a genuine form of opera, it is probable that it would serve as a model to composers of this country; as the English have not yet an opera of their own (sui generis), it would be unfair to demand of Mr. Bristow a school of an American stamp. It is from such a point of view that we must judge his work. It would be absurd to demand of one who writes for the stage for the first time a great creation or a masterpiece; for this requires, first of all, experience. If we find in Mr. Bristow's work an appropriate use of the forms of the existing musical drama he will be fully justified.
>
> The opera of *Rip Van Winkle* exhibits an easy flow of melody. This melody is free from effort and spontaneous—an important quality in a dramatic composer. But in none of the arias of Mr. Bristow do we meet with large conception or rich development of ideas; none of them is shaped after a large pattern. The same remark will apply to the choruses. . . .
>
> Mr. Bristow has produced before the public of this city several fragments of symphonies, which evidenced experience of the orchestra. We were rather disappointed, when hearing this opera, to find that the deficient part of his work was precisely the instrumentation. . . . The orchestra of *Rip Van Winkle* is in general inanimate and lifeless, and devoid of that brilliancy which we must meet with in modern opera.

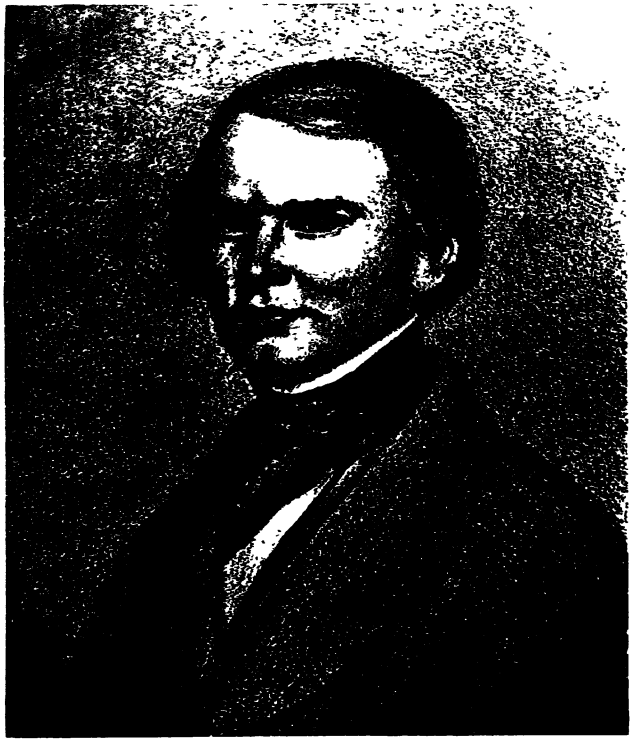
Bristow outlived Fry by many years. Fry died of tuberculosis in the West Indies in 1864, the year his second opera, *Notre Dame de Paris,* was produced in Philadelphia. It was given later in New York under Thomas. Bristow lived until almost the close of the century. His *Rip Van Winkle* was revived in 1870, and by that time he had heard two more of his symphonies played—the second in 1856, and the third in 1859. In 1874 he presented his *Arcadian* Symphony. There were also two symphonies that were not performed, two string quartets, two oratorios and two cantatas, some of them published. When he died in 1898 he was at work on another opera, *Columbus.*

It is not because they wrote great or fine music that Heinrich, Fry, and Bristow are important. Some of their writings may even seem ridiculous. Their consciousness of nationality is what is important to the cause of American music, for they were early prophets. In their controversies they went to extremes, and laid themselves open to refutation by those who thought and spoke more calmly. Yet they fired the first cannon in a fight that has never ended.

PART III

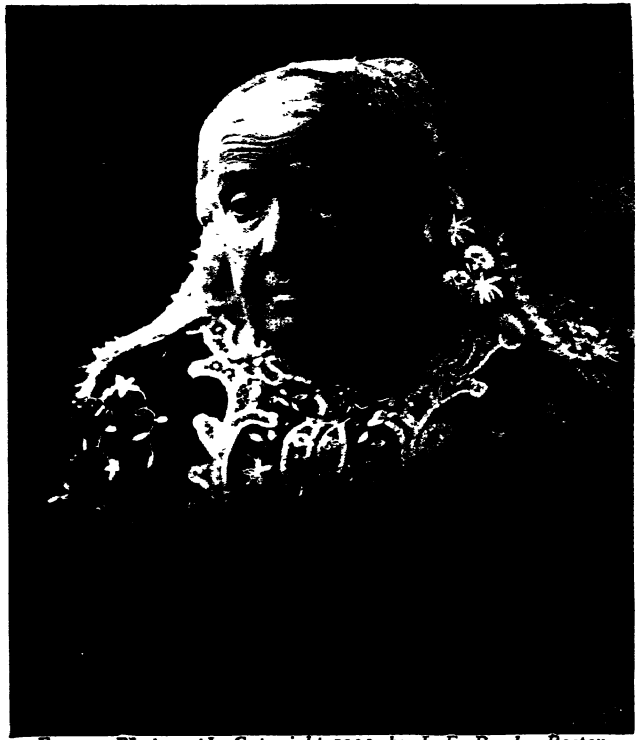
1860 TO THE PRESENT

EUTERPE BUILDS HER AMERICAN HOME



Daniel Decatur Emmett

(See page 265.)



From a Photograph, Copyright 1902, by J. E. Purdy, Boston

Julia Ward Howe

(See page 269.)

Title Page of a Northern March, Published in New York in 1861.

CHAPTER IX

SONGS OF THE CIVIL WAR

I. DIXIE AND THE BATTLE HYMN

WARS have always produced songs, and people keep on singing them long after thoughts of war have gone from their minds. Generally it is only the inspirational songs that survive, rather than those associated with the actual facts and episodes of the war that gave them birth. The Civil War produced hundreds of songs that could be arranged in proper sequence to form an actual history of the conflict; its events, its principal characters, and the ideals and principles of the opposing sides.

We all know *Dixie* and the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*—these are national songs now, and though they were put to partisan uses in the War days, they may be heard without resentment by descendants of either North or South to-day. Strangely enough, *Dixie* was written and composed by a *Northerner,* and the tune of the *Battle Hymn of the Republic* was claimed by a Southern composer of popular Sunday School songs—WILLIAM STEFFE.

There have been many myths concerning *Dixie;* one that it came from the Negroes of the South, another that its real author, Dan Emmett, was the originator of Negro minstrelsy. Neither is true. DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT (1815-1904) was indeed a minstrel performer, but by no means the first of his kind. We have already learned of Gottlieb Graupner's claim to that distinction. The origin of the term, *Dixie,* is far more elusive than that of the song. The common supposition that *Dixie* means the coun-

try south of the *Mason and Dixon* line seems logical enough, yet some claim that it was first applied to Manhattan Island, New York. It seems that a man named Dixie owned a large plantation in New York, in the days when slave-holding was permitted. He had many slaves, so many of them that when they increased, and abolition sentiment grew strong in New York, he shipped them all to the South. They had to work harder, and they wished they were back in Dixie's land. The word came to mean an earthly paradise, something to long for, and after a while the Southerners used it to speak of their own part of the country. Still another story tells that *Dixie* was derived from the French *DIX,* which appeared on paper currency circulated by a Creole bank in New Orleans. But whatever its origin, the word never became widely current until the time of the Civil War.

Dan Emmett had a checkered career as a lad. Born in Ohio, he ran away from home, and the print shop he hated, to join the regular army. His father promptly took him out of the ranks because he was under age. Then he ran away again and joined a circus, and spent all the rest of his life in the show business. He took to minstrelsy when he was about twenty, and after entertaining a New York Club in black face, he had no more use for the white paint of a clown. He helped form the Virginia Minstrels, who made their début at the Chatham Square Theatre, New York, in 1843. The company had a long run in New York, went to Boston, and finally took a trip to England. Then Emmett came back to New York and joined Bryant's Minstrels. It was while he was with Dan Bryant (1858-65) that Emmett wrote *Dixie.*

He had already written a number of songs. *Old Dan Tucker,* produced for the Virginia Minstrels in 1843, had gained him something of a reputation. One rainy Sunday, in 1859, the manager of the Bryant troupe came to him and told him they must have a new song for the next day, to

use as a "walk around." Emmett got to work, and *Dixie* was written to order.

It made a sensation, and other minstrel companies sang and danced it all over the country. Southerners loved it, and in New Orleans one publisher went so far as to issue a pirated edition. It was used as a political song in the campaign of 1860, and then, when the War broke out, the Southern troops caught it up, sang it in camp and on the march, and plunged into battle to its lively, jaunty tune. Musically it is a worthy companion to *Yankee Doodle.*

Northerners tried to save *Dixie* for themselves, and several poets tried their hands at it. Emmett himself wrote a new version, *Dixie for the Union:*

> On, ye patriots, to the battle,
> Hear Fort Moultrie's cannon rattle,
> Then away, then away, then away, to the fight.
>
> Go, meet those Southern traitors, with iron will
> And should your courage falter, boy,
> Remember Bunker Hill.

But it was too late—*Dixie* was of the South, and the mere fact of Northern authorship could never make it a Northern song.

Yet, in spite of its Southern associations, *Dixie* has come to be something more than a song of just one section of our country. There is something indefinably American about the tune; a jauntiness, an impertinence, a carefree spirit that seems to be one of our characteristics as a people. In some ways *Dixie* is one of the few pieces of music that can be said to be American; it represents a state of mind common to all parts of the nation.

Dan Emmett lived to be eighty-nine years old, when he died in 1904 in his native Ohio. For many years he managed his own minstrel troupe and prospered; but his latter years were not so sunny, and he died in poverty and comparative obscurity.

The melody of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* was first popular around Charleston, South Carolina, where it was sung as a hymn to the words:

Say, brothers, will you meet us?
Say, brothers, will you meet us?
Say, brothers, will you meet us?
On Canaan's happy shore?

and the refrain:

Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
Glory, glory, hallelujah,
For ever, evermore!

The tune was easily remembered and rousing, it had a swing that made it a splendid marching song, and so it was inevitable that it should spread like fire. The actual date of William Steffe's writing it has never been determined, but it dates back at least to 1856. It became popular in colored churches, with firemen, and especially in the army posts which were beginning to be more fully manned in the years that led up to the War.

In the Summer of 1859 John Brown made himself famous, and helped to precipitate the actual war by leading his little band in the misguided raid on Harpers Ferry. His hanging was hailed by Northern Abolitionists as martyrdom. About this time, the "Tigers," a battalion of Massachusetts Infantry, was stationed at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor. The men had formed a glee club, and one of their favorite songs was the Sunday School hymn from the South. Many new verses were improvised, some of them far from the accepted Sunday School idea. Rhymes were non-essential, for each line was repeated twice.

One of the men was a Scotchman named John Brown, who was the butt of many jokes, practical and otherwise. The John Brown incident in the South was a brilliant oppor-

tunity for the humorists, and a John Brown verse was accordingly improvised:

> John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
> John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
> John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
> His soul is marching on.

then the "Glory hally, hallelujah" refrain.

Other verses were added:

> He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord, *etc.*
> His pet lambs will meet him on the way, *etc.*

and then when the Confederacy was formed:

> They will hang Jeff Davis to a tree (later extended to a "sour apple tree" for purposes of rhythm).

Other regiments took up the song, and to Colonel Fletcher Webster's Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment belongs the credit of spreading its fame on the march to the South. As the men passed through New York, and other cities, they halted and sang it over and over again.

Edna Dean Proctor tried to save the tune from ribaldry by setting Abolitionist words to it, but with indifferent success. In December, 1861, JULIA WARD HOWE visited Washington. With her husband, Dr. Howe, she saw a skirmish a few miles from the city, and heard the troops go into battle singing *John Brown's Body*. The Reverend James Freeman Clark, a member of the party, asked her why she shouldn't write new words to the song. That night she wrote the lines beginning, "Mine eyes have seen the Glory of the coming of the Lord." Steffe's Sunday School hymn achieved respectability along with immortality as *The Battle Hymn of the Republic.*

2. OTHER WAR SONGS

Historically, the most interesting of the War songs are those which refer to actual episodes, even though their

musical value is doubtful, and as songs most of them are forgotten to-day. In the early days of secession there were a number of doubtful states, especially those along the border. Maryland actually stayed in the Union, but she was a slave-holding state, and Southern sentiment was strong among her people. One of her native sons, JAMES RYDER RANDALL, was living in New Orleans when he heard that Massachusetts troops had been fired on as they passed through Baltimore. He hoped that this episode would swing his native state to the Southern cause, and in a moment of inspiration he wrote his appeal in verses that have ever since been sung to the old German song, *O Tannenbaum:*

Hark to thy wandering son's appeal,
Maryland, my Maryland! *etc.*

and the second stanza:

Thou wilt not cower in the dust,
Maryland, my Maryland! *etc.*

The Northern bards were ready with an answer, and in addition to Maryland, they turned their thoughts to Missouri, another slave state loyal to the Union. To the same tune one of them wrote:

Arise and join the patriot train,
Belle Missouri, my Missouri!

The Southern poets also courted Missouri; one of them produced this lyric:

Missouri! Missouri! bright land of the West

. . . . . .

Awake to the notes of the bugle and drum!
Awake from your peace, for thy tyrant hath come,
And swear by your honor that your chains shall be riven,
And add your bright star to our flag of eleven.

In some of the songs the wish was father to the thought; the *Song of the South* bore a caption on its title page—

"Kentucky and Tennessee Join Hands." But of course this was not to be; Tennessee joined the Confederacy and Kentucky stayed with the Union.

In 1862, when Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand more troops, James Sloan Gibbons, an Abolitionist writer, wrote a poem *We are Coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 more.* For many years these verses were attributed to William Cullen Bryant, who at one time issued a signed denial of the authorship. The swing of the words made them easily adapted to musical setting and many of the war-time song writers tried their hands at it. Among them was LUTHER ORLANDO EMERSON (1820-1915), a gospel-hymn composer who had already achieved something of a reputation with his *Golden Wreath* collection of songs for schools. Stephen Foster also made a setting of the Father Abraham song.

In the difficult days of the War, when the cause seemed lost to the North, and further financing of operations seemed impossible, one wag wrote a parody on *Father Abraham* which dealt with the new issue of paper currency:

We're coming, Father Abram
One hundred thousand more
Five hundred presses printing us
From morn till night is o'er;
Like magic you will see us start
And scatter thro' the land
To pay the soldiers or release
The border contraband.

Chorus

With our promise to pay
"How are you, Secretary Chase?"
Promise to pay,
Oh, dat's what's de matter.

Many of the Southern songs commemorated historic events. In the first year of the War, General Beauregard ordered that all church and plantation bells in Louisiana

should be melted into cannon. This gave birth to a song called *Melt the Bells,* published for the benefit of the Southern Relief Association.

The Southern Girl told of the privations Southerners were willing to endure:

My homespun dress is plain, I know,
My hat's palmetto, too,
But, then, it shows what Southern girls
For Southern rights will do!
We've sent the bravest of our land,
To battle with the foe,
And we will add a helping hand,
We love the South, you know.

The *Star Spangled Banner* was used for the *Cross of the South:*

Oh, say, can you see, thro' the gloom and the storm,
More bright from the darkness, that pure constellation, *etc.*

The second verse had a fling at New England:

How peaceful and blest was America's soil,
'Til betrayed by the guile of the Puritan demon,
Which lurks under Virtue, and springs from its coil
To fasten its fangs in the lifeblood of freemen.

The tune of *The Marseillaise* was adapted by A. E. BLACKMAR, an Ohioan who had engaged in music publishing in New Orleans, where his business suffered when the city was captured by Federal troops:

Sons of the South, awake to glory,
A thousand voices bid you rise,
Your children, wives and grandsires hoary,
Gaze on you now with trusting eyes, *etc.*

Blackmar wrote a number of Southern War songs, among them *The Sword of Robert E. Lee;* and a tribute to *Carolina:*

'Mid her ruins proudly stands,
Our Carolina.
Fetters are upon her hands,
Dear Carolina.
Yet she feels no sense of shame,
For upon the scroll of Fame,
She hath writ a deathless name,
Brave Carolina.

Except for *Dixie,* the most popular Southern song was *The Bonnie Blue Flag,* written by HENRY MCCARTHY. Its words told the story of secession:

First gallant South Carolina nobly took the stand,
Then came Alabama, who took her by the hand; *etc.*

with the refrain:

Hurrah! Hurrah! for Southern rights, hurrah!
Hurrah for the bonnie blue flag that bears a single star.

The North was ready with an answer. With words to the same tune it shouted:

Hurrah! Hurrah! for *equal* rights, hurrah!
Hurrah for the brave old flag that bears the Stripes and Stars!

Northerners celebrated their victories with songs: *Charleston is Ours* and *Richmond is Ours* were typical. Heroes were commemorated by both sides. Flora Byrne's *Jefferson Davis* shared popularity with *General Beauregard's Grand March,* by Mrs. V. G. Coudin. The North sang the praises of *Jenny Wade, the Heroine of Gettysburg,* in a song beginning "Raise high the monumental pile." The death of Ellsworth was mourned with JOSEPH PHILBRICK WEBSTER'S *Brave men, behold your fallen chief.*

One group of song writers was shrewd enough to sense the commercial value of sentimental songs that could be sung by both sides. There were hundreds of these lyrics, possibly the most famous of them, *Tenting on the Old Camp Ground,* written by WALTER KITTREDGE after he was

drafted in 1862. Pacifists were squelched in Civil War days, as they have been in all times of war. One of the most sentimental ballads was Henry Tucker's *Weeping, Sad and Lonely; or When this Cruel War is Over.* CHARLES CARROLL SAWYER was the author of the words. The effect of the song was so mournful that the generals of the Army of the Potomac had to forbid the troops to sing it—it lowered their morale. SEPTIMUS WINNER, another song writer who sometimes appeared under the pen name of Alice Hawthorne, soon answered the Sawyer-Tucker song with *Yes, I Would the Cruel War Were Over,* and then stated some conditions:

. . . . . .

Would the cruel work were done;
With my country undivided
And the battle fought and won.
Let the contest now before us,
Be decided by the sword,
For the war cannot be ended
Till the Union is restored.

It was Winner, under the Hawthorne pseudonym, who wrote *Listen to the Mocking Bird,* and *Whispering Hope.*

Sawyer revelled in sentimentalism, and his fellow poets often found it necessary to publish "answers" to his songs. In *Who will Care for Mother Now?,* set to music by his publishing partner in Brooklyn, C. F. Thompson, he told the story of a dying soldier who wondered what would become of the mother he supported. From Ohio came the reply: *Do Not Grieve for thy Dear Mother; answer to Who will Take Care of Mother Now.* The idea was that Mother would be all right, for Heaven would look after her.

Stephen Foster wrote almost a dozen War songs, but they came from his last years, when his powers were spent and he was grinding out songs to order. None of them is representative of the real Foster. They included the

Father Abraham setting; *Was my Brother in the Battle; Stand Up for the Flag; We've a Million in the Field; Willie has Gone to the War; For the Dear Old Flag I Die;* and several others.

GEORGE FREDERICK ROOT (1820-1895) was one of the most famous of the composers of Northern War songs. Before the years of the War he had made a considerable reputation as a writer of gospel hymns and ballads, but his *Battle Cry of Freedom* and *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp,* were as popular as anything he wrote. Root's songs fell into three groups: sentimental songs, such as *Hazel Dell,* and the ever lovely *There's Music in the Air;* war songs; and finally, sacred songs—*The Shining Shore* and others of the gospel-hymn type.

Root was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, in 1820. When he was six the family moved to North Reading, a town rich in musical history, not far from Boston. From childhood his ambition was to be a musician, and he made the most of the few opportunities that came his way. As a youth he went to Boston and through the help of his teacher, B. F. Baker, he soon began to have pupils of his own, and also taught a number of singing schools. He met Lowell Mason, and was asked to help with the music in the Boston public schools, and in the teachers' classes at the Boston Academy of Music.

About 1845 he went to New York, where he became the music teacher at Abbot's Institute for young ladies. He formed a vocal quartette which became popular and sometimes appeared at the concerts of the New York Philharmonic Society. He went to Europe in 1850 for further study, and in 1853, when Lowell Mason had come to New York, he helped to organize the New York Normal Institute.

The vogue of Stephen Foster's songs made Root want to try his hand at song writing, and so he had a former pupil, the blind Fanny Crosby, write a few verses for him,

and he wrote the music to *Hazel Dell, There's Music in the Air,* and *Rosalie, the Prairie Flower.* A friend in Boston, who had started a publishing business, asked Root for a few songs. Instead of a royalty, Root asked six hundred dollars for the six songs he selected. The publisher thought this figure too high, and sent Root a royalty contract instead. *Rosalie* alone paid $3,000 in royalties.

In 1859 Root went to Chicago. His brother had opened a music store there in partnership with C. M. Cady, under the name of Root & Cady. G. F. Root became associated with the business. The fire of 1871 ruined them temporarily, but the firm was soon restored. In 1872 Root was awarded the Doctor of Music degree by the University of Chicago, and he continued his active career until his death in 1895.

When the War broke out, Root, like many other song writers, tried to write War songs. *The First Gun is Fired* was unsuccessful, but when Lincoln issued his second call for troops, Root read the proclamation and conceived the idea for his *The Battle Cry of Freedom.* The song was written hurriedly at Root & Cady's store. Two popular singers of the day, Frank Lombard and his brother Jules, came to the store and asked for a song to sing at a rally to be held that day in the Court House Square. Root gave them his manuscript copy of the *Battle Cry,* and after the Lombards had sung it over they went directly to the meeting and not only sang it as a duet, but had thousands joining in the refrain before the last verse was ended. Then the Hutchison Family, a travelling troupe of singers, took the song all over the country, and it was soon shouted in camps, on the march, and on the battle field. *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching* enjoyed an almost equal success.

These, of course, were Northern songs, expressing Union thoughts, but some of Root's sentimental songs, such as *Just Before the Battle, Mother,* were sung by the people of

both North and South. Another of this type was *The Vacant Chair,* to verses that Henry Washburn had written about the death of a Lieutenant in the Fifteenth Massachusetts Infantry.

Root was definitely of the Lowell Mason, Webb and Bradbury school, with strong evangelical tendencies, as far as his sacred music was concerned. Probably his most famous hymn was *The Shining Shore,* with its first line, "My days are gliding swiftly by." He wrote no great music, and nothing in the larger forms, except a few cantatas for mixed voices. George P. Upton described him as a courteous, refined gentleman of the old school, always wearing a genial smile, and the cheeriest of optimists.

It was through Root's persuasion that another songwriter, HENRY CLAY WORK (1832-1884), lent his abilities to composing War songs. Work's name is still anathema to the South, for his most famous song, *Marching Through Georgia,* celebrates an event that the South has never condoned, Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea in 1864. No matter what a person's heritage may be, he must admit that *Marching Through Georgia* glorifies episodes that admittedly had their darker sides. Moreover, it goes into details that cannot fail constantly to reopen old wounds.

And yet the seeming immortality of the song has had its humorous aspects. When the Democratic National Convention was held in New York in 1924, the band leader was told to play an appropriate song for each state delegation. *Maryland, my Maryland* received almost hysterical applause; *My Old Kentucky Home* made everyone ecstatic, and then when the misguided leader, stronger on geography than history, swung into *Marching Through Georgia* he was greeted by a silence that turned into hisses and boos noisier than the applause he had heard before.

Work's intense partisanship is understandable. He was born in Connecticut in 1832, and when he was a lad the family moved to Illinois, where the elder Work's anti-

slavery views soon got him into trouble. He helped maintain one of the stations on the famous "underground railway" which helped runaway slaves to escape, and before long he was put in prison for his activities. When he was released in 1845 the family went back to Middletown, poverty stricken.

So young Henry was himself an ardent, fiery Abolitionist. As a boy he thought of little else but music, and when he was very young he sold his first song to Christy's Minstrels —*We're Coming, Sister Mary.* In 1855 he went to Chicago, where he later came to know George Root. He continued his trade as a printer, and often composed the words of his songs as he set up the actual type. There is also a tradition that when he had access to music type he composed his music directly with the type, without first writing out a manuscript copy. If this be true, Work was a good musician; and anyway, it makes a good story.

One of his first War songs was *Kingdom Coming,* which Root & Cady published in 1862. It became popular immediately, and the composer followed it with *Babylon is Fallen* the next year. *Wake, Nicodemus* was published in 1864, and *Marching Through Georgia* in 1865.

Work was famous for temperance songs, for he was an ardent temperance advocate, as well as an Abolitionist. The most famous was *Come Home, Father,* issued by Root & Cady in 1864. Even to-day we hear the immortal opening lines:

> Father, dear father, come home with me now,
> The clock in the belfry strikes one.

And then the rest of the story, with the other verses telling how the clock strikes *two,* and then *three,* when it is too late for father, dear father, to do any good. Others of his songs were *The Song of a Thousand Years, King Bibber's Army, The Lost Letter, The Ship that Never Returned,*

Phantom Footsteps, and *Grandfather's Clock.* Work lived until 1884, when he died suddenly of heart disease.

These are the principal writers and songs associated with the Civil War. They occupy a unique place in song literature, and in our national history. In many ways the songs are historical documents, for they afford a study of the contemporary state of mind of both sides in a conflict that was probably inevitable.

Chapter X

THE SPREAD OF MUSICAL CULTURE

I. WESTWARD EXPANSION

ONE of the remarkable features of the development of music in America is the rapidity with which the inland cities have become music centers. Boston has been a center of culture from its earliest days, Philadelphia has had a nucleus of art and music lovers from its beginnings, and New York, as our principal seaport, has enjoyed a cosmopolitan population that would naturally have its percentage of art patrons. The early pioneers who joined the westward marches were hardy men, noted for their ability to endure hardships and for their dogged persistence in overcoming the terrific odds arrayed against them. Like the early settlers in New England and the South, they had little time for softer pleasures. Men who have spent a long day chopping logs for their cabins can hardly be expected to make immediate plans for the formation of a symphony orchestra. For these reasons, the seaboard cities had a long, running start on their Western cousins in musical matters.

Yet, since 1850, from the time when the mid-West pioneers have had a chance to enjoy themselves, they have more than made up for the time they lost. The history of music in the American provinces is yet to be written, but when the facts are gathered and the full truth is told, it will be something of a revelation. In our day, New York still holds its place as the American center of *world* music, for it is the port of entry; but there are other *American* centers. Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, St. Louis, Rochester,

the Pacific coast towns, in fact all of our large industrial cities are music centers as well. Some musicians still dread the local tag which may result from living in any city but New York, or possibly Boston or Philadelphia, but the day is rapidly passing when they need be afraid of being known as merely Cincinnati, Milwaukee, or any other locality's musicians.

Before 1850 there was little music in the West. The Southwest, of course, could be proud of the opera at New Orleans, which dated from the beginning of the century, but this activity was the result of the French element in a city where conditions were far different from the settlements on the frontiers. There is record of a Haydn Society in Cincinnati, formed in 1819, and a Musical Fund Society in St. Louis in 1838. In 1849 a *Saengerfest* was held in Cincinnati, and a *Musikverein* was founded in Milwaukee during the same year. It is significant that these were towns with large German populations.

As a city, Chicago has almost reached its hundredth birthday. It is also near its musical centennial. In 1833, the few residents heard their first local musician when Mark Beaubien, public ferryman, played his fiddle for the dancing at his Saguenash Tavern. Moreover, he was accompanied by a piano, which his brother had brought to Chicago on a schooner. A year later a Miss Wyeth opened a music school; and the Old Settler's Harmonic Society gave its first concert in the Presbyterian Church. In 1837 Dean and McKenzie opened a theatre, where the nine-year-old Joseph Jefferson played in the company. By 1840 entertainments had multiplied. Barnum came with a minstrel troupe, and Henry Russell and other ballad singers made visits.

The short-lived Chicago Sacred Music Society was organized in 1842, and in 1847 a Mozart Society was formed by Frank Lumbard, who was appointed vocal teacher in the public schools in that same year. This, it is well to remember, was only eleven years after Lowell Mason's first

experiments in the Boston schools, and but nine years after the Boston authorities had made music a regular part of the school routine. Soon after this came the début of Richard Hoffman, the first piano *virtuoso* to visit Chicago, and then other great soloists, vocal and instrumental, included the city on their regular tours. But these beginnings were humble indeed, and the middle of the century found Chicago little advanced in musical culture.

The year 1850 marks two important events in Chicago. In July, theatre-goers heard the first performance of a grand opera—*La Somnambula,* at Rice's Theatre; and in October a Philharmonic Society, which had recently been organized, gave an orchestral concert. This group had been formed by Julius Dyhrenfurth, a German violinist who came to America in 1830, and after giving concerts in the Ohio Valley and in New Orleans and the South, had returned to Germany. He came back in 1847 and settled in Chicago. The orchestra grew from frequent gatherings of German musicians at Dyhrenfurth's home. After they had practised and played together for a time, they decided to give a few concerts, and advertised for subscriptions to a series of eight programs, one a week. The first presented an orchestral potpourri, a song with vocal quartet accompaniment, a 'cello solo, a *Chicago Waltz* written by one of the players (Carlino Lenssen), a medley overture of Negro airs, and a chorus from Weber's *Preciosa.*

The Philharmonic under Dyhrenfurth lasted for two seasons, but its career was financially disastrous. Efforts were made to revive the society, and in 1853 it was decided that the band should be legally incorporated. The petition made something of a stir at Springfield, the state capital. Some of the farmer members of the legislature were a bit scornful of such trivialities as musical societies. Their feeling may account for the title of the bill when it was finally passed—"an act to encourage the science of fiddling." In these years two or three conductors tried unsuccessful hands

at directing the orchestra, until Carl Bergmann came to Chicago in 1854. He thought of moving from New York permanently. When he was appointed conductor of the Philharmonic there was trouble among the men, and Bergmann hurriedly resigned and left town.

Then this Chicago Philharmonic fell to pieces. A teacher named C. W. Webster tried to bring it together in 1856 but with no good results. Then a trumpet player from the old Germania orchestra, Henry Ahner, came to Chicago and built up a really good orchestra of twenty-six players. He gave concerts for two seasons, which were popular for a time, but later failed to attract an audience. Another ex-Germanian followed Ahner—Julius Unger. He re-organized Ahner's orchestra and gave afternoon concerts. Competition then appeared; a musician with the musical name of J. M. Mozart organized a rival orchestra and drove Unger out of town. Then Mozart found his own reward in bankruptcy.

Meanwhile opera troupes were playing regularly at the theatres. In December of 1859, two companies fought an opera war; an English troupe at McVicker's and an Italian company at Metropolitan Hall. The Englishmen won. In 1865 the Crosby Opera House was built by the enterprising Uranus H. Crosby. The magnificent structure was a combined opera house, art gallery and studio building. For a year or so it housed lavish productions of opera with the finest singers of the day, but somehow the enterprise fell on evil ways, and before many years had passed it was given over to Humpty-Dumpty shows, families of bell ringers, trained animals, acrobats, and pantomimes. In 1871 the opera house was restored to its original purpose and Max Maretzek brought a German troupe to its stage. During the Summer and Fall it was redecorated, and it was about to be re-opened when the great fire in October ruined the Crosby Opera House and almost everything else in Chicago. The fire marked the end and the beginning of

two distinct epochs in Chicago's career—musical and otherwise.

The year 1860, like 1850, brought two important musical events to Chicago. One was the coming of HANS BALATKA from Milwaukee. Balatka was a Moravian who had been a choral conductor in Vienna. He came to Milwaukee in 1849, where he directed the newly formed *Musikverein.* In 1857 he led the annual Northwestern Saengerfest in Chicago, and made such a favorable impression that he was persuaded to live in Chicago. So in 1860 he left Milwaukee, and was soon appointed conductor of the once more re-organized Philharmonic. His first program was given in Bryant Hall, and it contained not only an entire symphony (Beethoven's Second, which the Germanians had played in Chicago on their visit some years before), but also the first performance of a Wagner composition in Chicago—the chorus from *Tannhauser.* The Balatka concerts became the fashion, and the conductor a popular idol. This vogue lasted for about six years, and in the seventh season the audiences grew thinner, and the trustees decided it was of no use to go further in debt. There was an attempt to revive the orchestra in 1868 and '69, but on the 29th of November, 1869, the day following one of Balatka's concerts, a young conductor from the East, Theodore Thomas, gave a concert with his Central Park Garden Orchestra from New York. The finesse of this band, the new meanings it gave to the music, were something that Chicagoans had never heard before. Thomas's concert sounded the death of the Balatka orchestra, for this man Thomas was later to mean everything to music in Chicago.

Balatka, despite his inability to equal Thomas's success, had a long and honorable career in American music. He lived until 1899 and directed many organizations in Chicago and Milwaukee. He was also something of a composer, and wrote a cantata, many choruses, some songs and orchestral fantasias. Chicago owes him a great debt—he was

really the first to espouse the cause of higher music there. He introduced eight of Beethoven's symphonies; two by Mozart; one by Mendelssohn; and several by Haydn and Schubert.

The other musical event of 1860 created less of a stir than Balatka's coming, but it was significant. Henri DeClerque, a violinist, inaugurated a series of chamber music recitals known as the Briggs House Concerts. The personnel consisted of DeClerque, a second violin, a 'cello and a piano. They gave Chicago its first hearing of the chamber music of the classicists, and of the romantics. Again Chicago was only a few years behind the East. The Mendelssohn Quintette Club had been organized in Boston in 1849, the Eisfeld Chamber Music Concerts in New York in 1851, and the Mason-Thomas recitals in New York (of which more in the next chapter) in 1855. Hans Balatka also organized chamber music concerts, in 1863, which had the advantage of a complete string quartet, augmented by a piano. It is not to be supposed that these organizations prospered—chamber music has rarely proved a box-office attraction for the general public—but the mere fact that the concerts were given at all is testimony to the fact that there were worthy attempts at music of a high order in places other than the East, at a date not much later than they were first offered in the older centers.

The fact that intensive musical activity seemed to start from 1850 in the West is explained not alone by the theory that the mid-West settlers by this time had opportunity to turn their thoughts to leisure enjoyment, although this may have had much to do with it. The wholesale immigration from Central Europe, which commenced in the late forties, affected the West as well as the East—possibly to an even greater degree. The German musicians who came to this country in 1848, and during the following years, sought many fields, and many of them settled in cities to which their friends had preceded them. We have seen

how some of the members of the Germanian Orchestra finally landed in Chicago. It was the same in other cities; Cincinnati, St. Louis, Louisville, Chicago and Milwaukee.

The Saengerfest which was held in Cincinnati in 1849 was the first meeting of the several German singing societies of mid-West cities. From this the North-American Saengerbund was formed, and its festivals soon grew to large proportions. In 1870 one of them was again held in Cincinnati. A large hall was built to accommodate the 2,000 singers and the audience. Cincinnati liked the festival so much that in 1873 the first annual Cincinnati Festival was held, under the direction of Theodore Thomas, who conducted the annual concerts for many years.

Of course, the travelling *virtuosi* and prima donnas, who visited every city of importance in the West, did their part in moulding the public taste for music; but brilliant concert stars have always had a box office value that sometimes has little to do with music. People like to see famous artists, even though they cannot understand or enjoy their music. It is always the resident musical activity that is the better indication of the real musical life of a city, and it is significant that from 1850, hundreds of musicians and teachers found that they could gain a respectable livelihood in various parts of the country.

2. WILLIAM MASON
(1829-1908)

Among the musical missionaries who have had a part in developing music in this country, the name of William Mason should always be remembered. Like his father, Lowell Mason, he had the spirit of a pioneer. He distinguished himself in several directions, and in at least two of them he was an influence of prime importance. He sacrificed much to bring chamber music to the public, and to play it so often that people would grow to like it. As a piano

teacher, he is in a large part responsible for the really excellent piano playing in this country to-day. He was among the first of the American teachers to evolve a method for acquiring touch, and the remarkable feature of his work is that Mason evolved by empirical methods certain principles of muscular control that have recently been discovered by scientists after years of patient research. Then, too, he was a prolific composer of piano pieces that had considerable vogue for many years.

William Mason was born in Boston, January 24, 1829. He showed a love for music when he was a little child, and of course his musician father gave him every opportunity to develop his talents. When he was small, he had little instruction in piano playing, but he used to practice regularly, and his mother sat by him and helped him as much as she could. He really acquired a remarkable facility.

He became useful to his father as an accompanist, and he went with him to many of the musical conventions. He also became an organist, and held several church positions before he was out of his 'teens. He made his first public appearance as a pianist when he was seventeen, at one of the concerts of his father's Boston Academy of Music. In the same year he played the piano part in a series of six chamber music concerts, given by the Harvard Musical Association at the piano warerooms of Jonas Chickering.

He began studying with Henry Schmidt, a violinist who was a careful and able piano teacher as well. It was Schmidt who helped him evolve what has since been known as the Mason "elastic finger touch," accomplished by quietly drawing the finger tips inward toward the palm of the hand. Mason analyzed the playing of the various concert pianists who came to Boston. He learned much from DeMeyer's method of tone production, and spent hours at the piano imitating his manner and style, and striving to acquire the habit of devitalizing the upper arm muscles. He learned to play for hours without tiring, and at length arrived at

the conclusion that the secrets of touch and technique lay not so much in the muscles of the fingers as in those of the arm.

Then came the years abroad, when Mason lived among the most celebrated of the world's musicians, and not only gained the finest instruction, but formed rich associations that colored the rest of his long and active life. Armed with introductions from Boston musicians, he sailed in 1849 on the side-wheel steamer *Herrman*. These were the years of the German revolutions, when foreign musicians found it profitable, and in some cases healthier, to come to America. Mason had intended to go directly to Leipsic to study with Moscheles, but his plans had to be postponed because of the insurrections. But the time was well spent, for he was invited to visit Julius Schuberth, the famous music publisher from Hamburg he had met on the steamer. Schuberth took a fancy to one of Mason's pieces, *Les Perles de Roseé,* and when he went to Weimar he showed it to Liszt, who was delighted with it and gladly accepted the young composer's dedication. Schuberth's report of this visit gave Mason courage to try immediately what he had intended to do later, to ask Liszt to take him for a pupil. Liszt replied with a vaguely worded letter, which Mason took for a polite refusal. Several years after, when Mason met him at Weimar, Liszt remarked that he never took pupils for regular lessons, but that those who lived in Weimar had frequent opportunity to hear him and to meet the artists who visited him. Liszt actually meant this as an invitation to study with him, but Mason was a bit too literal to take the remarks as they were meant. When he actually did go to Liszt for study in 1853, he was surprised to learn that Liszt had been wondering why he had not come before.

In the meantime he worked with Moscheles, and studied harmony and counterpoint with Hauptmann. Then he went to Dreyschock in Prague, where he had over one

hundred lessons. In 1853 he received an invitation from Sir Julius Benedict in London, to play at one of the concerts of the Harmonic Union in Exeter Hall. The praise of the critics was somewhat qualified. The *Times* reviewer wrote:

Mr. William Mason was somewhat foolishly, we think, announced as "the first American pianist who had ever performed before an English audience,"—as if the bare fact of nationality, independent of actual merit, was a matter of any importance. Happily Mr. Mason possesses talent; and although very young, already exhibits promise of excellence. He played the pianoforte part in Weber's Concert Stuck with a great deal of spirit; so well, indeed that we are confident he will play it still better when he has acquired a more perfect command of the instrument. It is in mechanism that Mr. Mason is deficient. This deficiency makes him nervous and uncertain, imparts unsteadiness to his accentuation, and robs his passages of clearness. He has, nevertheless, a light and elastic touch, and evidently understands his author.

The *Chronicle* was no more flattering:

A pianist from New York, Mr. William Mason, who appeared for the first time in London, selected somewhat boldly for his début the single concerto of Weber. His performance was smoothly correct, but tame and uniform. His touch is light, rapid, but it wants delicacy of expression, and there is also a lack of color and verve about his playing. Mr. Mason is, no doubt, an able and accomplished pianist; but more than that is demanded of those who would now-a-days take the place to which he aspires in his art.

It is significant that both accounts, contradictory in many points, should praise his touch.

After the London visit Mason decided to go directly to Liszt at Weimar. There might still be hope of being accepted as a pupil. When he arrived, Liszt remarked that Mason let people wait for him for a long time. Then he told him to go to Leipsic and select a piano; and that he could find pleasant rooms in the same house with Klindworth. And so Mason stayed at Weimar for a year and three months, a member of the little group that studied under the wing of one of the greatest pianists of all time. There were only three of them—Karl Klindworth from

Hanover, Dionys Bruckner from Munich, and Mason. Joachim Raff was there too, a former pupil, who acted as Liszt's private secretary.

There were no formal lessons. Mason wrote in his memoirs:[1]

> His idea was that the pupils whom he accepted should all be far enough advanced to practice and prepare themselves without routine instruction, and he expected them to be ready whenever he gave them an opportunity to play. . . . We constituted, as it were a family, for while we had our own apartments in the city, we all enjoyed the freedom of Liszt's home, and were at liberty to come and go as we liked . . . We were always quite at ease in those lower rooms, but on ceremonial occasions we were invited up-stairs to the drawing room, where Liszt had his favorite Érard. . . . During the entire time I was with him I did not see him give a regular lesson in the pedagogical sense. He would notify us to come up to the Altenburg [Liszt's home]. . . . We would go there, and he would call on us to play. I remember very well the first time I played to him after I had been accepted as a pupil. . . . After I was well started he began to get excited. He made audible suggestions, inciting me to put more enthusiasm into my playing, and occasionally he would push me gently off the chair and sit down at the piano and play a phrase or two himself by way of illustration. He gradually got me worked up to such a pitch of enthusiasm that I put all the grit that was in me into my playing.

All kinds of musicians came to Weimar. The pupils met them all, heard them play and in turn played for them. Berlioz, Joachim, Wieniawski, and Rubinstein were welcome visitors. One evening Liszt sent for the "boys" to come up to his house to meet a twenty-year-old composer who was said to be very talented. His name was Brahms, and he was making a concert tour with Rémenyi, the violinist. Brahms was so nervous that he was unable to play his music, so Liszt took the almost illegible manuscripts and played at sight the E flat minor Scherzo, and part of the first sonata. Brahms was delighted. Then some one asked Liszt to play his own sonata. After he had started Brahms

[1] *Memories of a Musical Life,* by William Mason: The Century Co.

dozed in his chair, and Liszt rose from the piano and left the room. Soon after this, Brahms had his famous meeting with Schumann, who published an article that established Brahms' fame throughout Europe—to the utter amazement of the Liszt group at Weimar.

There were others whom Mason met, at Weimar and elsewhere. He called on Schumann in 1850. He was received by Wagner in 1852, long before the great composer had been recognized as a towering giant. With these associations, and a background that had been gained by few American musicians of his time, Mason came home in 1854 to take up his life work in his own country.

His first act on landing was to hurry to Boston, to see again the daughter of George James Webb, his father's associate. Mason had met the young lady years before and had never forgotten her. They became engaged, and were married a few years later.

His first musical enterprise was a concert tour, possibly the first of its kind ever undertaken by a pianist alone. Concerts had generally offered a variety of talent. He went as far as Chicago, stopping for recitals at Albany, Troy, Utica and all the towns along the way. He had a versatile manager, Oliver Dyer, who had been associated with Mason's brothers, Daniel and Lowell, in their music publishing business. Dyer was a newspaper man who could write well, and he prepared a pamphlet about Mason which he distributed among the townsfolk before the concerts. Then he would go to the newspaper editors, and offer to do odd reporting jobs for them. They were so grateful that they would print any advance notices of Mason's concerts that Dyer might give them.

On the way to Chicago Mason's audiences were none too large, and when they had played two concerts in Chicago, Dyer was all for a speedy return to New York, while they still had their carfare. Mason had more courage; he insisted on playing again in each of the towns they had visited,

to see if the people had liked his playing well enough to come again. The halls were filled on the return trip.

He always closed his program with improvisations on a theme suggested by the audience. This was a custom started by Ferdinand Hiller, and no doubt it did lighten the proceedings for many of the listeners. All sorts of tunes were suggested, but the climax came when some one suggested that he play *Old Hundred* with one hand, and *Yankee Doodle* with the other. He did it, but he had to mollify the religious element by announcing afterwards that he meant no disrespect to *Old Hundred.*

Mason soon decided that the career of piano *virtuoso* was not for him. It was for this that he had prepared himself in Europe, and his concert tour had been encouraging. Yet he disliked the constant repetition of the public's favorite pieces, and he had already commenced to take pupils. He found himself singularly well fitted to teach. The occasional engagements with the New York Philharmonic, and the chamber music recitals would satisfy his desire for public performance.

Probably the immediate reason for starting the chamber music concerts was to introduce the Brahms Grand Trio in B major, Opus 8. He had for some time wanted to give New York music lovers something of the flavor of Weimar. Every Sunday morning he had heard the Weimar String Quartet in the two lower rooms of Liszt's house, and to Mason this had meant Go thou and do likewise. So he gathered a quartet about him. Theodore Thomas was first violin, Joseph Mosenthal, second, George Matzka, viola, and Carl Bergmann 'cello. When friction developed between Bergmann and Thomas, Bergmann resigned and Frederick Bergner took his place. Thomas became the leader, and the maker of the programs, a field in which he displayed true genius. The first program was given in Dodworth's Hall, next to Grace Church on Broadway. The major works were the Brahms trio, and the Schubert D

minor quartet. There were also solos, vocal and instrumental, but in a few years the concerts were devoted to chamber music exclusively.

The refusal to compromise with public taste represented a real sacrifice. Often there was little left in the cash box after the hall rent was paid; yet in spite of all discouragements, the valiant little group played on for thirteen years. Then Thomas had other interests, he had become an orchestral conductor, and anyway the real missionary work was done. The last concert was given April 11, 1868. Though they played mostly in New York, the Mason-Thomas Quintet went regularly to Farmington, Connecticut, where the music teacher of Miss Porter's School, Karl Klauser, had aroused a real interest in music. There were also frequent concerts in Brooklyn, and in Orange, New Jersey.

Mason's influence as a teacher was tremendous. Many of his pupils, such men as W. S. B. Mathews, William Sherwood, and others, studied with him, became his disciples, and passed his methods on to their own pupils, who in their turn became teachers. His technical works, *Touch and Technic,* and several others, are still available to teachers and students, and they are still being used.

His compositions are not played as much to-day as they used to be. They belonged to a period of music that has quite definitely passed, and as music they have not had enough vitality to survive their idiom. *Silver Spring,* named for his father's estate in Orange, was highly popular. *Amitié pour Amitié* was a favorite with Liszt, who often played it. The *Ballade* and *Capriccio Fantastico* were well contrived and graceful.

But it is not as a composer that William Mason will be known. His place as a musical missionary, as a champion of the highest standards, and as the foremost piano teacher of his day, seems permanently assured. His span of life turned the century; he lived until 1908, when he died in

New York in his eightieth year. He had a life full of many fine things; advantages in his youth that he was able to use; years of activity, and full recognition by friends and the public of all he had accomplished.

3. THEODORE THOMAS
(1835-1905)

I

Theodore Thomas is an epic figure in American history—one of our great heroes. Compare the state of musical culture at the time of the Civil War with conditions to-day, and then thank Theodore Thomas for the difference. It is through his efforts that this country is the home of the best in orchestral music, that almost all of our major cities have symphony orchestras of the first rank, and, what is more important, that in each of these cities there is a public that will listen to the finest symphonic works. As for our composers, they can thank Thomas for orchestras to play their music, and to provide an incentive for writing in the larger forms.

It is important that Thomas was a masterful conductor, that he trained his men to standards of performance that had been unknown in this country, but it was more important that his whole career was devoted to carrying out a plan of education shrewdly calculated to develop our taste for good music. Other conductors had been concerned with single programs. Thomas occupied himself with a lifelong *series* of programs, progressively planned to cultivate the public's liking for the best in music literature.

Jullien had tried this, and so had the Germanians, but with one essential difference from the methods of Thomas. Like the early programs that Thomas arranged, theirs offered lighter works to offset the bugbear of the symphonies that appeared on their lists. But their lighter music was generally trash, and Thomas never offered any piece that

lacked musical merit, no matter how light it might be. Jullien relied on theatrical methods to draw the crowds—*Firemen's Quadrilles* with real firemen. The Germanians had even produced in classic Boston a *Railroad Gallop,* illustrated by a miniature locomotive that ran around in a circle, with a tuft of black wool fastened to its funnel in lieu of real smoke.

When Thomas made a program he selected lighter pieces —and they were often very light—chiefly for their relation to the heavier works they were paired with. He would play a symphony that was over the heads of all but a few of his listeners. Then he would offer a waltz or light overture in which the themes would have some relation to those of the symphony. He knew that if he could get people to recognize the themes of a symphony they would grow eventually to like it. Almost all of his programs have been preserved in the second volume of his autobiography; those who plan courses in music appreciation will do well to study them.

There were orchestras before Thomas's time, but the only group that was in any degree permanent was the New York Philharmonic, a band whose members played together more for the love of it than from any artistic results they achieved, or for any notable support they had from the public. In the early days there were from three to five concerts a season, and the public was admitted to some of the rehearsals. If a player had a professional engagement that would bring him real money, he kept it instead of going to rehearsal. Hence the orchestra was often incomplete, and clarinet or oboe parts would be played on a violin, or a 'cello would do service for a bassoon. The concerts were held in Apollo Hall. Rough wooden benches were dragged in for the audience, and the music was a pleasant background for conversation. Yet the orchestra played bravely ahead, and as one commentator remarked, the players generally finished their pieces at the same time. Such was the

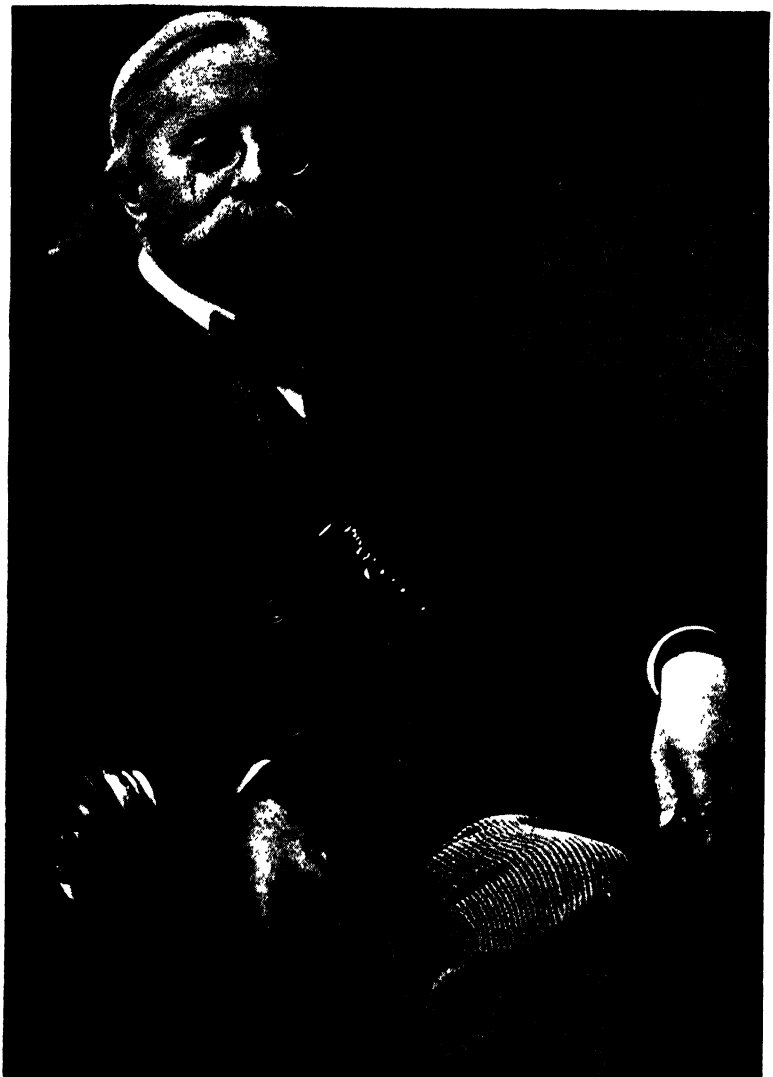
state of musical culture when Thomas began his notable career. Starting with nothing but an inner feeling that people would come to want good music if it was brought to them, he devoted his life to their education. He was our first prophet of good music for the masses, and to him the term good music meant good music.

The list of positions he held during his lifetime reads like a catalog of all the organizations in our musical history. And he paid the price of his eminence. When any great man holds a number of offices, and stays in the public eye for many years, he eventually becomes the target for savage attacks from every direction. Thomas was no exception. If all the hostile criticisms were gathered together and printed without comment, we would learn that he was a villain of the deepest hue. Incompetent, arrogant, yes, even dishonest. But when the truth was learned, the hero emerged untarnished and triumphant, greater for the attacks he had ignored.

II

And now for the catalog of his doings—a long, long list. He was brought to America in 1845 as a lad of ten. His father had been *Stadtpfeifer,* or town musician, in Esens, Germany. There were too many little brothers and sisters to support on the meagre income the little town could offer, so America beckoned. When they came to New York things were not much better, so little Theodore had to tuck his violin under his arm, and go out to play in all kinds of places—for dances, weddings, theatres, even in saloons where he passed the hat. He never had much training, but his inordinate curiosity led him into all sorts of artistic adventures, and he had the ability to absorb knowledge for himself. He had the kind of youth that makes great men, or causes the downfall of weaklings.

When he was still in his 'teens he took a concert trip



Knickerbocker Photo Service.

William Mason.

(See page 286.)

Theodore Thomas

(See page 294.)

through the South, all on his own. When he came to a town he would tack up a few handwritten posters announcing a concert by "Master T. T.," the remarkable prodigy. Then he would stand at the door and take in the money until he decided that all who were coming had arrived, rush backstage to change his clothes, and then appear before the audience with his violin.

Among his friends in New York, the Dodworth family did more than any one else to find him work. These Dodworths deserve a place by themselves in our musical annals. All of them did something musical. Harvey was a cornettist, Allen played the violin. C. Dodworth was a *virtuoso* on the trombone, and C. R. played the concertina. They had a hall in Broadway next to Grace Church. Here the Mason-Thomas Quintette later gave its matinées. The Dodworths had orchestras for dances, weddings or banquets. They offered brass bands with uniforms. They kept a music store; all of them were composers. Polkas, quicksteps, marches and quadrilles flowed easily from their pens. They were one of the mainstays of the early Philharmonic. Whenever young Theodore Thomas needed money, he could count on Harvey Dodworth to find something for him to do; often a half-dollar engagement to play all night for a dance.

When Jullien came in 1853, Thomas was chosen as a first violin. The antics of the conductor disgusted him, but he nevertheless had his first idea of the symphony from playing in this great orchestra. It gave him something to think about—thoughts that later shaped the whole work of his life. He was elected a member of the Philharmonic in 1854, and in the next year the Mason-Thomas chamber concerts began. He travelled with famous soloists—Thalberg and others as a solo violinist. He was appointed concert master of the opera house orchestra. In 1858 he was suddenly called to take Anschütz' place as conductor,

and led a performance of Halèvy's *Jewess,* a score he had never seen before. The retirement of Anschütz became permanent, and Thomas was made conductor.

Conducting was a revelation to him. He was doing well as a violinist, looking forward to the career of *virtuoso.* Yet there was more thrill in leading an orchestra, it could be played as an instrument with subtle changes of color. And what is more important, he could make his life work the development of America's taste for music. He organized an orchestra of his own, and gave his first concert in Irving Hall, New York, May 13, 1862. This was the beginning of new things for musical America.

He soon realized that only a permanent orchestra could give the best results. An orchestra in which the players devoted all of their time to its rehearsals and concerts; a group whose members were under the sole control of their conductor; whose players were not constantly lowering their standards and injuring their tone by playing for dances, and staying out late nights to keep other engagements.

Without a subsidy, he found that the only way to maintain such an orchestra was by having enough concerts each season to keep its members busy. This meant travelling, and thus the Thomas Highway was finally established. It reached from New England to the Pacific Coast. To all the principal cities of the country, playing in whatever halls the towns offered—churches or railroad stations, it made no difference. For each of these cities this greatest of all program makers adopted his idea of progressive programs—leading gradually from the familiar to the unfamiliar. Always having something on each program that was a little above the heads of most of the audience, but not too far beyond their liking. Then compensating them with something more obviously tuneful. All of this until his work was done, and he was at the end of his career in Chicago, with a subsidized orchestra, backed by the authority of his trustees to make no concessions to the public taste, but to

reap the benefit of his missionary work by playing only that which belonged on a true symphony program.

III

It sounds as though it had all been an easy and pleasant path. It most decidedly was not. Any one but a man of iron and steel would have quit after a few years of it. In fact most of them who tried it were beaten before they began.

In 1862 Thomas was made alternate conductor with Theodor Eisfeld of the Brooklyn Philharmonic Society. Four years later he became its sole conductor. He also had his own orchestra and concerts. In 1866 he started his Summer concerts at Terrace Garden, where he offered light music interspersed with masterworks, and those who came to listen could bring or buy refreshments. Two years later these concerts were moved to the Central Park Garden. In two more years he had the training of his audiences well under way. He remarked in his note-book: "At last the Summer programs show a respectable character and we are rid of the cornet! Occasionally a whole symphony is given."

By 1867 his orchestra was truly a permanent one, and on his own resources he was able to guarantee his men a full season's work. The first tour came in 1869, and he dropped his poorly attended New York concerts, until a delegation of prominent citizens begged him to give them again. He had visited Chicago, and the Chicago Philharmonic died soon after the citizens had once heard the Thomas orchestra. When other Summer organizations, principally bands, gave him competition for his Central Park Garden concerts in New York, he was invited to give them in the old Exposition Hall in Chicago.

In 1873 he was asked to organize and conduct the Cincinnati Festival. Under his direction it grew to be one of the finest musical events in the world. He had charge of

the Philadelphia Centennial Concerts in 1876. Their failure was financial rather than artistic. The next year the New York Philharmonic insisted that he be its conductor. He had been offered the position before, but he would not give up his own orchestra. This time he consented, for he was allowed to keep his own band in addition to his new duties. He arranged that his own concerts would be lighter than the programs of the Philharmonic, so that there would be no competition.

In 1878 he was asked to come to Cincinnati, to head the newly formed College of Music. He thought he saw a chance to found an institution that would fulfil his ideals and dreams for an educational center, but he endured the task for only a year. He resigned when he found that the backers of the school intended it as a commercial rather than an artistic enterprise. Thomas had no time to waste on purely commercial ventures.

New York, which had had a share in his persecution, welcomed him back, and he was again made conductor of the Philharmonic. The orchestra was in bad shape, its receipts had fallen to their lowest point, and the playing was far from good. Thomas brought it to heights far beyond its former achievements in his first season. More people came to the concerts, and the men made more money. In 1882 he was asked to organize mammoth festivals in New York and in Chicago.

He made a serious blunder in 1885. He was under the impression that America would welcome an American venture in opera producing. He was induced to become conductor of an enterprise presumably sponsored by the wealthiest men of the country. He was led to think that the backers of the newly formed American Opera Company would carry it along even though it might lose money. He was mistaken, for at the end of the first season the deficit frightened these backers away. It was generally agreed that opera had never been given so magnificently in this

country, but the company was left to founder, and Thomas, who had been merely a salaried employee (for a long time without the salary), was attacked as a dead beat who failed to make good his promises.

He had known financial troubles before. When he was invited to give the concerts at the Philadelphia Centennial, the invitation had been entirely honorary. Thomas was expected to give the concerts at his own risk, and take the chances of profit and loss. The people who came to the Exposition came to see, and not to listen. Affairs became so bad that one day the audience included the sheriff, who loved the music of the auction block more than that of the orchestra. Thomas could have evaded all his debts by voluntary bankruptcy, but he preferred an easy conscience, and he paid off every cent he owed, even though it took him twelve years to do it.

Then came more years of travelling with his orchestra. His work was having its effect. The Boston Symphony Orchestra was founded and supported by Major Higginson in 1881, directly as the result of the Thomas concerts in Boston. This took Boston from the Thomas itinerary, but Thomas bore the loss of territory with the knowledge that it was for this he was working. In later years his territory was continually cut by the establishment of permanent orchestras in cities where he had created the desire for them. Yet to his last, weary days, he was continually taking the Chicago Orchestra to towns that had none of their own.

IV

The years after the opera tragedy were bad ones for Thomas. New York seemed to think that he was tarnished with the blame, though his only sin had been to do a good job. There was keen rivalry among the orchestras in New York. Back in 1878 the Symphony Society of New York had been founded as a competitor of both the Philharmonic and Thomas' own orchestra. There were factions. The

followers of Leopold and Walter Damrosch and later of Seidl taunted those of Thomas, and rivalry was fostered where none might have arisen had the artists been left to arrange things for themselves. When Chicago beckoned in 1891 it found Thomas in a receptive state of mind. He was weary of promises, and here was a group of fifty Chicago business men who had actually signed pledges to contribute $1,000 each to make up the deficit that might be incurred by the symphony orchestra they wanted for their city.

A chance to get together the men from his old orchestra, which he had been forced to disband, everything he had dreamed of, yes, he would leave even New York for that. The New York that had turned its back to him, but which was nevertheless his home. He signed the contract, and became Chicago's. New York suddenly awoke to his leaving, and rushed to give him everything Chicago had offered, and more. He had given his word to Chicago, and he went.

For fourteen years he directed the Chicago Orchestra. The splendid concerts of those fourteen seasons are models of program-making for any conductor, anywhere. Standard works and new experiments, both were represented. Always aiming a little beyond the public taste, he was constantly bringing it to a higher level. And yet the hostile press still hounded him. Why ask people to listen to Wagner when they would rather hear Yankee Doodle? Who is this Thomas person that disturbs our idea of what we ought to like? And the guarantors continued to pay their share of the deficit without a whimper. And Thomas turned down handsome offers from Boston and elsewhere, because his friends in Chicago had the courage to back him.

1893 brought another failure—one that almost finished his career, bringing torment that would have destroyed a weaker man. He was appointed director of music for the Chicago World's Fair. He immediately set about making plans for an all-summer festival that would show the world

what America was doing in music, and America the music of the world. He arranged for an orchestra of over a hundred, and for an exposition chorus. He invited the leading soloists of the world to appear in the concert hall, he asked the finest orchestras of America and Europe, and the foremost choruses to come and give concerts. It was a mammoth plan, conceived by a man of great vision.

When he accepted the post he had been careful to specify that the musical events of the fair were to be run separately from the exhibits of musical merchandise. This condition looked well on paper, but it was not to be taken seriously by the business men and politicians in charge of the exposition. It happened that Steinway & Sons, whose pianos were played by several of the soloists, was not one of the exhibitors. Those who had spent their good money for exhibit space could see no reason why a piano that was not exhibited should get the free advertising that came from the use of its piano in the concert hall. Thomas saw the justice of this, but the great artists had already been invited to play, and he had always been a firm believer in allowing musicians to choose their own instruments. So in defiance of the ruling against non-exhibited pianos the proceedings commenced with a concert at which Paderewski played his Steinway.

The storm broke; the autocrat must be in the pay of instrument manufacturers. He was brought up on charges, hostile newspapers slung mud from the river bottom—Thomas was a crook. Even proof that he was innocent, incapable of being bribed, could not still the savage snarling of his enemies. Yet it was impossible to force his resignation, and the concerts proceeded according to the huge schedule. Finally the financial panic of 1893 nearly ruined the fair. People could no longer afford the trip to Chicago, and in August the foes of Theodore Thomas had their revenge by cutting his appropriation for music. Seeing no chance of continuing his plans he resigned, and went East to

his Summer home in Maine for a chance to cure his hurt. Times improved, people had more money, and the fair was again prosperous. Thomas was invited to come back, but he had had enough, and he felt he couldn't stand much more. He waited to join his friends until it was time for the third season of the Chicago Orchestra.

V

One of the significant features of his program at the Chicago Fair was the invitation to American composers to write works for performance. Those with established reputations—Paine, Chadwick, Foote, Mrs. Beach, Dudley Buck, and others—were definitely commissioned to compose something for the occasion. Other composers were invited to submit works to a committee of judges. Twenty-three were submitted, and seven were chosen.

Thomas was all for the American composer, but he always said that he would never play anything merely because it was American. It must be good music. Study of his programs reveals the fact that as the years progressed he found more and more American works that deserved performance, and he was always the first to welcome them when they came. And it was because of Theodore Thomas that there are orchestras to-day to play the works of American or of any composers.

When Thomas died January 4, 1905, he had lived to see the last of his dreams fulfilled—the building of a permanent home for his permanent orchestra—and the concert which dedicated Orchestra Hall in Chicago was the greatest triumph of his career. He was still assailed by the press, chiefly because the orchestra did not sound as it had in the great Auditorium where it had been necessary to play much louder. But though the sound of the orchestra was new to the ears of the public, Thomas went to his end knowing that it would not be long before its tone could be adjusted to the new and better acoustics. He also knew that the

young assistant conductor he had selected some years before —Frederick Stock—was fully capable of doing the job, though he must have dearly wanted to do it himself, and thus vindicate his plans and his unfailing judgment.

4. OTHER TEACHERS AND COMPOSERS OF THE PERIOD

There were many others, contemporaries of Mason and Thomas, who did much to shape our musical culture. Some of them came from abroad and some were American born. They all had a hand in making us musical, and in training teachers who are still at work. Some of them wrote music representative of the period, important as a link in the development of our music.

RICHARD HOFFMAN (1831-1909) was an Englishman who came to America when he was sixteen years old. He was the well-trained son of an accomplished musician. He had studied with DeMeyer, Moscheles, Rubinstein and Liszt, and was a talented pianist by the time he arrived in America. He made his début with the Philharmonic in New York, when he played a Mendelssohn concerto. He played at Jenny Lind's first concert at Castle Garden, and was engaged for her concert tour. In 1854 he introduced Chopin's concerto in E minor to the Philharmonic audiences, and was elected an honorary member of the society. When the Philharmonic gave its fiftieth anniversary concert in 1892, Hoffman was a soloist. Then, when he celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his own coming to America, his friends gave him a testimonial concert.

As a composer Hoffman was prolific; many of his works were effective transcriptions of popular orchestral works—the scherzo from Mendelssohn's *Scotch* symphony, airs from *Trovatore* and other operas. There were also many original works that were considerably used; a *Caprice de Concert; Impromptus; Tarantelles;* and an effective anthem for mixed quartet based on the 137th Psalm—*By the*

Waters of Babylon. As a teacher Hoffman stood high in his profession. Though he could command his own terms he accepted many talented pupils for what they could pay. He lived to be honored at an old age, and died in Mount Kisco, New York.

SEBASTIAN BACH MILLS (1838-1898), another English pianist, like his colleague Hoffman, was influential as a teacher. He was always fond of getting showy effects from his pupils, but he was nevertheless careful to play good music on his own programs. For many years he had a reputation for introducing works new to New York. Among them were Chopin's *Fantasia,* and F minor piano concerto, Mozart's posthumous concerto in C, Liszt's E flat concerto, and the Weber-Liszt *Polonaise.* He came to New York as a visiting pianist in 1856, and was so warmly received that he made his home in New York, though he made frequent concert trips to Europe. Among his many pupils was Homer Bartlett, of whom we shall hear more later.

He was a prolific composer for the piano, and if most of his pieces were frothy and trivial, that was what the public of the day wanted most from its recital favorites. *Recollections of Home,* the first *Tarentelle, Fairy Fingers,* the second *Barcarolle,* were ready favorites. There were also *The Murmuring Fountain,* and transcriptions of favorite melodies—*Home, Sweet Home,* and others.

FRÉDÉRIC LOUIS RITTER (1834-1891), an Alsatian music teacher, is known to-day principally as the author of the first complete history of music in this country, *Music in America,* written in 1883. This work was useful, because it was truly the first thorough study of the subject. Yet he was not in sympathy with our musical past, and some of his scathing remarks were uncalled for. Moreover, he was not always accurate, and not particularly careful to confirm his statements of fact.

Ritter came to America in 1856, when he went to Cin-

cinnati to organize the Cecilia Choral Society, and a Philharmonic Orchestra. He came to New York in 1861, where he stayed as teacher and conductor of choral societies until he was appointed director of music at Vassar College in 1878. Eventually he returned to Europe, and died in Antwerp in 1891. In addition to his *Music in America,* he was the author of a two-volume *History of Music,* and a volume on *Music in England.* He was also active as a composer, and while he was in this country he published *8 Clavierstücke;* a set of six songs; some sacred songs; and a set of arrangements of Irish melodies. He wrote several treatises on harmony and musical dictation.

Among Ritter's pupils in New York was a youngster from Sandusky, Ohio, ALBERT ROSS PARSONS (1847-1933), a man who lived to be the dean of New York music teachers. When he went abroad in 1867, Parsons studied with Moscheles, Reinecke, and Tausig, and returned to his native country to become one of the leading musicians in New York. He was an organist at some of the principal churches, head of the piano departments of several leading conservatories. He was an early American apostle of Wagner, and translated several of the great composer's literary efforts—the essay on *Beethoven* and others. He was also a composer of songs and piano pieces.

WILLIAM SMITH BABCOCK MATHEWS (1837-1912), born in New London, New Hampshire, was at one time a pupil of William Mason, and later a collaborator in several of Mason's technical works. All of his musical education was gained in this country, and when he was twenty-three he started his career of teaching, in Georgia and other places in the South. By the time he was thirty he landed in Chicago, and from then to the rest of his life he was a powerful influence in developing the musical life of the Middle West. Shortly before he died he moved to Denver and finished his days in editorial work.

It is principally as a writer on musical subjects that we

know Mathews to-day, though in his time he was active as a musician and teacher. Six years after Ritter had published his *Music in America,* Mathews compiled a second volume on the subject—*One Hundred Years of Music in America.* As an American, it was to be expected that Mathews would have more sympathy with his subject than Ritter; but Mathews leaned too far in the other direction, he failed to keep his sense of values, and his over-hasty production lost much of the worth it might easily have possessed.

Another pupil of Mason to distinguish himself as a pianist and teacher was WILLIAM HALL SHERWOOD (1854-1911), son of a clergyman who had founded a musical academy in Lyons, New York. Sherwood had been a boy wonder, and had taught at his father's school from the time he was twelve years old. In 1871 he went to Mason, then to Berlin where he studied with Kullak and others, and finally with Liszt at Weimar. After he had made some successful appearances as a pianist in Germany, he came back to America, and had a concert tour of our principal cities. Then he went as a teacher to the New England Conservatory in Boston, and after subsequent years in New York he went to Chicago in 1889, where he eventually founded the Sherwood Piano School. He was a brilliant pianist, and he was in demand with the orchestras as a soloist. He should always be remembered as one of the first pianists to make a regular practice of including a number of American compositions on each of his concert programs. He was also something of a composer himself, and in his published works for piano there are interesting ventures in chromatic harmonies.

In New England BENJAMIN JAMES LANG (1837-1909) was an influence of prime importance. Known chiefly as an organist and choral director, he was nevertheless prominent as a teacher of piano, and had for his pupils many young musicians who were to become prominent in later life—Arthur Foote, Ethelbert Nevin, and his own talented

daughter, Margaret Ruthven Lang. Lang was born in Salem, and in addition to lessons at home, he travelled abroad to study with Satter and Jaell, and finally with Liszt. He was organist and at one time conductor for the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston, and for years he directed the Apollo Club and the Cecilia Club. Although he wrote a great deal of music, he never published it nor often allowed it to be played, for he felt he would rather be known in other fields than that of composer.

CHAPTER XI

THE PARENTS OF OUR CONTEMPORARIES

I. THE GRANDFATHERS

THE second half of the century saw our young musical talents flocking to Europe to study with the master teachers of the Continent. Most of them went to Germany, then the musical center of the world. The effect was inevitable; they came home thoroughly saturated with German ideas, and those of them who were composers wrote their music after the models of the Germans. Although this denied individuality to their own work, the foreign influence at least produced music that was workmanlike, and it led to standards of craftsmanship that American composition must follow in later years. The hymn writers had gone abroad for their education early in the century, now those who had larger ambitions were doing likewise.

The files of Dwight's *Journal of Music* often contained news of the young Americans studying abroad. A correspondent wrote in the issue of June 11, 1853:

> At Leipsic I called on Mr. C. C. Perkins, but did not find . . . him at home; but I was informed that he was still pursuing his studies with much diligence and has recently finished another Quartet for stringed instruments, which is considered above par.

In the Fall of the same year, the London *Athenæum* announced:

> We must take a fresh paragraph to announce the publication at Leipsic of a Quartet by Mr. C. C. Perkins . . . the first American who has devoted himself to classical instrumental composition. So far as we can judge of this Quartet by examining its single parts, the

themes appear pleasing—the working of them neat—and the taste of the whole laudable, as eschewing the modern defects calling themselves romanticisms, against which there is reason to warn American musical imagination.

The June 11th issue of Dwight's *Journal* contained an item about another American:

Mr. Parker is still making rapid progress in playing, as well as in composition. It will interest his friends to know that he has also composed a Quartet for strings, which is pronounced very clever. A Quartet is one of the most difficult things to compose, requiring pure musical talent, as well as a thorough knowledge of the power and effects of the several instruments for which it is written. It costs genius and much study to write the parts so that they harmonize effectively and melodiously and are at the same time expressive; comparatively few are written that are worth playing through.

These two young men, CHARLES CALLAHAN PERKINS (1823-1886) and JAMES CUTLER DUNN PARKER (1828-1916), were fellow students in Germany. They were friends of William Mason, who met them on several occasions while he too was studying abroad. Perkins was slightly older than Parker. Born in Boston, he had graduated from Harvard in 1843, and had already been in Italy and Paris to study painting. Music delighted him, and he added its study to his various pursuits. Then he came back to Boston in 1849, and for a year he was both president and director of the Handel and Haydn Society. Soon after this he went back to Europe for further study.

By this time his friend Parker, also a native of Boston and a graduate of Harvard, had decided to give up the career of lawyer for which he had been preparing himself, and he too went to Germany to learn to be a musician. He studied with Hauptmann, Richter, and Moscheles, and had a really thorough training. One had to be serious minded to win the approval of the classic-minded John S. Dwight.

Perkins and Parker came back to Boston in 1854, to follow different paths. Perkins was never particularly ac-

tive in music as a profession. He left a few published works: the quartet, a trio, and a few pieces for piano and violin, published in Germany. His most important work was as a patron of the fine arts and as a critic. He was one of the chief factors in building the Music Hall in Boston (1851), and his *History of the Handel and Haydn Society,* which he never lived to finish, is an important document for the student of American musical history. When he died in 1886, the work was completed by John S. Dwight.

Parker came back from Germany for an active career as a musician, a career that lasted until his death in 1916, when he was eighty-eight years old. He taught piano and composition, and some of his pupils became our leading composers of the next generation. Arthur Whiting was among them, and they all attest to Parker's thorough methods. He was organist of Boston's Trinity Church for twenty-seven years; he played the organ for the Handel and Haydn Society. He was a teacher of piano, organ and harmony at the New England Conservatory, and for a time at Boston University.

He wrote a great deal of music. Aside from a few instrumental works, and the string quartet which Dwight's foreign correspondent had said "was pronounced very clever," most of his music was for chorus. For this he had something of a flair, though his sentimental nature led him into paths of sweetness that have kept his works from living. His most significant work was the *Redemption Hymn,* which the Handel and Haydn Society performed in 1877. For many years this cantata was in the standard repertoire of choral societies generally. *The Blind King* (1886) was a secular cantata, and there were other oratorios—*St. John,* and *The Life of Man* (1895). In many ways *The Life of Man* was a better work than the *Redemption Hymn.* Its canons and fugal imitations were well contrived, and lent themselves effectively to the voices of a choir. The seven

churches of Asia were pictured by seven voices, each entering in canonic imitation. There were also a few piano pieces and a miscellaneous assortment of church music.

Then there was ELLSWORTH C. PHELPS (1827-1913), a native of Connecticut. From his nineteenth year he was an organist, first at New London, Connecticut, at Syracuse, N. Y., and from 1857 in Brooklyn, where he was also a teacher of music in the public schools. Phelps composed two symphonies, four symphonic poems, several overtures, two comic operas, and a number of cantatas. He often chose native subjects for his music; one of his symphonies was based on Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.

And there were foreigners, too. MATTHIAS KELLER (1813-1875) came from Germany in 1846. He was a violinist and bandmaster, and after living in Philadelphia and New York he finally landed in Boston. He became an ardent patriot, and wrote an *American Hymn* for which he himself supplied the words of the text. This hymn, sung by full chorus, supported by grand orchestra, organ and military band, was a feature of the first concert of Gilmore's Peace Festival in Boston in 1869. This festival, and the one that followed it in 1872, deserve a volume by themselves. PATRICK SARSFIELD GILMORE was a bandmaster who had the bigger and better idea with a vengeance. He had conducted festivals in former years, but the affairs in classic Boston were the climax of his career. A coliseum to seat fifty thousand persons was erected. A chorus of ten thousand and an orchestra of one thousand were assembled. Railroads arranged special excursions from all over the country to see and hear "the grandest musical festival ever known in the history of the world." Barnum himself could not have staged the affair one bit more effectively. President Grant, with members of his cabinet, governors of states, army and navy officers, notables of every kind, came to Boston to be present at the Great National Peace Jubilee, "to be held in the city of Boston, to commemorate the

restoration of peace throughout the land." Five days were devoted to programs of colossal dimensions. Besides Gilmore, conductors of real ability, Zerrahn and others, helped in leading the musical forces. It proved too much for John S. Dwight, who left town to spend the week at his Summer home at Nahant, where he hoped he could not hear the cannon used to mark the rhythm of the national airs. But other musicians were not so particular; they helped Pat Gilmore make his party a huge success. Besides the cannon, which were fired by electric buttons on a table in front of the conductor, one hundred real firemen in red shirts helped in the proceedings by pounding real anvils in the Anvil Chorus from *Trovatore.*

Gilmore was only forty in 1869, and he found it hard to rest on his laurels so early in his career. He must have another festival. The idea of peace in America was somewhat old by then, but there had been a war in Europe, so why not an international music festival which he could call a World Peace Jubilee? To add to the international idea, Johann Strauss was brought from Europe to conduct the *Blue Danube,* Franz Abt came from Germany, and the soloists were all to be world famous. This time the size of the chorus would be doubled—twenty thousand would sing. It was here that Gilmore failed. Even Carl Zerrahn could not keep such a vast body of singers together, and the results were almost calamitous.

But to return to the composers. MAX MARETZEK (1821-1897) was a Moravian who came to America in 1848. Fry had him brought to New York to conduct the opera at the Academy. He was a clever manager too; successful with his companies in New York, Havana, and Mexico. He wrote two operas: *Hamlet,* and another based on Irving's legend, *Sleepy Hollow.*

GEORGE MATZKA, the viola player of the Mason-Thomas chamber music concerts, came to New York in 1852. He was long a member of the Philharmonic, and for a short

time in 1876 he acted as conductor. Matzka was a prolific composer; he wrote several overtures, two string quartets, a violin sonata, and many choruses and songs.

ADOLF NEUENDORF (1843-1897) was born in Hamburg, but came to New York when he was twelve, where he studied the violin with Matzka. He was for years a violinist and conductor in theatre orchestras. In 1877 he conducted the first American performance of Wagner's *Die Walküre* at the Academy of Music in New York. When Theodore Thomas went to Cincinnati in 1878, Neuendorf succeeded him as conductor of the Philharmonic, but for one year only, for Thomas returned soon after his troubles with the directors of the college. Neuendorf composed two symphonies and several overtures, but he was best known by his comic operas, a field in which he had real talent. *The Rat Charmer of Hamelin* was a favorite for many years after it was first produced in 1880, and the works that followed it were successful too: *Don Quixote* (1882), *Prince Woodruff* (1887) and *The Minstrel* (1892).

2. JOHN KNOWLES PAINE (1839-1906)

And so the path is cleared for the first native composer whose fame has endured as a writer in the larger forms. Even though his works are seldom heard to-day. John K. Paine lived to see himself the dean of American composers, and many of his younger brethren, some of them his pupils, making quite a name for themselves. Some say that American music starts with J. K. Paine, and in many ways they are right, for none of those who came before him had done much in the symphonic field. Certainly Fry and Bristow enjoyed but a short fame with their works, and the attention they attracted was based more on the fact that they were among the few Americans who wrote music. As such they were curiosities who could win a following for the mere

fact that they existed at a time when there were few others like them.

And as we grow further from the days of John K. Paine, the venerable father of our composers is relegated to a somewhat similar position. His music was infinitely superior to that of either Fry or Bristow, yet he holds his place in our music history because he stood alone at a time when we had few composers. Compared to his contemporaries, he was and still is a giant. Were he writing to-day the same music he wrote fifty years ago, he would be lost in the crowd, where hundreds of our present-day composers are writing far better music.

It is not to remove Paine from his pedestal that the critic of to-day makes reservations in praising his music. The fact that he was the first American composer to win serious consideration abroad is enough to deserve a monument. Yet it is but honest to admit that as a creative artist he was something of a pedant, wholly dominated by European composers of the day. As Daniel Gregory Mason has written,[1] "his *Island Fantasy* was supposed to be inspired by the Isles of Shoals, off Portsmouth, but artistically speaking it was within easy sailing distance of Mendelssohn's *Hebrides*."

Histories of American music written twenty-five and thirty years ago were too close to Paine to be entirely mature in their judgment of his work. Superlatives abound in their accounts of his music. Elson[2] speaks of the first symphony as an "epoch-making" work; to his mind the second symphony has a final movement that is a glorious outburst of thanksgiving almost comparable with the finale of the B flat symphony by Schumann. He also states that at the Philadelphia Exposition Paine's *Centennial Hymn* was decidedly more of a success than Wagner's *Centennial*

[1] From *The Dilemma of American Music*, by D. G. Mason: By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.
[2] *The History of American Music*, by L. C. Elson: The Macmillan Co.

March. But he fails to add that the Wagner march, which had been commissioned by Theodore Thomas, was so unworthy of Wagner that Thomas never quite forgot the insult. Rupert Hughes,[3] writing in 1900, was ecstatic over the second symphony.

It seems wiser to-day to admit that Paine's music has not had immortality for the good reason that it really did not deserve it. Concede that its freshness has somewhat wilted, and then proceed to do its composer the honor he merits as the first of our composers to have his works performed repeatedly for many years, and to have them published both here and abroad.

For they were performed often. By 1899 the Boston Symphony Orchestra had played his compositions more than eighteen times. Theodore Thomas gave the first symphony its initial performance in 1876 in Boston. He also commissioned Paine to write a *Centennial Hymn* for the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876, and the *Columbus March and Hymn* for the Chicago World's Fair. He performed his cantata, *Song of Promise,* at the Cincinnati Festival of 1888. When he was not yet thirty, Paine conducted his Mass at the *Sing Academie* in Berlin. In 1873 he directed the first performance of his oratorio, *St. Peter,* in his native town of Portland, Maine. A year later it was given by the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston. In 1881 his music for Sophocles' *Œdipus Tyrannus* was played at the Sander's Theatre in Cambridge, Mass., and in 1904 this score won the gold medal at an international concert at the unveiling of the monument to Wagner in Berlin. His *Hymn to the West* was written for the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, and the Handel and Haydn Society gave it a Boston performance the following year.

He was born in Portland, January 9, 1839. His first teacher was Hermann Kotzschmar, the German who came to America with the Saxonia Band in 1848, and settled in

[3] *American Composers,* by Hughes & Elson: L. C. Page & Co.

Portland in 1849, where he lived for the remaining sixty years of his life. Paine made his début as an organist when he was eighteen, and then went to Berlin, where he studied organ, composition, orchestration under Haupt and other teachers. He toured Germany as an organist, and acquired something of a reputation. Soon after his return to America he was appointed instructor of music at Harvard (1862), and thirteen years later he was honored with a full professorship. Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania ran a close race in creating the first professorships of music. Paine held his chair for thirty years, and then resigned to give all his time to composition. But not for long; he died April 25, 1906, while he was working to complete a symphonic poem based on the life of Abraham Lincoln.

The first symphony was published by Breitkopf and Haertel in Leipsic, but not until 1908, two years after the composer's death. The second symphony was issued by a Boston publisher, Arthur P. Schmidt, who deserves a monument for what he did to publish the larger orchestral works of our early composers. This second symphony is an attempt at program music. It bears the title, *Spring,* and its first movement (like that of Raff's spring symphony, written one year before Paine's) is called *Nature's Awakening.* There are two motives, one "Winter" and the other "Awakening." The two conflict, and the strength of Winter fails. The second movement is *The May Night Fantasy* —the bassoon adds to the merriment. Then comes a Romance, *A Promise of Spring,* in rondo form; and the finale is a sort of hallelujah on *The Glory of Nature.*

Paine was much given to program music. At heart he was probably a romanticist, academic New Englander though he was. He wrote several symphonic poems inspired by Shakespeare. There was one to *The Tempest,* and an overture to *As You Like It.* The legend of *Poseidon and Aphrodite* inspired an "Ocean Fantasy." The *Island Fan-*

tasy grew from his admiration for two paintings of the Isles of Shoals, New Hampshire, by J. Appleton Brown. The contrasting themes of the music suggest the dangers and the beauty of the sea.

Paine's opera, *Azara,* never reached dramatic performance, although it had a concert performance with piano accompaniment in 1903, and another in 1907 by the Cecilia Society of Boston, with orchestra, chorus and soloists, conducted by B. J. Lang. It is said that there was a plan to produce *Azara* at the Metropolitan during Conried's régime, but the idea was abandoned because it was impossible to find a contralto or bass who could sing well enough in English to manage the leading rôles.

Paine wrote his own libretto for *Azara,* a fact which may be responsible for its failure to gain performance. The dramatic action is a bit heavy and ponderous, and from a theatrical standpoint not particularly effective. As for the music, Paine knew how to write for voices; and the ballet music and the three Moorish dances from the score were frequently played on orchestral programs. There were traces of Wagner in the music, which show that Paine had changed his opinions of the great German. He was at first firm with the Boston clique that could see nothing of good in Wagner or his work, and his gradual awakening to his error did away with much of the pedantry of his own music.

As a professor, there are many traditions about Paine. Some of his pupils have told me that his teaching was as dry as the dust, and that they could find no inspiration in his classes. Others speak loyally of the grand old man, and what he did for them. Probably if he had not been academic, even to the point of dryness, he would never have been tolerated in a nineteenth-century university. If his courses had not been conducted according to the rigid classroom standards of the day, he might have failed in the same way that MacDowell failed to gain the support of the authorities some years later at Columbia.

List the names of his pupils in composition, and you cannot deny his influence, for good or for bad, on the native music of our day. The roster reads like a *Who's Who* of composers—Arthur Foote, Louis A. Coerne, Clayton Johns, Frederick S. Converse, John Alden Carpenter, Daniel Gregory Mason, *ad infinitum.*

It was Paine's own idea that he teach at Harvard. Shortly after his return from Europe he had been appointed organist and music director of the university, and he offered, free of charge, to give a series of lectures on musical form. There was opposition, chiefly because it was a new idea, but he was finally allowed to lecture. No credit toward a degree was given for attendance, and few students came to hear him. Then Charles Eliot became president, and the lectures were started again in 1870. Paine also offered a course in harmony, which became popular, and then a course in counterpoint. For none of this early work did he receive any salary. In a very few years so many pupils were taking the courses that the work had to be recognized officially. Paine was made an assistant professor in 1873, and two years later he was given a full professorship, and his students were granted credit for their work in the music department.

This has led gradually to the music school at Harvard, where there are courses in applied music, and in music as one of the arts. The Harvard curriculum has been a model for other universities to follow; and in the same way that Lowell Mason forced music into the public schools, John Knowles Paine was the pioneer in organized music courses in the American colleges. As a frontier composer when there were few of his kind, and as a prophet of music education, Paine's glory can never be dimmed merely because his music does not grip as it did thirty years ago.

3. OTHER PARENTS

There were other composers who came to the front in Paine's lifetime. Among them WILLIAM WALLACE GILCHRIST (1846-1916), born in Jersey City. Gilchrist lived most of his life in Philadelphia. He had his training there at the hands of Hugh Clarke, the teacher who was appointed professor of music at the University of Pennsylvania in the same year Paine was awarded similar honors at Harvard (1875). Gilchrist was the organizer, and for forty years conductor of the Philadelphia Mendelssohn Club. He led the old Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra which had been started by men from Gustav Hinrichs' Opera Company, and which was the ancestor of the present Philadelphia Orchestra. He was a vocal teacher and a choir master—an active career.

As a composer Gilchrist had an uncanny faculty for winning prizes. He was given $1,000 for his Psalm 46, at the 1882 Cincinnati Festival. The judges were Reinecke, Saint-Saëns, and Theodore Thomas. Before that, in 1878, the Abt Male Singing Society of Philadelphia had offered two prizes for choral works, and Gilchrist won both of them. Soon after this he won three more, awarded by the Mendelssohn Glee Club of New York.

He wrote a symphony that was played by the Philadelphia Orchestra, under the composer's direction in 1910. Unlike Paine, Gilchrist attempted no program in this work. It was absolute music pure and simple. The man had a facile technique, and the chief attribute of this symphony was its scholarliness. His second symphony showed more individuality. He wrote a number of works for small combinations—a nonet for piano, strings, flute, clarinet and horn. It was a graceful piece of writing, not without a certain distinction. There was a quintet for piano and strings, as well as a string quartet and a trio. Despite his success in choral fields, Gilchrist was in happier vein when he wrote

for instruments. He was less banal, and not led into temptation by the bombastic poems of Mrs. Hemans, and others.

FREDERICK GRANT GLEASON (1848-1903) was a native of New England. Born in Middletown, Connecticut, he was taken to live in Hartford while he was still a boy. His father was an amateur musician, but it was not until the son, at sixteen, had written a "Christmas Oratorio," without any instruction in harmony or counterpoint, that he was allowed to prepare himself for the profession of musician. He was then put to work with Dudley Buck, and later he went abroad to study with Moscheles, Richter and others. He came back to Hartford, but when he was thirty he moved West to Chicago, where he spent the rest of his life as one of the city's prominent organists and musicians.

Gleason was a prolific composer. Tinged with Wagnerisms, he yet had something to say for himself. He sometimes had arguments with proof readers and copyists for his harmonic innovations. He generally knew what he was about, and when coypists wrote "Fifths!" in the margin of his scores, he could reply, "Certainly!" His works were often played by Theodore Thomas, and Thomas never put anything on his programs that did not in his opinion belong there.

Gleason wrote a work for the World's Fair concerts, a *Processional of the Holy Grail.* The connection with Wagner was not altogether confined to the title. There was a symphonic poem, *Edris,* based on a novel by Marie Corelli. Thomas played this with the Chicago Orchestra in 1896. He made a setting of *The Culprit Fay,* for chorus. He wrote a piano concerto, and his *Auditorium Festival Ode* was performed at the dedication of the Auditorium in Chicago. Another orchestral tone poem, *Song of Life,* was presented by the Chicago Orchestra in 1900.

Gleason wrote a number of operas; some of them have never been known, for he left a clause in his will that their scores should not be examined until he had been dead for

fifty years. One of his operas, *Otho Visconti,* was produced at the College Theatre, Chicago, in 1907. Excerpts from its score had been played before. The overture was performed in Leipsic in 1892, and Thomas presented it at the Chicago World's Fair. In *Montezuma,* another opera, Gleason used the Wagnerian system of leit-motifs. One of its soprano arias was sung in concert on several occasions, but the opera itself was never produced.

Probably Gleason's handicap was that his intellect was not properly balanced by his emotions. He was more of a harmonist than a melodist, and his harmonic combinations were the product of his mind rather than of his feelings. Yet the intellectuals command respect, and Gleason had his place in our music.

In some ways SILAS GAMALIEL PRATT (1846-1916) narrowly missed being another Father Heinrich. He certainly conceived ideas on a no less colossal scale than Heinrich had. But Pratt had a really thorough training, and though he did make himself ridiculous at times, there was something solid beneath all the bombast that he mistook for grandeur. Like others, Pratt wanted to be a nationalist, and turned to native subjects for his titles, if not for his mode of expressing them. The names of his symphonic works read like the chapter headings of a school history. *Paul Revere's Ride;* a *Fantasy* in which hostile themes depict the battles between North and South; *The Battle of Manila;* a *Lincoln* Symphony; and *A Tragedy of the Deep,* on the sinking of the steamship *Titanic.*

He wrote cantatas and operas—one of them *Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra,* first given in concert form in Chicago (1882), and a year later in full dramatic production in both New York and Chicago. *Antonio,* later called *Lucille,* was performed in Chicago in 1887. *The Triumph of Columbus* was intended to be his greatest work. It was written for the fourth centennial of the discovery of America, and produced in New York in 1892.

Pratt was a go-getter who would have warmed the heart of any sales manager. In youth his ambition to be a musician was thwarted by poverty, for as a boy he had to earn his living, and he worked in a music store in Chicago. He kept at his studies in music, and finally saved up enough money to go to Europe. When he was twenty-two he went to Germany, and studied the piano under Bendel and Kullak, and composition with Kiel.

He came back to Chicago in 1872, but the effects of the fire were still apparent, and Pratt had to go back behind the counter of the music store. But not for long. He had some pupils, and after a while he gave some concerts, and then went back to Germany. To make up for lost time he practised hours at a time, so frantically that he injured his wrists permanently. He went to Bayreuth in 1875, met Liszt and gave a recital of his own pieces at Weimar.

He went to Berlin in 1876, and conducted a performance of his own *Centennial Overture*. Later he played it at the Crystal Palace in London while Grant, ex-president, was guest of honor. Home again for symphony concerts in Chicago, and the production of *Zenobia*. Then back to Europe in 1885 for a performance of his *Prodigal Son* symphony at the Crystal Palace.

For fourteen years after 1888 he lived and taught in New York. Then he moved to Pittsburgh, where he established in 1906 a musical institute. All of his training and all this imagination should have produced something far more lasting than Pratt was able to achieve. Maybe his ambition got the better of him, and he tried too much. If courage and industry were all that were required for immortality, Pratt would have been another Wagner. (In fact, he once generously proclaimed that the immortal Richard was the Silas G. Pratt of Europe.) Unfortunately more was needed, and stability and the spark of genius were missing from the make-up of a man who had the initiative and the ability to make his work known and heard in high places.

CHAPTER XII

THE BOSTON GROUP

I. GEORGE WHITEFIELD CHADWICK (1854-1931)[1]

JOHN K. PAINE lived to see a group of composers active in his native New England—a few men who are generally classed together because they have lived and worked side by side, and because they have something in common artistically. Yet the relationship is one of sympathy and background, rather than of any particular traits of style that mark their music. They were all the product of the same age—a time when the American composer was first having a respectful and interested hearing—and when all the musical world was under the spell of the German romanticists. These New Englanders are often called the Boston classicists, or the New England academics, yet neither term is quite accurate. None of them has departed far from accepted paths, nor ventured into startling experiments of his own, yet to call a man an academic or a classicist is after all a rather arbitrary pigeon-holing. It is safer to group these composers for their geographical kinship, and maybe for comradeship, and to let it go at that.

Paine's mantle as dean of our composers has fallen to George W. Chadwick, though Arthur Foote is a year older. Chadwick has been the more significant. Historically, his importance lies in carrying on where Paine left off. Paine was one of the first to win respect, to write music that was practicable and playable. Chadwick added a spark of genuine inspiration; he has had a sense of humor. He makes us chuckle, and he makes us think. And while we are

[1] Chadwick died April 4, 1931, shortly after the first printing of this volume.

thinking he warms our emotions, even though he seldom thrills us. He has all of Paine's substance and more—in his scholarship he is indeed an academic—but he adds life to the forms he uses, and gives us something vital.

Tradition has it that Chadwick wistfully confides to his friends that he determined his career when he turned toward Munich and sought Rheinberger as a master, instead of going to César Franck in Paris. Maybe he has his regrets, for the Belgian was a great teacher, but it is hard to imagine Chadwick's Yankee thoughts robed in the mysticism of a Franck disciple. In many ways Chadwick is typically the American in his music, at any rate a Yankee. Not from use of folk-songs, or by choosing Niagara Falls or the life of George Washington for his subjects (which he didn't), but by something far subtler, something he could never have avoided even if he had tried very hard. Philip Hale described it as "a certain jaunty irreverence, a snapping of the fingers at Fate and the Universe," and it is no doubt this delicious impertinence that is genuinely American. None but a Yankee can say such things and get away with it.

In the Spring of 1930 there were at least two festivals to mark Chadwick's fiftieth anniversary as a composer, dating his career from the time when he came back from Germany and his apprenticeship. The New England Conservatory in Boston, where he has been director for thirty-three years, and the Eastman School in Rochester, honored the deacon of our composers with festival concerts of his music. In Boston the final number was the *Rip Van Winkle* overture which Chadwick had conducted at the May Festival of the Handel and Haydn Society in 1880. The 1930 audience found much of the charm left in a work that the Leipsic *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* had fifty years ago found possessed of "interesting traits which reflect an emotional life of personal cast."

Chadwick was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, November 13, 1854. He was of New England stock on both sides

of his family tree. Orthodox, devout Congregationalists. His mother died when she gave him birth, and he was placed in the care of relatives until he was three. Then his father married again, and had a wife who could take care of little George. The father was a good musician, and in his spare time taught a singing class, and organized a chorus and an orchestra in the neighborhood. He prospered in his business; first a farmer, he had gone to Lowell to become a machinist; then moving down to Lawrence in 1860, when George was six, he started a life and fire insurance company. When Boston was devastated by fire in 1872, the citizens of Lawrence flocked to Chadwick for policies.

Music always held George Chadwick in its spell. The musical gatherings of his relatives were the high spots of his childhood. His older brother, Fitz Henry, had had piano lessons, and so he taught George to play, and together they learned the four-hand arrangements of the Beethoven symphonies. Then George played the organ in church, and when he had graduated from high school he was allowed to take regular trips to Boston for piano lessons. He went into his father's business, and worked there until he was twenty-one. He took some lessons at the New England Conservatory, and had harmony lessons with Stephen A. Emery.

In 1876 he decided to teach music himself, and had an appointment as music professor of Olivet College. From this he saved money to go abroad. Then came opposition from his God-fearing father. Teaching was one thing, especially in a college, but to have an out-and-out professional musician in the family was a quite different matter. Anyway, the insurance business was making money, and likely to make considerably more. But George had decided to go, and George went.

He arrived in Berlin in the Fall of 1877, and tried studying with Karl August Haupt. But Haupt was not to Chad-

wick's liking, for he wanted teaching in orchestration, which Haupt confessed he could not give him. He went to Leipsic where he worked with Jadassohn. Others have called Jadassohn's classes a joke, but the teacher took a personal interest in Chadwick, and would often give him lessons at his house. He offered his pupil training in counterpoint that gave him the command of his choral style, a polyphonic freedom that makes voices of orchestral choirs. With Jadassohn for teacher he wrote the *Rip Van Winkle* overture, and two string quartets.

Chadwick was not quite satisfied after two years with Jadassohn. He felt there was something more to learn, somewhere, before he went back to Boston. He chose Rheinberger (instead of Franck), and in Munich he learned the power of self-criticism. Rheinberger knew how to build on what Chadwick had already learned, and he gave him what Carl Engel has termed "an orderly idea of strict composition." The straightforwardness of the German pedants was surely more suited to the expression of Yankee ideas than the subtleties of the Frenchmen.

He came back home in 1880, where he rented a studio and hung his sign on the door as teacher. Horatio Parker was one of his first pupils; Sidney Homer and Arthur Whiting soon joined his class. He conducted choral societies, and was a church organist for seventeen years. In 1882 he was made an instructor at the New England Conservatory, and fifteen years later he was asked to be its director. To-day the veteran "Chad" is loved by faculty and students alike.

Chadwick has written twenty major works for orchestra; eleven of them are published. Of his six chamber music compositions, three have been issued in printed form. This fifty per cent record does credit to the music, and says something in behalf of the American publisher. Orchestral works in Chadwick's prime were scarcely a commercial enterprise. The thirteen dollars he received in 1886 from

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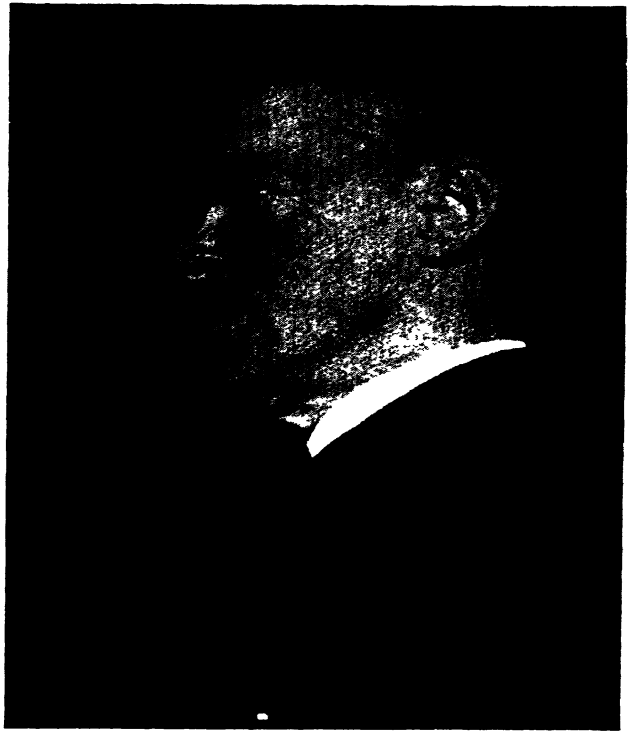
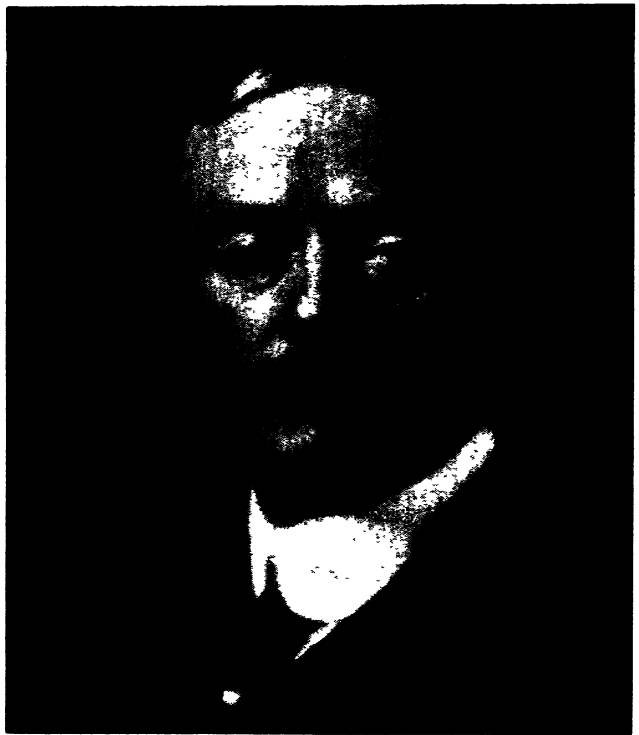
George W. Chadwick.

(See page 325.)



Arthur Foote.

(See page 330.)



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Horatio Parker.

(See page 334.)

Mrs. H. H. A. Beach.

(See page 344.)

the Boston Symphony Orchestra, for performance of a movement from his second symphony, established a new precedent.

He has written three symphonies and a sinfonietta. All but the first symphony, written in 1882, are published. The overture is a form that has given him a happy chance to express his notions. He has written six of them: *Rip Van Winkle* (1879); *Thalia* (1883); *The Miller's Daughter* (1884); *Melpomene* (1891); *Adonais* (1899); and *Euterpe* (1906). The works that show his jauntiness and care-free spirit most effectively are *A Vagrom Ballad* (No. 4 of his *Symphonic Sketches,* 1907), and the symphonic ballad, *Tam o' Shanter* (1917). The *Suite Symphonique* won first prize in the 1911 competition of the National Federation of Music Clubs.

He has written five string quartets, and a piano quintet. The Kneisels played some of them on a number of occasions. Engel [1] wrote of his treatment of the strings:

> Chadwick does not lose himself in mere juggling with patterns when he writes for competing strings, nor is he preoccupied with questionable experiments in sonorities that go against the nature of the instrument. He loves a cantilena and is capable of endowing it with enough breath to let it sing its way calmly through all the registers from the E-string of the violin to the C-string of the 'cello.

He has tried his hand at opera, yet his dramatic powers have been more devoted to the narratives of his orchestral ballads. The lyric drama *Judith* was performed in concert form at the Worcester Festival in 1901. *Tabasco,* a comic opera, was first given professionally at the Boston Museum in 1894. There are also *The Padrone,* an opera, and *Love's Sacrifice,* an operetta, both to librettos of David Stevens, as well as incidental music to Walter Browne's morality play, *Everywoman.*

Chadwick has attained distinction as a composer of choral

[1] *George W. Chadwick,* by Carl Engel: *Musical Quarterly,* July, 1924.

works. His *Dedication Ode* was written for the dedication of the Hollis Street Church in 1886. He made a setting of Harriet Monroe's *Ode* for the opening concert of the World's Fair in Chicago (1893); *Phœnix Expirans* (1892) was written for the Springfield (Mass.) Festival, of which he was the conductor for a number of years, as he was of the Worcester Festival also. *Ecce jam Noctis,* for men's voices, organ and orchestra, was written for the Yale Commencement Exercises in 1897; and the *Noël,* a pastoral for soli, chorus and orchestra, was first produced at the Norfolk (Conn.) Festival in 1908.

He has published over a hundred songs, and his setting of Sidney Lanier's *Ballad of Trees and the Master* ranks as a classic. It is in the folk-like ballad that he is happiest as a song writer. Not the lyric ballad of the sentimentalists, but the true ballad that demands musical dramatization.

It is the fashion to-day to turn our backs to Chadwick and his colleagues, past and present. And it may be true that our recent composers make our earlier writers seem tame by comparison. Yet there is a steadiness in Chadwick's music that is always dependable, a freshness that is a matter of spirit rather than of style or idiom. After all, modernity is youth, and of youthfulness Chadwick has had his full share. The man himself is far older than his music.

2. ARTHUR WILLIAM FOOTE (1853-)[1]

Arthur Foote did not go abroad for study; in fact, it was not until he had graduated from Harvard, when he was twenty-one, that he definitely made up his mind to be a musician. He had taken J. K. Paine's music courses in college, and had been conductor of the Harvard Glee Club. When he graduated, he decided to pass a useful Summer before going into business, so he had some organ lessons with B. J. Lang. Lang gave him so much encouragement

[1] Foote died April 9, 1937.

that Foote decided then and there that music should be his profession. For two years more he studied organ and piano with Lang, and in 1876 he started on his own as a piano teacher. He has been one of the prominent teachers of the Boston district for over fifty years.

He had shown little interest in music as a boy. He was born in Salem, and his Anglo-Saxon parents were not musically inclined. When he was fourteen, he was given some piano lessons as part of a general education. He soon found that he liked to play, and his curiosity led him to take a few harmony lessons with Stephen Emery before he entered Harvard. Then, when he went to college, and found Paine conducting courses in music, he was one of the most eager of the students.

From 1878 until 1910 Foote was organist of the First Unitarian Church in Boston. He helped found the American Guild of Organists, and was at one time its president. Other than these, he has held few regular positions, but has been a free lance teacher, pianist and organist, giving many piano recitals and often playing chamber music with the Kneisels, and other quartets.

Like the other composers of his early days, he reflects his likes and dislikes in music of the masters. The Brahmsian flavor of such pieces as his quintet for piano and strings shows that in the '90's he was a progressive, interested in the thoughts of the post-romanticists. He calls himself a conservative to-day, but admiration of Brahms was by no means a conservative matter in the late Victorian era.

In his writing Foote seems chiefly concerned with harmonic rather than with contrapuntal patterns. His scoring for male voices may owe its success to his glee club days at Harvard, when he acquired a fondness for chords in close formation, in the richness of the lower registers.

He has written many works in the larger forms, eight for orchestra. Five of them have been published by Schmidt in Boston. *In the Mountains,* an overture, was first per-

formed by the Boston Symphony under Gericke in 1887. It was repeated the following year. His *Serenade,* in E, for strings, and his *Suite* in D, for string orchestra, had been played a year earlier. Foote took the episode of *Francesca da Rimini* from Dante for his symphonic prologue, probably his most distinguished work. Somewhat programmatic in its development, the music opens with an introduction that seems to be a long, deep sigh, followed by the shrieking and shuddering of the poor damned souls in the inferno. The first theme, in its passion, seems to be Francesca's recital of her love story; the other themes and their development weave a dramatic and tragic tale of love and retribution.

Francesca was first performed in Boston in 1893. In the same year Theodore Thomas played the *Serenade* for strings at the World's Fair. Foote has said that it was due to the interest of Thomas that his orchestral works were given a hearing. In 1894 Thomas conducted a performance of his concerto for 'cello and orchestra (with Bruno Steindel as soloist) at one of the concerts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, then in its fourth season. Since 1900 he has written only two works for orchestra: a suite in E, for strings (1910), and *Four Character Pieces after Omar Khayyám* (1912).

Of his eight major works for chamber music combinations, only one is unpublished. Most of them had their first performances at concerts of the Kneisel Quartet; the G minor violin sonata in 1890; the piano quartet, Opus 23 in the following year; the string quartet in E, 1894; the quintet in 1898, and the piano trio in B flat, 1909. In his sonatas for violin and piano, and in the ballade, Opus 69, Foote writes in a broad style, with an epic, narrative unfolding of theme and development.

There are a number of choral works with orchestra—*The Farewell of Hiawatha,* for men's voices (1886), and others for mixed voices—*The Wreck of the Hesperus*

(1888), and *The Skeleton in Armor* (1893). He has written many works for chorus *a cappella* or with piano accompaniment, and a great deal of church music. In his many piano pieces, and in his songs, he has written idiomatic music, playable and singable, of generally high taste, showing discretion and restraint in gaining intended effects. He is always sincere and genuine, and rarely if ever the sentimentalist when he is tender. He has composed two suites for piano, three pieces for left hand alone, five poems after Omar Khayyám, and some thirty other piano pieces. There are almost one hundred and fifty songs. Many of them are from the English poets: Herrick, Marlowe, Shakespeare. Among the best known are *I'm Wearing Awa', The Lake Isle of Innesfree, On the Way to Kew, It Was a Lover and his Lass, O Swallow, Flying South, Irish Folk Song,* and others. He has published over thirty works for organ, most important the suite in D major.

Foote has followed in the paths of others from abroad greater than himself, but the modest retiring gentleman has nevertheless made a handsome contribution to American music. He has been substantial, reliable, workmanlike and, most important, agreeable. As a writer in *The Art of Music* puts it, "His music is the pure and perfectly formed expression of a nature at once refined and imaginative." He has been at work for many years, and he has written much. He has belonged to the Boston of the '90's, where most of the composers of that time worked and met each other for exchange of ideas—Chadwick, Parker, Whiting, MacDowell, Nevin, Mrs. Beach, Converse, Johns, and their artistic parent, John K. Paine. He has seen the musical idols of one period after another thrown down and broken. Why, in his later years, should he become excited over Schoenberg or Stravinsky? As an early devotee of Brahms and Wagner, he had his fill of innovations in his youth. He at least has the satisfaction of knowing that confidence in his early Gods was well placed.

3. HORATIO WILLIAM PARKER (1863-1919)

If Horatio Parker had been as successful in his symphonic works as he was in his choral writings, he might have been the greatest of our American composers. There are some who think he is anyway. Certainly he has produced outstanding works—the oratorio *Hora Novissima* may be mentioned in the same breath with Franck's *Beatitudes,* and the intelligentsia class the opera *Mona* with *Salomé* and *Pelléas et Mélisande.* Parker was a composer who derived from a background of Puritan hymn-singing, with a German training superimposed; yet the influences that shaped his style never prevented his being individual. His music was generally his own; even to-day, some of his passages have a modern sound.

Parker will probably never achieve the popular fame of MacDowell, or some others of our American composers. He wrote few little tunes that may be taught to school children in music-memory contests, or small piano pieces that are played by amateurs. His songs and smaller pieces are the least fortunate of his works, and the least distinctive. Besides, his operas are known to-day only to those who take the trouble to read the scores. That *Mona* was never repeated after four performances in its first season is a blot on the history of New York's Metropolitan Opera House. In many ways it is the finest music drama that has ever been written in this country.

He was primarily a composer for musicians, yet many of his passages can thrill layman and musician alike. His hatred of anything weak or sentimental made much of his music angular and austere, yet there is a fine emotional appeal in page after page of his scores.

Parker was born of a cultured family. His mother, Isabella Parker, the daughter of a Baptist minister, was a scholar and a musician, organist of the village church at

Auburndale, Mass., the town where Horatio was born September 15, 1863. His father was an architect, Charles Edward Parker. Fine old English stock on both sides of the family, steeped in a New England heritage that had its Puritan phases. As a child Horatio went further than just not being musically inclined—he disliked anything connected with music. His mother often wondered how she could get him to take any interest in it. Suddenly, when he was fourteen, he seemed to wake from his musical sleep and wanted to know all about it, how it was played, and how it was made. He had piano lessons from his mother, and then with local teachers. He started to compose, and in two days set to music fifty poems of Kate Greenaway, later published as songs for school children. At sixteen he was made organist of a church in Dedham, and for its services he wrote hymn tunes, anthems, and choir services.

About this time Chadwick returned from Europe, and Parker became one of his first pupils. Chadwick writes:[1]

> As my pupil he was far from docile. In fact, he was impatient of the restrictions of musical form and rather rebellious of the discipline of counterpoint and fugues. But he was very industrious and did his work faithfully and well. His lessons usually ended with his swallowing his medicine, but with many a wry grimace.

In 1882 he went to Europe, to Rheinberger in Munich, where he studied organ playing and composition at the Royal School of Music. By placing himself wholly in Rheinberger's hands he acquired a contrapuntal mastery that helped him later to reach the summits of choral writing.

When he came back to America he settled in New York. He was put in charge of the music teaching at the Cathedral School in Garden City; he was organist at St. Andrews and later at Holy Trinity; and he taught at the National Conservatory of Music in New York, where Antonin Dvořák

[1] *Horatio Parker,* by Geo. W. Chadwick: Yale University Press.

was director. Seven years later, in 1893, he had a chance to return to his native Boston, as organist and choir master of Trinity Church, then famous for the sermons of Phillips Brooks. In the next year he was invited to head the music department of Yale University at New Haven; and he held that position until his death in 1919.

While at Yale, Parker organized the New Haven Symphony Orchestra, subsidized by the University. For a comparison of our educational facilities with those of England, it is illuminating to read what *The Musical Times* (London, September 1, 1902) had to say about the music department at Yale:

> Professor Parker teaches counterpoint, composition and instrumentation. He gives lectures on the history of music, and conducts six orchestral concerts every season. An additional orchestral concert is devoted chiefly to the compositions of the students. No anxiety is felt in regard to the financial result of these concerts. The orchestra is supported by the University as a laboratory for the Department of Music, where, as in a chemical laboratory, the students may, by means of their compositions, blow themselves up. Courses in orchestration are offered by the University, and common sense requires that the means of practical exemplification of the results of studies in such courses should be available. Where have we in old England, or even in Auld Reekie, anything to approach such a boon and privilege as is enjoyed by the students in music at Yale?

The same article tells of Parker's relations with the University, concluding its account with this felicitation:

> Professor Parker enjoys a vacation of four months every year, and one year in every seven is a Sabbatical Year—twelve months' complete rest from his ordinary vocations! Who will say that his lot is not a happy one?

Nobody! But the poor man must have needed all the Summer rest he could get, for his weekly routine would have killed a weaker man far sooner than it eventually killed Horatio Parker. He always had a church position in some city other than New Haven—first, Trinity in Boston, and later St. Nicholas in New York. He conducted

choral societies in several cities. David Stanley Smith, his assistant at Yale and later his successor, recounts a typical Parker schedule, in the *Musical Quarterly,* April, 1930:

> Late Saturday afternoon, choir rehearsal in New York; Sunday, service morning and evening; Monday afternoon and evening in Philadelphia for rehearsals of the Eurydice and Orpheus Clubs; night train to New York, thence to New Haven for two classes on Tuesday; Tuesday evening, by trolley to Derby for a rehearsal of the Derby Choral Club, arriving in New Haven at midnight; Wednesday, a lecture on the History of Music and a class in composition; Thursday, again two classes; Thursday evening, rehearsal of the New Haven Oratorio Society; Friday morning, rehearsal of the New Haven Symphony Orchestra; Saturday, off again for New York.

And then Smith adds: "It seems incredible, but through this period Parker composed incessantly. There was always a score in the making." He found some time for recreation. He loved to ride his bicycle, and he played some golf with his friends. Without some out-of-doors life, he could have stood but a few years of such a grind.

Parker was quite the man of the world. Fastidious, immaculate, he commanded a social standing often denied musicians of his time. He had for his friends artists, writers, and men from the several professions—seldom musicians. He was at ease in talking on any subject; he could hold his own in prolonged discussions on topics far removed from music. His friends were fascinated by him; those who were not his friends feared him. His brusque manner frightened the timid, and he despised those who were afraid of him. In this he was something of the bully; he would often wilfully confuse his pupils in class, and then scoff at their confusion. But for those who stood on their two feet and talked back to him he had the profoundest admiration. His manner was a challenge which he expected would be met in kind. The wags of New Haven say it was a pleasure to be insulted by Horatio Parker, he could apologize so handsomely.

His life at home with his wife and daughters was in many ways ideal. His wife had been a fellow pupil abroad—Anna Plössl, the daughter of a Munich banker. Though he later hated the Germans, Parker loved this wife of his. His life was her only interest. When they were first married she taught pupils herself, so that they could meet their daily bills.

These personal traits are apparent in his music. He was intolerant of anything that was too easy, of anything facile. His horror of the obvious made him avoid repeating a phrase whenever he could keep from doing it. If an idea must be repeated, let it be changed in some detail. True enough, he was often trivial, so trivial that we may wonder whether he was not trying to force himself to write in a popular vein against his better judgment. But he was never cheaply superficial; his lighter moments were doubtless more studied and conscious than his more serious, happier efforts.

He wrote over forty works for chorus, religious and secular; two operas; nine pieces for orchestra (one published: an organ concerto); four chamber compositions (one, a suite for trio, published); seven groups of pieces for organ; four for piano; and twelve sets of songs. Added to these, he wrote incidental music for a masque, and for a Yale Commencement, and he acted as editor-in-chief for a graded series of song books for schools. He felt that when school children sang, they had a right to the best in music.

Hora Novissima was written in 1891 and '92, his Opus 30. While he was composing it, he was grieving for the loss of a sister and some other members of his family. The work of these years has a background of absolute sincerity where pathos is concerned. For the text of *Hora Novissima* he used the Latin hymn of Barnard de Morlaix; his mother made the English translation. Here, as in so many of his choral works, Parker shows his instinct for massed

effects, for fine choral texture, for full development of hymn-like themes. Masculine, vital music, with often the sweep of the inevitable. Fugal writing and chant, contrasted with stunning effect.

Parker submitted *Hora Novissima* and a cantata, *The Dream King and His Love,* Opus 31, in a prize contest at the National Conservatory in 1892. He won the prize, but not for *Hora Novissima*—the judges, including Dvořák, liked the *Dream King* better. *Hora Novissima* had its first performance in 1893 by the Church Choral Society of New York at the Church of Zion and St. Timothy. The next year it was sung by the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston, and later at the Cincinnati Festival. In 1899 it was performed at the Three Choirs Festival at Worcester, England, and it made such an impression on the English audience that Parker was commissioned to write a new work for the Hereford Festival. This produced the *Wanderer's Psalm;* and the *Star Song* was written for the Norwich Festival in 1902.

His fame in England was almost greater than in America. The English have a warm place in their hearts for choral music, and Parker had enough of the Englishman in his blood to write what they liked best. *The Legend of St. Christopher,* sung at Bristol, completed all that was needed for an award of the Doctor of Music Degree by Cambridge University in 1902. Like *Hora Novissima, St. Christopher* shows largeness of conception, breadth of structure; but it goes further, for it shows Parker trying some experiments in religious drama. He employs the leit-motif in Wagnerian fashion. It was possibly the writing of *St. Christopher* that led him to try opera a few years later.

Like many of his works, *Mona* was written for a definite purpose. Parker was able to do this, generally without sacrificing quality. Commissions, or prize contests, never drew hack work from him. The directors of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York offered a prize of

$10,000 for an opera by an American composer, with an English text. Parker heard of the offer and was tempted. His friend Brian Hooker, professor of English at Yale, wrote the libretto—the tale of Mona, princess of Britain in the days of the invasion, torn between her love for the son of the Roman governor and her hatred of the Roman conquerors.

The judges (and his teacher Chadwick was one of them) agreed that no other decision was possible than to give the prize to *Mona*. The opera was produced March 14, 1912. There had been American operas at the Metropolitan before—Converse's *Pipe of Desire* in 1910 and Herbert's *Natoma* a year later (by the Philadelphia-Chicago Company)—but neither of them had made as profound an impression as *Mona*. The performance was inadequate, but the gravity and vitality of the music, its lovely blending with the words of the text, were apparent to all who heard it. Whatever the reasons, box office or politics, *Mona* was dropped after its first short season, and has never been heard again. Whether Gatti-Casazza and the directors of the opera house gave the work which they themselves had called into being a fair chance, is a question that seems almost to answer itself.

For *Mona* is truly a fine and a great work. Uneven, yes, but its unevenness is almost its charm. It is Parker's own music, rarely synthetic. While it is obviously written by a man who knows his choral writing best, its very churchliness often establishes precisely the right atmosphere. It has telling moments—Mona's narrative of her dream, the love duet, the prelude to the third act, the orchestral passage that follows Mona's killing of her lover. In *Mona,* Parker is Parker, and no one else.

A year or so later he wrote another opera; like *Mona* to a libretto by Hooker. Like *Mona,* it won a $10,000 prize. The work was *Fairyland,* and the prize was offered in 1913 by the National Federation of Music Clubs. The

opera was performed six times in Los Angeles at the Federation Biennial in 1915. Lighter than *Mona*, *Fairyland* offers charming, unaffected music.

Of course, Parker was not primarily a composer for the stage, any more than he was a symphonist. His field was the oratorio and the choir loft. His orchestral conception seems often to be confused with his feeling for the tones and color combinations of the organ. His orchestra sometimes comes between his chorus and his hearers. Yet the music itself is large, healthy, alive, and probably enduring. More than a decade has passed since his death—his place in our music has risen rather than declined. Daniel Gregory Mason has described Parker's music as "so facile, and so voluminous, and on the whole so characterless." With this I cannot agree; at any rate in regard to those things by which we know him best. Undramatic, poor theatre, *Mona* may be; but never characterless. His own character—strong-willed, intolerant, individual—is stamped on every page of his major works.

4. ARTHUR BATELLE WHITING (1861-)[1]

Arthur Whiting has made his home and headquarters in New York since 1895, but through his place of birth and early training and associations, he belongs definitely to the Boston group. He was born in Cambridge, Mass., June 20, 1861, the nephew of George E. Whiting (1842-1923), composer and organist. This uncle was a prominent musician: principal organ teacher at the New England Conservatory, for five years organist and choir director at King's Chapel, Boston, and later at the Church of the Immaculate Conception. He was the composer of a choral march, *Our Country,* which was performed at the inauguration of President Taft in 1909. He wrote much organ music, several cantatas, and when Theodore Thomas went to Cin-

[1] Whiting died July 20, 1936.

cinnati to take charge of the College of Music in 1879, he appointed George Whiting head of the organ department.

Arthur Whiting had his first instruction at the New England Conservatory—piano with Sherwood, and harmony, counterpoint and composition with Maas and Chadwick. From 1883 to 1885 he was abroad, studying with Rheinberger in Munich. Then back to Boston for ten years, where he lived and worked among his New England colleagues. In 1895 he moved to New York, and since 1907 he has been active in giving chamber music concerts in our universities—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia.

As a composer, Whiting has written little compared to his Boston contemporaries, but in spite of his small output he has shown a genuine talent, which has its native characteristics. He is either a severe self-critic, or he writes only when he feels that he has something definite to say. His principal works are a concert-overture, a suite for horns and strings, a concerto, and a fantasy for piano and orchestra. More recently he has written a string quartet (1929), still in manuscript, and he has published a dance pageant, *The Golden Cage,* with the music scored for small orchestra. The libretto is adapted from the poems of William Blake by C. C. Smith. He has written a number of smaller works, anthems, songs and piano pieces, and has made some transcriptions for piano of the toccatas and suites of Bach and Handel.

Whiting has always been an apostle of Brahms, his concerts have presented many works by the great German, and there are many traits of Brahms in Whiting's music. In his early works he was the intellectual, and then, notably with his fantasia, he brought to his work an emotional quality that was needed to make his music human. Philip Hale expressed this change in a review of the fantasia:

> In times past I have been inclined to the opinion that when Mr. Whiting first pondered the question of a calling he must have hesitated between chess and music. . . . You respected the music of Mr.

Whiting, but you did not feel for it any personal affection. The music lacked humanity. . . . Sensuousness in music seemed to him as something intolerable, something against public morals, something that should be suppressed by the selectmen. . . .

Now this Fantasia is the outward and sure expression of a change in Mr. Whiting's way of musical thinking, and the change is decidedly for the better. . . . In this work there is a warmer spirit than that which animated or kept alive Mr. Whiting's former creations. There is no deep emotion, there is no sensuousness, there is no glowing color. . . . These might be incongruous in the present scheme. But there is a more pronounced vitality, there is a more decided sympathy with the world of men and women. . . .

All his life Whiting has been a man of wit and humor, the coiner of epigrams that have become traditions among musicians. He spares no one at whom he may level a gibe—Hale has described him as "a man with a very pretty knack at sarcasm." It may be that this keen, acrid sense of humor has kept him from taking anything too seriously, including himself, and that this is responsible for his comparatively small list of compositions.

There is an immortal anecdote about Whiting and a colleague who had written a book of critical essays. The author was reading from the proofs of his chapter on Chopin. He made the statement that Chopin was a master of form and structure, and devoted many pages to supporting his opinion. Whiting listened patiently until his friend had finished, and then remarked that he disagreed, that Chopin was far from being a master of form, that all of his major works were loosely knit. He cited examples.

This time the author listened patiently, and finally exclaimed that there was much in what Whiting had said; he was convinced that maybe Chopin was not the master of form that he had thought him. "But what shall I do?" he asked. "Here are proofs of my book. The publisher is waiting for my corrections so that he can put it to press."

"Why, that's easy," said Whiting; "you only have to add

one word. You have said, 'Chopin was a master of form.' Instead of that, say, 'Chopin was *not* a master of form.' "

5. MRS. H. H. A. BEACH
(1867-)

I once asked Mrs. Beach if she ever resented being called an American composer. "No," she answered, "but I would rather be called a composer." I might have put it still stronger, and asked if she minded being known as an American woman composer. For whether we are to judge Mrs. Beach for her music alone, or for the added interest of her nationality and sex, the fact remains that she is the outstanding composer among American women, a highly talented and able creative musician.

Mrs. Beach is the youngest of the Boston group, the little sister who has done much on her own; who, as a youthful prodigy, caused the intolerant old John S. Dwight to scratch his head and to bow in admiration of her extraordinary gifts. She once fooled Dwight and his friend Otto Dresel. Neither of them could see much good in Brahms. One day the young pianist played them a *Capriccio* that had just come to America. They were enchanted; what was it? who wrote it? "Brahms," said the young Miss Cheney. Dwight and Dresel choked and muttered that it was the best thing he ever wrote.

When Theodore Thomas engaged her to play the Mendelssohn D minor concerto with his orchestra in Boston, she had to go to Worcester for rehearsal. Thomas was playing there the day before the Boston concert. She was seventeen at the time, and Thomas thought he would make things easy for her in the last movement. He started the orchestra at a leisurely tempo. At the entrance of the piano, the young artist started at her usual pace, and the startled Thomas had to follow.

Mrs. Beach was born September 5, 1867—Amy Marcy

Cheney. Her birthplace was the little village of Henniker, New Hampshire, and her parents were New Englanders of colonial descent. She was musical from babyhood. She could sing songs when she was scarcely more than a year old, and her memory was so accurate that she always remembered a song exactly as she first heard it. She would rebel whenever she heard it sung differently. She was extremely sensitive to melody—anything sad or sentimental upset her. When she must be punished her mother would play Gottschalk's *Last Hope,* instead of giving her a New England spanking.

Amy started to play the piano when she was four; two years later she had lessons. She insisted on having them from her mother, who was herself a singer and pianist. In a short time the child mastered études of Heller and Czerny, the Handel *Harmonious Blacksmith* Variations, several Beethoven sonatas, some Chopin waltzes, and Dresel's arrangements of Mendelssohn songs. And she had written some pieces of her own.

When she was eight the family moved to Boston, where instruction continued under various teachers—Ernst Perabo, Junius Hill, Carl Baermann. She had some harmony lessons with Hill when she was fourteen. Then she gave herself some training without outside help. She became so engrossed in her study of instrumentation that she made her own translation of treatises by Berlioz and Gavaert. At about this time her father and mother had to decide between Europe and America for their daughter's final education. They chose America.

She made her first public appearance in Boston when she was sixteen, and played the Moscheles G minor concerto with a symphony orchestra. The next year she was soloist with the Boston Symphony, and played the Chopin F minor. Then she played Mendelssohn with Thomas. In 1885, when she was eighteen, she married Dr. Beach, a physician who achieved distinction as a surgeon and medical author-

ity. Until his death in 1910, Mrs. Beach and her husband lived in Boston.

The year after Dr. Beach died, Mrs. Beach went to Europe to stay for almost four years, playing in concert and introducing her works in Germany. She played her own piano concerto with orchestras in Hamburg, Leipsic and Berlin. Her *Gaelic* symphony was heard in Hamburg and Leipsic, and she played the piano part of her quintet, and the sonata for violin and piano, in various cities. The years abroad were something of a triumph. Foreign critics were more than friendly—many of them reviewed her works with enthusiasm. She achieved an international standing.

Since her return from abroad she has been busy composing and playing in concert. She has an energy for work that seems almost inexhaustible—and yet she never seems hasty or feverish. She once wrote me that it seems as if a century must separate the present from her earlier life, devoted mostly to composition in her own home, with only occasional concert appearances. In recent years she has been much "on the road," with only brief periods for writing.

I have literally lived the life of two people; one a pianist, the other a writer. Anything more unlike than the state of mind demanded by these two professions I could not imagine! When I do one kind of work, I shut the other up in a closed room and lock the door, unless I happen to be composing for the piano, in which case there is a connecting link. One great advantage, however, in this kind of life, is that one never grows stale, but there is always a continual interest and freshness from the change back and forth.

My outdoor summer life is another story, and a most delightful one. Life in the woods is my greatest joy, with my friends and all that they have meant to me in these past years.

Mrs. Beach is best known to the layman for her songs—*Ah, Love, but a Day, The Year's at the Spring,* and *Ecstasy.* She has written over a hundred and fifty songs, but these are the most sung, and in many ways her best song-writing,

for they are direct, free from the fondness for over-elaboration that Mrs. Beach is wont to indulge. Musicians know her by her instrumental works. She has published the *Gaelic* symphony, a piano concerto, a violin and piano sonata, a quintet for piano and strings, a theme and variations for flute and string quartet, and a suite for two pianos, founded on old Irish melodies. In addition, there are suites and many individual pieces for piano.

She is fond of writing music for the church. Her first important work (Opus 5) was a mass, for soli, chorus, orchestra and organ, which was first performed by the Handel and Haydn Society under Zerrahn in 1892. There are a number of anthems, and a complete Episcopal service.

She was commissioned to write a work for the dedication of the Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Fair, and she composed a *Festival Jubilate* in six weeks. In 1898 she wrote a *Song of Welcome* for the Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha, and in 1915 a *Panama Hymn* for the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco.

She has used folk-songs in many of her works—the *Gaelic* symphony is made from Gaelic themes. Yet she never feels that she is writing nationalistic music when she uses national songs. She merely adapts for her own purposes melodies she happens to like. With her, nationalism is something subtler than using Indian or other tunes found in America—Americanism is something that cannot be acquired by thinking about it. She has used bird calls, Eskimo songs, Balkan themes, anything that happens to appeal to her. But she is not an Eskimo, nor a Balkan, and she knows she is not writing Eskimo or Balkan music.

This theory is typical of the common-sense attitude she has in regard to many things, notably her music. She writes sincerely, according to her thoughts, and she has the technical equipment to express those thoughts fluently.

Chapter XIII

LATTER-CENTURY AND PRESENT-DAY CHURCH MUSIC

I. DUDLEY BUCK (1839-1909) AND HIS SUCCESSORS

CLASSIFICATION and grouping of creative artists is a difficult and dangerous task. Many of them have been significant in several branches of their art; to place a group of them arbitrarily under a single heading seems to limit their importance. Chronology is often as unintelligent a refuge as placing people and topics in alphabetical order. Characteristics of their work do not solve the problem altogether. Modernists of to-day may be the reactionaries and old fogies of to-morrow. Innovators may either fall by the wayside or cease to be innovators, and critical estimates will seem ridiculous in twenty or thirty years.

Yet the author of a book on American music cannot dodge the issue. He must put his characters somewhere. For this reason we will find in this chapter on church music composers who have gained distinction in other fields; but since they are best known to the public through their associations with the church, here they seem to belong. Some of them have been symphonists, some have written secular songs and instrumental pieces, yet their best known gifts have been made to sacred music.

In previous chapters we traced the growth of church music and hymnology from colonial days, through the work of Lowell Mason and his colleagues in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first psalmodists and hymn writers were succeeded by men of better training; some of them studied in Europe. Many wrote tunes which are still in

wide use. Few of them, however, attempted the larger forms of choral writing. In this field the name of DUDLEY BUCK stands out as a pioneer, just as John K. Paine rises above his colleagues as the first of our symphonists to achieve success. Buck wrote for the orchestra, and Paine wrote some choral music, but each is known best in his own field.

In many ways Buck's missionary work in giving organ recitals was as educational as that of Theodore Thomas with his orchestra. His musicianship was combined with the ability to catch and hold popular attention. As a choir-director and composer he helped to develop our literature for the church, and since he was fond of the mixed quartet which has been a feature of American worship, and sometimes its curse, he had a profound influence on our choir-music. In his larger choral works he had due regard for the requirements of the texts he chose, and he was inventive and versatile in attaining appropriate effects. As a teacher he trained many church composers of the next generation—Harry Rowe Shelley, John Hyatt Brewer, Frederick Grant Gleason, and others.

Buck and Paine were close contemporaries—both were born in the same year—1839. Buck studied in Europe when Paine was there, and both returned to take up their work at home in 1862. Both were commissioned by Thomas to write works for our important expositions—Philadelphia in 1876 and Chicago in 1893. Both lived to see the twentieth century—Paine died in 1906 and Buck in 1909.

Dudley Buck was born in Hartford, Connecticut, March 10, 1839. His father was a shipping merchant, and even though the son showed an early taste for music, his father intended that he should become a business man. He had no music lessons until he was sixteen, but he made up for lost time and became so ardent a music pupil that his father changed his plans, allowed his son to become a musician,

and determined that he should have the best possible training for his profession. Dudley went to Leipsic in 1858, where he studied with Hauptmann, Richter, Plaidy and Moscheles. Then he went to Dresden to take organ lessons with Friedrich Schneider. He later spent a year in Paris, and then came home in 1862 to become the organist of Hartford's Park Church.

In 1864 he published his first *Motette Collection,* at a time when such motets were much needed. In 1869 he was called to Chicago as organist of St. James. When the church burned in the great fire of '71 many of his manuscripts were lost, including a setting of Drake's poem, *The Culprit Fay.* Then he went to Boston, to take charge of the music at St. Paul's. In 1872 he composed a *Festival Hymn* for Gilmore's second jubilee; a year later his setting of the 46th Psalm was performed by the Handel and Haydn Society. In 1874 he published *The Legend of Don Munio,* a setting of a metrical version of Irving's *Alhambra,* for small orchestra and chorus. The work was well adapted to the choral resources of small cities, and it became very popular.

Theodore Thomas invited Buck to come to New York in 1875, to act as assistant conductor of the Central Park Garden Concerts. He also appointed him assistant conductor of the Cincinnati Festival. Buck moved his family to Brooklyn, and after a short term at St. Ann's in New York, he became the organist of Holy Trinity in Brooklyn. In 1876 he wrote the *Centennial Meditation of Columbus,* which was performed under Thomas at the inaugural ceremonies of the centennial in Philadelphia. The poem was written for the occasion by Sidney Lanier, the poet-musician who deserves a place in our music history.

In 1877 Buck published a work which has been of great help to organists and choir masters: *Illustration in Choir Accompaniment, with Hints in Registration.* This handbook enjoyed many editions, and is still in use. In the same

year he published his second organ sonata. *The Nun of Nidaro* (1879) was from Longfellow's poems, as were the *Scenes from the Golden Legend,* the symphonic cantata that won the $1,000 prize at the Cincinnati Festival in 1880. In the same year Theodore Thomas introduced his symphonic overture to Scott's *Marmion* at one of the concerts of the Brooklyn Philharmonic.

In the *Golden Legend,* and in the *Marmion* overture, Buck attempted the use of the leit-motif for identifying characters and emotions; yet he never became particularly Wagnerian, for he loved too well the Italian style of declamation and bel-canto. His gift of agreeable melody was almost too suave at times, yet there was generally substance behind his facility.

In 1881 Buck published settings of more of Longfellow's *Saga of King Olaf,* from which he had taken the *Nun of Nidaro.* The later work was *King Olaf's Christmas.* Like the *Nun,* it was scored for male chorus with solos, to accompaniment of piano obbligato, reed organ and string quartet *ad lib.* The composer knew what was practical in the way of accompaniment in his day.

His reputation abroad was strengthened in 1885 by the London performance of a dramatic cantata, *The Light of Asia.* Lillian Nordica was one of the soloists. For the text of *The Voyage of Columbus,* Buck again turned to Washington Irving, and adapted a libretto from the *Life of Columbus.* Buck's cantata presents six scenes—*The Chapel of St. George at Palos, On the Deck of the Santa Maria, The Vesper Hymn, Mutiny, In Distant Andalusia,* and *Land and Thanksgiving.* The work has had frequent performances in America and in Germany. Buck made his own German translation of the libretto.

Church choirs have found most useful the series of short cantatas depicting the prophecy, the birth, the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ. There are three works in the cycle—*The Coming of the King, The Story of the*

Cross, and *Christ the Victor.* All contain music that is mellifluous, not difficult to perform, and any one of them may be performed in connection with a Christmas or Easter service. A *Midnight Service for New Year's Eve* has seen many old years out and many new years in.

He wrote a number of shorter songs and ballads, sacred and secular. Some of them are a trifle cloying in their sweetness. Sometimes, too, in his writing for the organ, he made transcriptions of familiar songs—*Home, Sweet Home, The Last Rose of Summer,* but many congregations would rather hear these as an offertory than music of Bach or Handel. Buck wrote for his market, and his work as a whole represents a compromise between the public taste and the composer's own ideals. Yet he constantly worked to raise standards and he succeeded.

His pupils made names for themselves. Of Frederick Grant Gleason we have already learned. CHARLES BEACH HAWLEY (1858-1915) was the son of a Massachusetts farmer who appreciated good music. Hawley had a musical education, and before he came to Buck for study in composition he had been a church organist and had directed the music at the Cheshire Military Academy. He was also a singer, and at eighteen he was a soloist at the Calvary Episcopal Church. Then he was made assistant organist at St. Thomas' Episcopal Church. For many summers he took charge of the music at St. James Chapel in Elberon, N. J., attended by Presidents Grant and Garfield. Hawley's principal compositions were songs, for he had a pretty gift for lyric melody. Through his connection with the Mendelssohn Glee Club he wrote many part-songs for men's voices, many of them of a "bull-frog on the bank" variety. Male quartets of several generations sang *They kissed! I Saw Them Do It.* There were sacred songs too—no pupil of Dudley Buck could have avoided writing them. His *Trisagion and Sanctus* was perhaps the best known.

WILLIAM HAROLD NEIDLINGER (1863-1924) was an or-

ganist and conductor, but he specialized in child-psychology, and wrote many delightful songs for children. Born in Brooklyn, he had his musical training with Dudley Buck. Besides his songs, he wrote a cantata, *Prayer, Promise and Praise,* as well as two comic operas.

Three of Buck's most prominent pupils have had Brooklyn as their home and their principal scene of activity. JOHN HYATT BREWER has been organist at the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church since 1881. Born in Brooklyn in 1856 he was for several years famous as a boy soprano in Brooklyn and New York. He studied with Dudley Buck, and then became organist at the City Park Chapel (Brooklyn), when he was fifteen. He has been prominent as a choral conductor. While Buck was conductor of Brooklyn's Apollo Club, Brewer was accompanist. When Buck retired in 1903, Brewer was made conductor. He was one of the founders of the American Guild of Organists, and in 1914 New York University made him a Doctor of Music.[1]

Brewer has written over two hundred compositions, many of them for chorus. Some of them have won prizes—*Up with the Flag,* the Brooklyn City Prize in 1894; *Lord of the Dunderberg,* a cantata for men's voices and orchestra, the Schubert Glee Club prize in 1905; *Bedouin Love-Song,* for mixed voices a cappella, the Chicago Madrigal Club prize in 1906. He has written much for instruments—a string quartet, a suite for orchestra, an orchestral fantasie, and some pieces for string quintet and flute.

HARRY ROWE SHELLEY was born in New Haven in 1858. He began his career as an organist at the Center Church in that city and studied music first at Yale College, and then later with Dudley Buck. He studied with Dvořák at the National Conservatory. He has lived in Brooklyn, and has been organist of two of her leading churches—Plymouth and the Church of the Pilgrims. For many years he was the organist at the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church in New York. Like his teacher Buck, Shelley has been successful

[1] Brewer died in 1931.

with sacred oratorios and cantatas—*The Inheritance Divine; Death and Life;* and *Vexilla Regis.* His anthems are singable and effective, for he knows his church choir from experience. His orchestral works include two symphonies; a *Santa Claus* overture; an orchestral suite, *Souvenir de Baden-Baden;* a violin concerto; and a fantasia for piano and orchestra.

RAYMOND HUNTINGTON WOODMAN is the third of Buck's pupils to be identified with Brooklyn. In 1930 he celebrated his fiftieth anniversary as organist of the First Presbyterian Church. His father had been an organist before him. Brooklyn was his birthplace in 1861, and his father was his teacher. He studied with Dudley Buck, and then with César Franck in Paris. His works include anthems and cantatas, a few works for organ, and many songs. His setting of Christina Rossetti's *The Birthday* has helped many a song-recitalist to an encore. He is straightforward in his music, always to the point, and sparing in his use of irrelevant elaborations.

At the celebration of his fiftieth year as organist of the First Church, the combined choirs of nine churches came together to do him tribute by singing his music. Fellow organists came to play—William C. Carl, Clarence Dickinson and others; and Dr. Noyes, pastor of the church, spoke of his leadership in the ministry of music, and his distinguished contribution to the beauty of public worship.

So much for the pupils of Dudley Buck. There are many others who have contributed to the literature of worship music. HOMER NEWTON BARTLETT had a long and respected career—from 1846 to 1920. For thirty-five years he was organist of the Madison Avenue Baptist Church in New York. He came from New York State, born in a village named Olive and schooled in Ellenville. His music teachers were S. B. Mills and O. F. Jacobsen. He wrote over 250 compositions; for organ a *Toccata,* a suite, a *Festival Hymn, De Profundis,* and a *Méditation Sérieuse.*

He composed an opera and an operetta; a symphonic poem and a *Legende* for orchestra; a concerto and a ballade for violin and orchestra. Like Shelley and Woodman, Bartlett was one of the founders of the American Guild of Organists.

Music pupils of a past generation knew Bartlett through his Opus 1, a *Grande Polka de Concert.* Rupert Hughes called it "one of the most outrageously popular piano pieces ever published in America," and it was indeed both outrageous and popular. It gained a facile reputation that needed many better works to balance it. These Bartlett supplied, for much of his music is thoughtful as well as agreeable. He occasionally tried stunts that did not come off, such as imitating Gounod by adding a vocal part to a Cramer étude and calling the result, *Lord God, Hear my Prayer.* His *Jehovah Nissi,* a sacred march chorus, was a stirring, effective piece of writing.

Like Bartlett, LUCIEN GATES CHAFFIN was born in 1846 and lived to be almost eighty years old. He was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, graduated from Brown University, and then gave himself to teaching, composing, and work as a concert organist, music critic and editor. His works include a setting of the 23rd Psalm, a cantata, *Holy Night,* many anthems, organ pieces and songs.

SUMNER SALTER has been one of the most prolific of our composers for the church. For over twenty years choirmaster at Williams College, he wrote many anthems for men's voices. *Tarry with me, O my Saviour* has long been a favorite, largely because of its restful melodic line and its warm harmonies in the register of male singers. He has made hundreds of vocal arrangements for various combinations—he knows what voices can do and how they will blend effectively. His responses and choir services are both musical and devotional.

Salter was born in Iowa in 1856. He began his career as an organist while a student at Amherst College, where he graduated in 1877. His music teachers were Eugene

Thayer and J. C. D. Parker; he also had some lessons in theory with J. K. Paine. For a couple of summers he was assistant teacher to Sherwood. He has held many church and teaching positions in various parts of the country. For two years he was at Cornell University, and then in 1905 he went to Williams. His wife, Mary Turner Salter, is a song writer, of whom we shall hear later.

HAMILTON CRAWFORD MACDOUGALL (1858-) was organist, choir-master and professor of music at Wellesley College for almost thirty years. Pupil of Sherwood, Lang, and J. C. D. Parker, he is by tradition well equipped in both organ playing and choir training. Some of his choral works and his anthems have achieved distinction and wide use. His festival setting of *Onward, Christian Soldiers* almost sings itself in its stirring melody and rhythm. He has published music for the Masonic ritual, and has made a setting of the 85th Psalm for tenor, bass, chorus and organ. He has written many articles and several books on organ playing and church music.

PETER CHRISTIAN LUTKIN (1858-),[1] since 1895 dean of the School of Music in Northwestern University, has been an active composer of church music. He has written a Communion Service, several *Te Deums,* a number of settings of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis,* and many anthems.

JAMES HOTCHKISS ROGERS was born in Connecticut in 1857, but since 1883 has been identified with the musical life of Cleveland, where he has been organist of the Euclid Avenue Temple and the First Unitarian Church.[2] Rogers studied first with Towne and Clarence Eddy in Chicago, then went abroad and worked with Haupt and Loeschorn in Germany, and with Guilmant and Widor in Paris. For organ, Rogers has written a sonata, two suites, a concert overture, a grand *chœur,* a Christmas *Pastorale,* and a *Processional March.* He has composed morning and evening services, two cantatas, and many anthems. Among his

[1] Lutkin died in 1931.
[2] Rogers died in 1940.

songs the best known are *The Star* and *Wind-Song*. He is an able teacher, and for many years has been music critic of the Cleveland *Plain-Dealer*.

GEORGE WARING STEBBINS (1869-)[1] is the son of George C. Stebbins, the singing-evangelist, but his love for good music and his foreign training with Guilmant and Henschel made a respectable musician of him. He was one of the founders of the American Guild of Organists, and has been an organist at several Brooklyn churches—Emmanuel Baptist and Plymouth. His compositions number many organ pieces, anthems, choruses and songs.

GEORGE BALCH NEVIN, a cousin of Ethelbert Nevin, has long been known as a composer of church music. He has written several cantatas: *The Crown of Life, the Incarnation* and several others. Like Chadwick he has made a setting of Lanier's *Into the Woods my Master Went*. Nevin was born in Pennsylvania in 1859, and has spent most of his life in Easton, Pennsylvania. For nearly thirty years he divided his time between a wholesale paper business and music.[2]

His son, GORDON BALCH NEVIN, born in 1892, has made music his profession, and has been organist at churches in Easton, Pa., Cleveland, and latterly at Johnstown, Pennsylvania. He has published a number of works, principally for the organ. Chief among them are a *Sonata Tripartite* and a *Pageant Triumphale*. There are also a number of secular songs. Recently he has published effective concert versions of three Stephen Foster songs: *I Dream of Jeanie, Carry Me 'Long,* and *De Camptown Races*.

CHARLES WHITNEY COOMBS (1859-), has been prolific in both sacred and secular music. Born in Bucksport, Maine, of New England parentage, he encountered as a youth the Puritan prejudice against making music his profession. It was not until he had proved beyond all doubt that this was the career for which he was fitted that his mother consented to his studying music seriously. He went

[1] Stebbins died in 1930. [2] Nevins died in 1933.

abroad in 1878, first studying at Stuttgart and Dresden, and finally in 1887 becoming the organist and choir-master of the American Church at Dresden. He held this position for years, and returned to America in 1891 to become organist of the Church of the Holy Communion in New York. This position he occupied for seventeen years, and in 1908 became organist at St. Luke's in New York, remaining until 1928 when he retired from active professional life.

Of Coombs' many works the most important are his cantatas: *The Vision of St. John, The First Christmas, Ancient of Days, Sorrows of Death,* and *Light Eternal.* He has written many anthems, and songs, sacred and secular. *Her Rose* is perhaps the best known of the songs.

LOUIS RAPHAEL DRESSLER (1861-)[1] was born in New York and has spent practically all of his life there. For many years he was organist at All Souls', and has been active as choral conductor, accompanist, composer of church music, and music editor for a publishing house.

WALTER HENRY HALL (1862-),[2] though born in England, has been in this country since he was twenty-one years old. He has been an organist in Germantown, Pennsylvania, Albany, New York, and since 1896 in New York City. In 1893 he founded the Brooklyn Oratorio Society. In 1913 he was made professor of Choral and Church Music at Columbia University. His compositions include a communion service in G, a *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis,* a *Festival Te Deum,* and many anthems, canticles and hymn-tunes. In 1919 he was a member of the committee on the Episcopal *Hymnal.*

CLARENCE DICKINSON was born in 1873, a native of Indiana. Trained in Chicago, and then with Guilmant, Vierne, and Moszkowski in Paris, he was active in Chicago until 1909—organist of St. James' Church, conductor of the Chicago English Opera Company and several choral societies. When he came to New York he was appointed

[1] Dressler died in 1932. [2] Hall died in 1935.

organist of the Brick Presbyterian Church, and the Temple Beth-El. In 1912 he became associated with the Union Theological Seminary; from 1928 the director of its School of Sacred Music. He succeeded Frank Damrosch as conductor of the Mendelssohn Glee Club and helped found the American Guild of Organists.

Dickinson's compositions include vocal solos and choruses, a symphony for organ, and shorter works for organ and stringed instruments. He has edited a series of *Sacred Choruses, Ancient and Modern,* a *Book of Eighty Anthems,* and a *Book of Forty Antiphons.*

Canon CHARLES WINFRED DOUGLAS (1867-) is a high-churchman who has devoted much of his life to the restoration of plain-chant in the Episcopal Church. After many years as organist in several churches he became director of music for the Sisterhood of St. Mary and instructor in plain-chant at the General Theological Seminary in New York. His works include a *Missa de Angelis, Asperges me, Cantica Eucharistica, Compline, Missa Marialis, Missa Penitentialis, Missa Paschalis,* the *Canticles at Even-song,* the *St. Dunstan Psalter and Kyrial,* and a mass in G for women's voices and small orchestra.

T. CARL WHITMER, born in Pennsylvania in 1873, is an organist and choirmaster who has done much creative work. He considers that his life work has been the writing and composing of a series of *Spiritual Music Dramas,* which have been produced at *Dramamount,* an artistic colony Whitmer has founded near the Hudson River in New York State. His published works include songs, pieces for piano and for organ, anthems and choruses, a *Syrian Ballet* for orchestra, and a *Choral Rhapsody* for soli, chorus and orchestra, to text by Walt Whitman. He has in manuscript several works for chamber music combinations. At present Whitmer is organist of the Sixth Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh.

JAMES ROBERT GILLETTE (1886-), since 1914 a

concert organist at Macon, Georgia, has composed a number of successful organ pieces. Among his larger works is a cantata, *The Life Everlasting.*

EDWIN SHIPPEN BARNES (1887-) studied with Horatio Parker at Yale, and then with d'Indy in Paris. He has been in New York since 1911, organist first at the Church of the Incarnation and then at the Rutgers Presbyterian Church. He has written considerable music—a symphony for organ, two organ suites, a fantasia for organ and chorus, two cantatas—*The Comforter* and *Remember Now thy Creator,* as well as a number of anthems and songs.

For several years HAROLD VINCENT MILLIGAN (1888-) has been the organist of Harry Emerson Fosdick's Park Avenue Baptist Church, now moved into its new home on Riverside Drive, New York. Before that he had been organist at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church in New York, and the West End Synagogue. He has written a number of choral works, sacred and secular, some organ pieces, and two operettas; but he is perhaps best known to the general public for his arrangements of songs by Francis Hopkinson, and other early American composers. He is the author of a biography of Stephen Foster.

EDWARD JULIUS BIEDERMANN (1849-1933) was chiefly concerned with music for the Catholic Church. He was the son of A. J. Biedermann, piano teacher and composer. The younger Biedermann wrote several masses and considerable choral music.

EDUARDO MARZO (1852-1929) was another of the composers of Catholic Church music. He was an Italian who came to New York in 1867 as a prodigy pianist. For several years he travelled as accompanist for soloists; Carlotta Patti, Annie Louise Carey, Sarasate and others. From 1878 he lived in New York, as a vocal teacher, as organist at the Church of the Holy Name, and as a musical editor

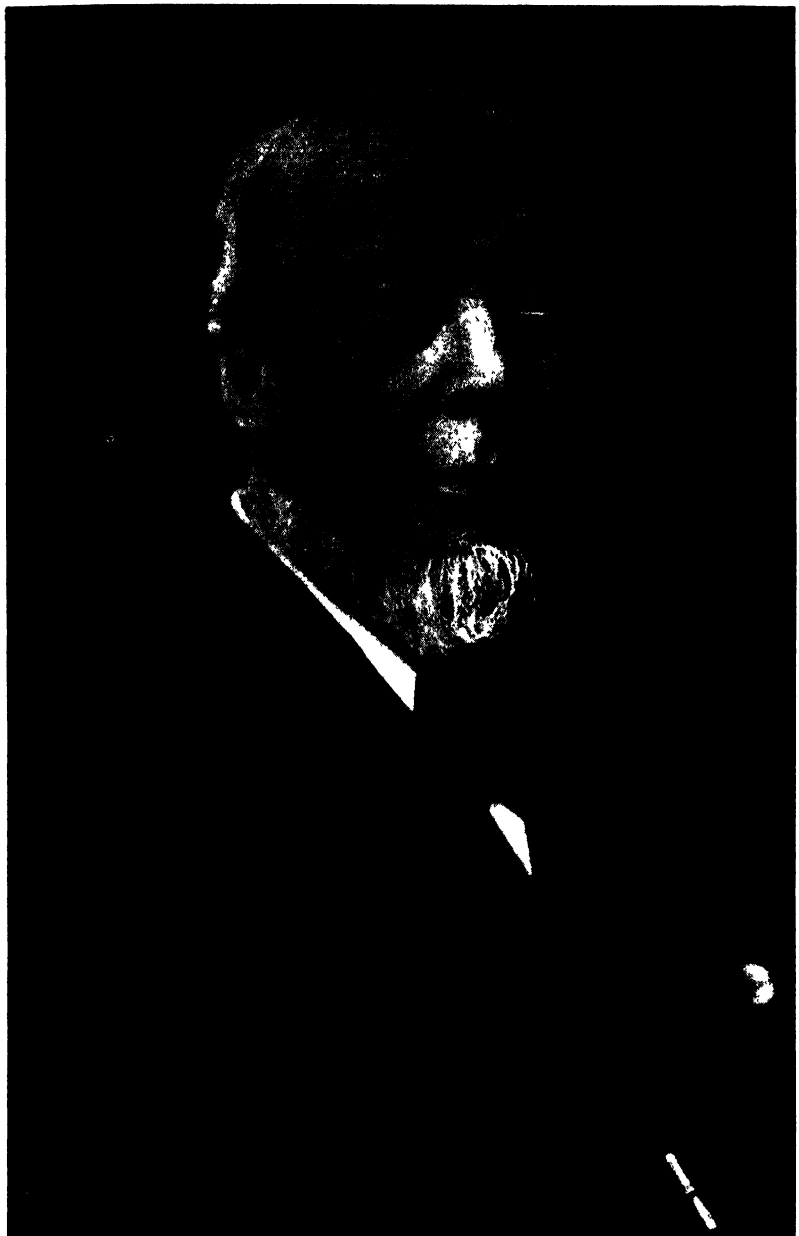


Photo by Brown Bros.

Dudley Buck.

(See page 348.)

Ethelbert Nevin.

(See page 367.)

and composer. He wrote nine masses, four vespers, forty songs and anthems for the Catholic service, as well as three *Te Deums,* forty anthems and sacred solos for the Protestant church. He wrote much secular music, too. Operettas and cantatas, and songs.

NICOLA ALOYSIUS MONTANI (1880-) is the organizer of the Society of St. Gregory to promote Gregorian music in the Roman Catholic Church. He has written much church music: two masses, a *Stabat Mater,* and motets.

PIETRO YON (Italy, 1886-) was substitute organist at the Vatican before he came to America. In 1907 he became organist at St. Francis Xavier's in New York, and has recently been at St. Patrick's Cathedral. He has written six masses, and several motets; a sonata and a number of pieces for organ. His *Gesù Bambino* has become famous as an organ piece and as a song.

These are a few of the composers of church music, from the time of Dudley Buck to the present. Many have necessarily been omitted, but an earnest attempt has been made to give a short account of those who have been representative in writing worship music of the better type.

2. THE EVANGELICAL GROUP

Both churchmen and musicians may congratulate themselves that the so-called gospel hymn is gradually becoming out-moded, for it is a type of music that appeals only to the emotions. Being cheap and tawdry, its inspiration to worshippers can hardly be of the noblest character. Gospel hymns have been useful in swaying crowds at revival meetings. They have a distinct mob value; but if religion is to be held as a noble part of our daily, or weekly, lives, music better fitted to the dance hall will hardly preserve its nobility.

Not that we have altogether turned our backs to the

gospel hymns—we still gather at the river—"the beautiful, the beautifu-hul ri-ver"; and some of our children fight with sin bravely, in waltz time. Basses and tenors still echo sopranos and altos in singing "In the Sweet" (*In the Sweet*) —"By and by" (*by and by*), and they say that Billy Sunday is even now bringing the repentant up the sawdust trail to the strains of Rodeheaver's *Brighten the Corner where You Are.* But there are signs of a reaction against the appropriating of street balladry for worship uses.

Gospel hymns have a long history, dating back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their rise was concurrent with the growth of the sentimental ballad. Some of Lowell Mason's colleagues—Bradbury among them—developed a fondness for sentimentality, and Mason himself sometimes ventured near the brink. Mason, on the whole, was dignified, and would have been gratified with the better hymnals of to-day. Yet the choirless assembly, the Sunday School, the camp meeting and the revivalist campaign produced the popular sacred hymn, vapid and often noisy, designed to rouse assemblies, and sway them with sentimental emotion. Whatever their intentions, the writers of evangelical hymns have made their branch of church music take a vertical nose dive artistically.

One of the oldest of the gospel hymn writers was CHARLES CROZAT CONVERSE (1832-1918). His best known hymn was *What a Friend we Have in Jesus,* a pretty melody that has been widely used. Converse was a well-educated musician. He studied with Richter and Hauptmann in Germany; then became a lawyer and practiced both music and law in Erie, Pennsylvania. He wrote a song that he hoped would become a national hymn—*God for Us.* He composed an *American Concert Overture* (based on *Hail Columbia*), a *Festouvertüre,* and he left in manuscript two symphonies, two oratorios, several overtures, string-quartets and quintets. He spent his last years in Highwood, New Jersey.

WILLIAM HOWARD DOANE (1832-1915) was one of the most prolific of the gospel hymn writers. Born in Connecticut, a pupil of B. F. Baker in Boston, he spent his life in business principally—a manufacturer of wood-working machinery. His musical activities date from his thirtieth year, and he was awarded the Doctor of Music degree by Denison University in 1875. *Saved by the Blood, My Faith Still Clings, This I Know,* and *Sound the Alarm* are among Doane's favorite hymns.

WILLIAM GUSTAVUS FISCHER (1835-1912) was a Philadelphia book-binder who became interested in music, and developed his gifts as a teacher and choral leader. For thirty years from 1868 he was a successful piano dealer. He is best known to Sunday Schools through his ballad-hymn, *I Love to Tell the Story* and the somewhat maudlin *Whiter than Snow.*

HART PEASE DANKS (1834-1903) is known to fame as the composer of *Silver Threads Among the Gold,* yet he too devoted his saccharine talents to the church. His first composition, the tune *Lake Street,* appeared in Bradbury's *Jubilee Collection.* He wrote a sacred song, *Not Ashamed of Christ,* and in 1892 he published a set of what he or his publishers modestly termed *Superior Anthems for Church Choirs.* Danks was born in New Haven. When he was eight the family moved to Saratoga Springs, where he attended the district school and had some music lessons. While he was still a youth, his family moved again, this time to Chicago, and he helped his father in his trade as a builder. When he was nineteen he became a carpenter, but his interest in music led him into various musical pursuits: bass singer, choir leader, and conductor of musical societies. He was largely self-taught in music, but he struck the popular taste and was successful. It is said that he published over 1,300 compositions, mostly songs. In its day, *Don't Be Angry with Me, Darling* ranked with *Silver Threads* in popularity.

The name of THOMAS PHILANDER RYDER (1836-1887) is seldom heard to-day, but this New Englander made something of a name for himself, first as organist at Hyannis, and later at the Tremont Temple in Boston. He was a popular teacher and choir leader, and his hymns were used considerably. He was the compiler of *Golden Treasure,* "a collection of hymn tunes, anthems, chants, etc. for public worship, together with part-songs and glees, for mixed and male voices, for musical conventions."

PHILIP PAUL BLISS (1838-1876) was a protégé of George F. Root, who, incidentally, belongs in this chapter as well as in the discussion of Civil War songs. In his later years Bliss was connected with the gospel meetings of Major D. W. Whittle, and it was his task to lead the singing and put life into it. He helped Root and his partner Cady conduct musical conventions. His experience taught him the psychology of religious mass meetings, and his songs reflected his experience. *Hold the Fort, Only an Armor Bearer, Pull for the Shore, Rescue the Perishing* were among his exhortations. Nor can we laugh too much at the Negro, when Bliss told the story of the Ark with a waltz. He compiled many hymn books: *The Joy;* "a collection of new and carefully selected music for classes, choirs and conventions"; *Sunshine for Sunday Schools;* and he contributed to the standard Bigelow and Main collection of *Gospel Hymns.* Bliss had a tragic end, he was killed in the Ashtabula train wreck in 1876.

HUBERT PLATT MAIN (1839-1925) wrote hundreds of hymns. He was musically a practical person; he knew what people liked to sing. He was brought up on the music of Bradbury and Woodbury, and when he was ten he could read their songs by note or syllable. After several years of clerical and editorial work in New York, he went to work for Bradbury. When his father, Silvester Main, helped to organize Bradbury's successors, Bigelow and

Main, Hubert Main stayed with the firm and eventually became one of its partners.

He spent the rest of his long life as a writer and compiler of hymns, and he met with great success, *Search me, O Lord; Our Refuge; Wonderful Love,* are typical of his style. Main looked at his art somewhat through the dollar sign. When I was studying composition, my teacher told him that I was writing fugues. "He'll never sell 'em!" was Main's prompt reply. He was right.

This chapter may well close with a brief account of IRA DAVID SANKEY (1840-1908), best known of all the musical evangelists in latter years. Sankey was for years the musical partner of Dwight L. Moody, one of the most famous of our revivalists. From 1871 until 1899 Sankey toured with Moody through the United States and Great Britain. "Moody and Sankey songs" became an almost generic term, representing to many musicians the lowest depths to which music can descend. Yet there was something moving in Sankey's tunes, maybe a matter of association to one who went to Sunday School in the nineties; something that grips in spite of their obvious banality and sentimentalism. The tunes are pretty cheap, yet they were favorites for many years. *Shine on, O Star!; He is Coming; Not Far from the Kingdom; O Brother, Life's Journey Beginning; The Ninety and Nine; A Soldier of the Cross* were among the hundreds of hymns that Sankey wrote.

There were other composers who should be mentioned—GEORGE C. STEBBINS (1846-), (father of George Waring Stebbins), JAMES MCGRANAHAN (1840-1897) especially. The gospel songs are important for several reasons, chiefly for their usefulness in evangelical churches and Sunday Schools. They kept alive the emotionalism in religion. The later nineteenth century was an emotional age, and emotional people needed emotional songs for their worship.

Another influence they have had is more difficult to trace. Many of the older of these songs are reflected in the spiritual songs of the Negro, and it may be that the writers of our gospel hymns have had far more to do with Negro spirituals than African tribesmen. But more of this in its proper place. The evangelical hymns were widely used in their day, and for many years after they first appeared; but those with our best musical interests at heart may be thankful that the most maudlin of them are dying out, and by no means destined to become American folk-songs.

I have shown proofs of this chapter to several musicians who have been active in conducting the singing at revival meetings and evangelical services. The comments of two of them are worthy of printing here, for they are based on actual experience. Homer Rodeheaver, himself a composer of gospel songs, and for twenty years in charge of the music at Billy Sunday's meetings, writes as follows:

"The gospel song is a declaration of God's plan of salvation and his promises, addressed to the people. We can bring you thousands of illustrations of individuals whose lives have actually been changed by the message of the gospel song, and who have become assets in their communities where they were liabilities before. These songs are not written for prayer meetings, but to challenge the attention of people on the outside who have not been interested in any form of church work or worship. They are used simply as a step from nothing to something. If critics knew how some of these songs were loved by many people, they would never refer to the 'saccharine talents' of great and good men who have blessed the world with their songs."

My friend Howard Wade Kimsey, a veteran song leader, for several years in charge of the music at Dr. Cadman's Sunday afternoon meetings, takes issue with me on several points: "No, I do not agree with you. I do not think that what you term cheap, emotional hymns are dying out, any more than cheap, emotional jazz and popular music is dying out, or being outmoded. In the Evangelical churches there is a distinct tendency to drop the standard church hymnal and use the gospel hymn book even in the Sunday morning services. 'The Old Rugged Cross' is the most popular and most beloved song in the English singing world. In the requests for hymns from radio listeners the ratio is about 25 to 1 in favor of the gospel song. Aside from the actual spiritual worth of a song or tune, I think there is one unanswerable argument that shows that the gospel song will always be with us, and that it fills a need for certain conditions and types, where the standard hymn practically fails: the gospel hymn is personal, while the standard hymn is impersonal and general in type. The seeker after Christian truth can sing *'I* need Thee every hour,' *'I* will cling to the Old Rugged Cross,' 'And *He* walks with *me,'* 'Tell Mother *I'll* be there,' and so on. Can one get the same close and intimate (and yes, egotistical) touch by voicing by one's self 'The Church's one foundation,' 'O Zion haste,' and songs of this type?"

CHAPTER XIV

WE CLIMB THE HEIGHTS

I. ETHELBERT NEVIN
(1862-1901)

I

ETHELBERT NEVIN came from the environs of Pittsburgh, the same district that produced Stephen Foster. A curious coincidence, when we consider how much the two composers had in common. For as a melodist, Nevin was really of the Foster school, even though he was a thoroughly trained musician, with the well-developed technical facility that Foster sadly lacked. With all his musicianship, Nevin was a miniaturist, a musical Eugene Field to whom tenderness was the happiest mood.

That Nevin represents one of the summits of American music there can be no question. MacDowell once said that long after many composers of symphonies are forgotten, the lilting tunes of Ethelbert Nevin will be cherished and remembered. Since his death, Nevin has been sentimentalized on the one hand, and scoffed at on the other. Neither is a fair estimate. He needs no sentimentalizing to establish his worth, and it is impossible to brush aside with a sneer songs and piano pieces that have achieved such popularity and have held their place in the public esteem. *The Rosary* is nearly forty years old, and it is still sung wherever there is music.

The Rosary has had to stand much abuse; it has suffered from the onslaughts of many admirers. Yet it is one of the most ingeniously contrived songs that has ever been written. Coated with sugar, yes; but its telling climax is a bit of

theatre that never fails to reach its mark, even when badly sung. Performed sincerely and with restraint by a true artist, the little song is an almost perfect work of art. Made maudlin by a tyro, with dripping obbligato, it seems like mushy trash. When this happens, and it is often, blame the singer and not the song.

Comparison of the careers of Foster and Nevin is startling in the similarities it reveals. Both were born of parents of superior education and culture. Each encountered opposition when he wanted to become a musician. Both tried business first. Neither had long life; Foster died when he was thirty-seven, and Nevin at thirty-eight. Foster ended in the gutter; and Nevin, though never lost in dissipation, and always close to his devoted wife and children, finished his days in a nervously unstrung state, with his productive years behind him.

Yet the few years of life that were granted him were probably all he needed to have his say, for as a miniaturist of mood and fancy he had no doubt spent his powers when he passed away. Again, as with Foster, death may have been merciful in ending what was already finished, a short life of song. Louis Campbell-Tipton pondered this question shortly after Nevin's death. Writing in 1901, in the magazine *Music,* he said:

> I have been reflecting over the Nevin subject, recalling how, when I first began to hear his songs, I felt an instinctive impress of a great power, greater in its possibilities than shown in the moment, and I have been wondering if its lack of fulfillment has proven my intuition as playing me false, or whether circumstance has been less kind to him, after all, than he deserved; and if, had he been involved in other conditions of life than the ones seemingly laid out for him, he would have developed potentialities beyond those realized.

This I am inclined to doubt. In my opinion his rare gifts had had their flowering, and could not have blossomed much further. His friends have told me that in his latter years he was working spasmodically on an opera based on the

Nathan Hale episode, using leit-motifs in Wagnerian fashion. But Nevin was never one who could write on broad outlines; the larger forms were beyond him. A talent like Nevin's and Foster's can go so far, and then no farther. For proof examine a few of the posthumous songs. In Nevin's case, especially in his setting of Shelley's *I Fear thy Kisses,* they are sadly inferior to his earlier works. Yet again there is always the exception. *Mighty Lak' a Rose* was published a few months after his death.

Nevin's many friends say that he was a charming fellow; sociable, generous, and the best of company to those who knew him well. Sensitive to everything about him, he had the soul of the true lyric artist. He loved to travel, and to live abroad. Some of his most productive years were spent in Florence, in Venice and in Paris. He was a thoroughly cosmopolitan person. In an article in the *Musical Quarterly* of July, 1917, Francis Rogers has painted an intimate portrait:

> Despite all the petting and praise showered upon him, Nevin was always the simplest and least pretentious of men. The most real thing in life to him was his affections and emotions in their relation to those he loved and to his music.
>
> . . . He was of medium height and very slender. Without being emaciated, his frame appeared to carry neither flesh nor muscle. Indeed, in his distaste for physical exercise, he was somewhat Oriental. Oriental, too, was his habit of squatting on one heel while he read and smoked contentedly. It would have been well for him if he had had a liking for exercise, which fatigues the body healthily while it refreshes the mind and the nerves, for the intensity of his emotional life made large drafts on his vitality.
>
> . . . Nevin's relations with his family and friends were profoundly sweet and loyal, and with all the many people he met he was invariably considerate and courteous.
>
> . . . Nevin was a delightful host. Whenever there was a piano he was an incomparable master of the revels and in his own house he was indefatigable in his devotion to the entertainment of his guests. He was equally admirable as a companion on informal excursions or in tête-à-tête conversation. I passed many happy hours with him in and about Paris. There were some joyous (though rainy) days to-

gether at Fontainebleau, and an excursion with two other American musicians to the home of Mlle. Chaminade, where everybody made music and paid each other compliments, finally toasting our gracious hostess in glasses of her own sweet champagne. What fun it would be to live those days over again!

II

Vance Thompson's *The Life of Ethelbert Nevin* is valuable for the accuracy with which it presents the facts of Nevin's life, but it is misleading in its lack of critical discrimination and for the sentimentality with which it treats its subject. Nevin was sentimental enough without adding more sugar to sweeten the cup. Divested of sentimentalism, his life and works can still be viewed with the respect they deserve, but without a saccharine idealization that creates false values which may some day be shattered. Admit Nevin's shortcomings, and he still occupies one of the high places in our music, so why attempt to give him a throne he could obviously never fill? *The Rosary* is to date the most famous American art-song that has ever been written. This fact alone puts him on a pedestal, so why not let it rest at that, and not try to make him greater than he was?

He was born November 25, 1862, at "Vineacre," his father's country place near Pittsburgh. There are many Nevins in this part of the country, so many that churchgoers in Sewickley are said to grow confused and murmur—"Our Father who art a Nevin." Ethelbert was the fifth child in a family of eight. His father, Robert Peebles Nevin, was a literary man. He wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly,* the *Knickerbocker Magazine* and *Lippincott's.* He helped to found the Pittsburgh *Evening Leader* and later the *Pittsburgh Times.* He was a poet and also a musician. He wrote several songs, one of them, *Our Nominee,* a campaign song that helped Polk into the presidency. Ethelbert's mother was a cultured musician. The first grand piano that had ever been hauled over the Alle-

ghenies was brought for her use. In his childhood and youth Nevin enjoyed a cultured and gracious home life.

He showed his musical talent when he was hardly more than a baby. When he was five he used to sit on the piano stool and improvise accompaniments to the songs he knew. Music was his chief interest. Thompson quotes Ethelbert's mother in telling of a characteristic incident:[1]

> Often have I been seated at a window which overlooked a yard where the children played, and he, with his playmates, would start a game of ball. While playing, apparently greatly interested, with a sudden and unexpected movement, he would throw his bat on the ground and rush into the house and to the piano. After having noticed this several times, I asked him one day why he did that. "Because I just thought of something I wanted to play," he replied. He never seemed to care for boys' sports and games. He preferred the society of his girl cousins who were older than he, and their young girl friends.

Yet he was not effeminate. Delicate, precious, yes; but not the sissy. No doubt he had to stand more than his share of teasing from the harder boiled of his childhood playmates, especially when his first published piece (a *Lillian Polka,* written for his sister when he was eleven) appeared with this inscription on its cover:

> By Bertie Nevin
> Aged eleven.

Thompson reproduces the manuscript of this piece. In many ways it is a remarkable fragment. It shows a flow of melody and a feeling for appropriate harmony. It has a touch of originality. It is characteristic of Ethelbert Nevin.

When Nevin was eight he was given piano lessons, first by Von der Heide at the Williams Conservatory in Pittsburgh, and a year or so later by William Guenther. In 1877 the Nevin family spent a year abroad, and Ethelbert had piano lessons from Franz Boehme in Dresden. He heard much music in Berlin, Leipsic, Dresden and Vienna.

[1] *The Life of Ethelbert Nevin,* by Vance Thompson: Boston Music Co.

When the family returned to America, Ethelbert entered the Western University at Pittsburgh; but he was never an academic student, he was the kind who absorbed culture and education from travel and from his own reading. And so he stayed in college for only a year.

He was making progress with his music. He had given a number of concerts in Pittsburgh, one of them with orchestra when he played Chopin's E flat Polonaise. He had written some music of his own which had been highly complimented. But when it came to being a musician, his father, an amateur musician himself, opposed him. Music was not a profession for those in the Nevins' walk of life. The church, law and medicine were the accepted vocations for those who did not want business. So Ethelbert had a few unhappy months in the Pittsburgh offices of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Then he went to his father and begged that he let him be poor all his life, if he could only be a musician. There was no further argument, and the next Winter was spent at home practicing and taking counterpoint lessons by mail with a teacher in New York, Dr. S. Austin Pearce.

The next year, 1881, he went to Boston to study with B. J. Lang, who put him to work on scales and exercises that would have frightened any but a real talent away. He had harmony lessons with Stephen A. Emery. His teachers worked him hard, but he stood the grind for two years before he went back to Pittsburgh, to settle down as a pianist and teacher. A year later he realized he needed still more training, and so in 1884 he went to Klindworth in Berlin, and after a year graduated with highest honors from the Klindworth school, and was invited by von Bülow to have some lessons with him. He studied theory with Carl Bial, who encouraged him to give more time to writing. Nevin had not started his career with the idea of being a composer; it was only after some of his little pieces became

popular that he realized he would do best to concentrate on composition.

III

He returned to America in the Fall of 1886, and in December made his début as a pianist in Pittsburgh. He played a Bach fugue, the Schumann C major Fantasie, two études of Chopin, transcriptions of Wagner, and the Liszt *Venezia e Napoli.* He added a piece of his own—a theme and variations. The papers were loud in their praise, but Nevin did not intend to settle down in Pittsburgh and become a local musician. He wanted to try Boston, and he went there to live in January, 1887.

A year later he married Anne Paul of Pittsburgh. They had been engaged for over two years, and their marriage was a happy event, destined to give Nevin the home life he was accustomed to in his youth. He wrote more songs, and they were warmly received by the Manuscript Club in Boston. One of them was *Oh, that We Two Were Maying,* published that year in his Opus 2, the *Sketch Book,* a collection of songs and piano pieces. Before its publication Nevin wrote:

> I am going to have a book published under the title of "A Summer Sketch Book," ten songs and ten pianoforte pieces. The book will be got up very prettily and I am to get fifty cents on every copy sold or fifty dollars on every hundred copies. If it takes and goes into the hundreds, I will make some money. I am very enthusiastic over it and have been working hard.

When the book came out there were only thirteen numbers altogether; a lucky number, for the sale did indeed go into the hundreds, and its success was one of the factors that determined Nevin to spend most of his time writing music.

He seems to have been received into the musical and artistic life of Boston. He became a member of the St. Botolph Club and he extended his circle of friends. For a few years there were financial struggles, for expenses were heavy. There was a little Nevin to feed—a son named

Paul. Letters like the following were frequent in his correspondence:

I've sold out all my right, title and interest in some of my compositions for $125. They brought me in about one hundred and fifty a year, but immediate money was necessary—the sacrifice seems terrible!

In April, 1889, he wrote his mother:

As I have usually, from a small boy up, gone to you when I was in trouble, I must share my good news with you. Since January first over eleven hundred copies of my songs and things, that Schirmer has published, have been sold and he to-day handed me a cheque for $83.90 making in all for nine months $129.72—so you see that is pretty good for a beginner.

More information about his financial affairs in a letter to his father, a year later:

I'm glad you like the dress of "Wynken, Blynken and Nod." I sold Schirmer four piano pieces day before yesterday for one hundred dollars cash. He told me he would guarantee me one hundred and over in one year's royalty, but I had to have the money then.

So far this year I have made on my compositions about three hundred dollars—not including royalties due me April 1st. While this is a small sum, still it is a beginning; and if I can sell to advantage some more manuscript that I have, I hope to bring that amount up to six hundred, before next July.

Before I am thirty-two, I hope to have an income from my compositions, that will bring me in at least three thousand a year. If I can do that then I see my way clear. My teaching brings me in about $30 a week, but servants—$10—food, other necessities more than swallow that up.

Some of his best songs came from this period: *Herbstgefühl; Wynken, Blynken and Nod; Little Boy Blue.* His romps with little Paul seemed to bring out the tenderness in his songs about children. He was busy. To make money for expenses he gave recitals in Boston, and as far west as Chicago. His desk was piled with proofs to be corrected, and his publisher was asking him to write more. With all

this he found time to make arrangements for his young brother Arthur to come to Boston to study at the conservatory. Arthur became a composer too; we shall meet him later.

He wrote his *Water Scenes,* published in 1891. The fourth of these five piano pieces was *Narcissus,* destined to be his most popular piano piece; so popular that Nevin came to hate it with all his heart. The story of *Narcissus* is told in Nevin's own words, in an article in the *Musician,* published after the composer's death:

I had suggested to my publisher a suite of water scenes in five numbers, and had completed four of them; the "Barcarolle," "Ophelia," suggested by Shakespeare's heroine; "The Water Nymph," which is pure fantasy, and the "Dragon-fly," which was a reminiscence of the big fellows which used to dart their blue wings in my face and frighten me when I went in swimming. The fifth number was still to be written, and I had neither a title nor theme for it.

We were living in Boston then, in a little house facing on Pinckney Street. It was one bitter, bleak February afternoon in the winter of 1890; my wife had gone to Florida with her father and I was quite alone and as gray and melancholy as the weather. I set to work to drive away the blues, and finished the water scenes.

I remembered vaguely that there was once a Grecian lad who had something to do with the water and who was called "Narcissus." I rummaged about my old mythology and read the story over again. The theme, or rather both themes, came as I read. I went directly to my desk and wrote out the whole composition. Afterward I rewrote it and revised it a little. The next morning I sent it to my publisher. I left almost immediately for Paris and was surprised when the publisher wrote to me of the astonishing sale of the piece.

IV

The sale was both immediate and astonishing. *Narcissus* is Nevin at his most facile. Trivial, but agreeable and flowing; and sincere. No doubt he disliked being judged by such trifles, but they are after all the real Nevin.

From 1891 the next six years were spent mostly in Europe. Berlin, Paris, and later Florence and Venice were

in turn the home of the Nevin family. In 1892 a second child, Dorothy Anne, was born in Berlin. In the same year he wrote his suite *In Arcady,* for piano. The family returned to America for a short while, but Nevin, stricken with nervous prostration, sailed alone for Algiers to regain his health. For two years he composed very little.

In 1895 the Nevins settled in Italy. In Montepiano, near Florence, he wrote *May in Tuscany,* a piano suite with a fanciful little program. In Venice he wrote his popular suite, *A Day in Venice.* In the Fall of '97 they all came home again, this time to an apartment on 57th Street in New York. Nevin rented a studio in Carnegie Hall, where in those days many notable painters, writers and musicians worked.

It was in February, 1898, that Nevin wrote *The Rosary,* and Francis Rogers, who sang it for the first time in public, has described the event in the article in the *Musical Quarterly* (July, 1917):

A few days before the concert I was dining with the Nevins in New York. . . . After dinner Nevin sat down at the piano, as was his custom, and began to play. After a little, he handed me a slip of music-paper with the voice part and the words of a song scribbled on it in pencil, saying as he did so, "Here is a song I want you to sing at our concert next week." I deciphered my part as best I could, while Nevin played the accompaniment from memory. Except for the pencil manuscript then in my hand, I doubt whether any part of the song had been committed to writing. The song was "The Rosary."

. . . The following week, February 15, 1898, in Madison Square Garden Concert Hall, we gave "The Rosary" its first public performance. It made, as one paper puts it, "the hit of the afternoon."

The text of "The Rosary" had been sent by some correspondent to Nevin, who recognized at once its fine lyric quality, and, with my voice in mind, set to music. He knew nothing at the time about the author, Robert Cameron Rogers, nor did Mr. Rogers know anything about him. The life of the song has been one of great and undiminishing prosperity. Soon after its publication, I sang it in England to appreciative ears, and I am told that it has retained its popularity there just as it has here.

These latter years were far from ideal for Nevin. He was highly nervous, his health was breaking. In June of '98 he went to Vineacre, and he stayed there for almost a year, struggling against ill health. According to Thompson he also struggled to complete the orchestral works "that lay so close to his heart." How many of these attempts at larger forms there were I do not know. Thompson speaks of a "Fantasie for piano, violin and 'cello." There is an entry in Nevin's diary about a String Quartet:

> In this past week I've written two movements—the first and the Scherzo, or dance—to the "Wedding Music" for String Quartette, but I'm afraid it's all nonsense; and I question very much whether it will ever see a performance.

Back in 1887 he had written to his mother from Boston:

> The new Symphony Orchestra has asked me for some orchestral manuscript, and if I can work up my Symphonic Poem on "Sunset on the Allegheny," from a poem by Margaret Deland, I shall hand it in.

We have heard about his plans for a Nathan Hale opera, and there was also a cantata, *The Quest,* which he left unfinished. After his death Horatio Parker scored the accompaniment to this work and it was performed by the Boston Singing Club. It probably troubled Nevin that he had written nothing in the larger forms, and the thought that he was to be known solely as a miniaturist may have caused him pangs in his restless moments. Few of us like to be known only for little things.

Nevin partially recovered at Vineacre, and late in the Fall of 1900 the family went to New Haven, Connecticut. It would be quiet there, and he could be near the military academy his son Paul was attending. It was not for long. He was taken ill Saturday, February 16, 1901, and passed quietly away the afternoon of the next day.

He was buried in Sewickley. His music was performed at the funeral services: *The Rosary; Jesu, Jesu, Miserere;*

and the *Ave Maria* from *A Day in Venice*. His life was done, and his work was finished. Not as a master of great things, but as a poet of beautiful little verses. Music lovers have their symphonies, but all the world has the songs of Foster and Nevin.

2. EDWARD MACDOWELL
(1861-1908)

I

In *Lonely Americans,* Rollo Walter Brown calls MacDowell "A Listener to the Winds." An apt characterization, for MacDowell was at heart a romanticist, at his best as a poet of nature. He caught the moods of the forest, the fields, and the ocean. He could express those moods in a way that made us understand what he was talking about. He was the first of the Americans to speak consistently a musical speech that was definitely his own.

It is not an easy matter to appraise MacDowell fairly; in his relation to American music, or to the music of the world. Whenever American music is mentioned, the name of MacDowell comes forward immediately as the foremost of our composers. Yet there are many doubters who ask embarrassing questions. Does he loom largest because he was the greatest in his own time, when there were fewer good composers in America? Perhaps he would be less significant in company with those who would be his colleagues if he were living to-day. And as for the rest of the musical world, has he held his own with Grieg, with whom he can best be compared, musically and temperamentally?

These are questions on which there can be many opinions. Some think that much music has been written in America since MacDowell's time which is fully as distinctive as that of MacDowell—maybe more distinctive. Since there are hundreds of well-equipped, talented composers to-day, against the dozen or so of MacDowell's time, we do not

hear as much of individuals as we did of MacDowell. And as for Grieg, many feel that the Norwegian's star is constantly rising, while MacDowell's is gradually setting.

MacDowell's reputation to-day is somewhat in the same situation as that of his lesser brother artist, Nevin. There is always a penalty to be paid for remaining long in the public esteem. When we produce a famous artist in this country he must be idealized by his disciples, and belittled by his opponents. Common sense appraisal is all too rare in the case of public heroes. And so with MacDowell—he must be a world master in the eyes of some, an overrated pigmy to others.

Shortly after MacDowell's death, Lawrence Gilman in his revised edition of the biography he had first written in 1905 stated that he knew of no piano sonatas since the death of Beethoven that could compare with the four of MacDowell for passion, dignity and breadth of style.

Paul Rosenfeld, writing in 1929 on *American Music,* devotes an early chapter to MacDowell.[1] A few quotations will suffice:

> Were it not for MacDowell's celtic descent, one might almost be tempted to attribute this group-wide weakness for the odors of sanctity to a racial strain, so many instances arising in which saxondom and snobbery . . . seem almost synonymous. . . . In music, this weakness took the form of sentimentality. The feelings entertained about life by him seem to have remained uncertain; and while fumbling for them he seems regularly to have succumbed to "nice" and "respectable" emotions, conventional, accepted by and welcome to, the best people. It is shocking to find how full of vague poesy he is. Where his great romantic brethren, Brahms, Wagner, and Debussy, are direct and sensitive, clearly and tellingly expressive, MacDowell minces and simpers, maidenly and ruffled. He is nothing if not a daughter of the American revolution. . . .
>
> And still, MacDowell brought something into the world not hitherto present in it; not, at least, as music. Impure in style and weak in spirit though they are; indeed of anything but the first water, a group of his compositions, particularly the ballade-like Norse sonata, certain

[1] *An Hour with American Music,* by Paul Rosenfeld: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

of the more vigorous Sea Pieces, and the atmospheric Legend and Dirge of the Indian Suite for Orchestra, *actually have musical value* [the italics are mine]. . . . They constitute a beginning. And nature does nothing by bounds.

Somewhere between these two views there must be middle ground. It is surely too much to term MacDowell the composer of the greatest piano sonatas since Beethoven, nor can he be dismissed lightly as a mere beginner, whom we may patronize and pat gently on the back. Moreover, he was far from musically polite to the best people—when he came back from Europe in the late eighties his playing and his compositions were the dismay of many correct Bostonians.

There are a few important points that may be disposed of at the start. MacDowell need never be put forward with the chauvinism he hated so heartily himself. He is probably the first of our creative musicians for whom we need make no allowances for lack of early training. None of his limitations were caused by his being an American. Whether he shall eventually be judged great or small, he may be considered simply as a composer, without our being kind to him because he was our countryman. And after we have put him under the magnifying glass, stripped him of the idealization that has been wrapped about him by admirers more zealous than wise, he will emerge with several of his banners still flying.

II

If there must be comparisons, and it is often necessary to have a place to hang our opinions, Grieg and MacDowell have enough in common to warrant our looking at them side by side. Their artistic stature is comparable. Each had a style that is easily recognized. Both had a feeling for melodic and harmonic combinations that were individual. Each has had a host of imitators, so many that the terms "MacDowellian" and "Grieg-like" have become generic.

There are, of course, essential differences. One is strong where the other is weak. MacDowell seeks a broader pattern than Grieg in his sonatas, but in seeking breadth he sometimes grows diffuse. Grieg can accomplish more with fewer means. MacDowell is more heroic in his conception; when Grieg grows dramatic he seldom achieves effects that are more than theatrical. In his F major violin sonata, Grieg is compact, to the point, vital in every phrase. In the C minor there is more abandon, but not the close-knit perfection of the lesser work. Grieg's single piano sonata cannot compare in breadth of conception with any of the four that MacDowell wrote, yet Grieg shows more control of his medium, a far more distinct utterance.

Both are best as miniaturists. In larger works they come to frequent climaxes, and then make a fresh start. They are short breathed. Their themes are episodic in their treatment and development. Intense individualists, each limited the scope of his appeal.

For MacDowell did indeed pay a high price for his individuality. Markedly original, he guarded his manner of speech jealously. In his latter years he often told his friends that he avoided hearing music, so that he would not be in danger of showing its influence. Possibly this explains the limitations of his own music, for all composers derive from some source. If they are great they add something of their own to the pattern of their predecessors; the fact that they were influenced does not in itself prevent them from saying something new.

It would be interesting to gather statistics that would show how kind the years have been to MacDowell and Grieg. Without them, and it would be impossible to make them accurate, comparison is mere guesswork. Surely the sparkling though shallow piano concerto of Grieg is more played to-day than either of those MacDowell wrote. Probably this may be explained by the fewer difficulties of Grieg's concerto. MacDowell wrote nothing for orchestra

that is heard as often as Grieg's *Peer Gynt* suites, for the MacDowell orchestral works are not appearing as often on programs as they did twenty years ago. Yet in the field of the piano MacDowell's pieces seem to be holding their own; especially the smaller ones. The sonatas, particularly the *Tragica,* are considerably played on recital programs, and amateur pianists and pupils still play the *Woodland Sketches,* a few of the virtuoso études, the *Sea Pieces,* and many others of a type in which MacDowell was altogether inimitable. Certainly his music to-day is more familiar to the music-loving public than that of any other American composer of serious music. Whether his works are as familiar as Grieg's is another matter, and not particularly important.

And then, the nationalist question. Was MacDowell an American composer in his idiom? Many say that he was more Celtic than American—his German training with Raff made him follow Teuton models. An obvious contradiction here, for it is apparent to any one that German training (and he was educated in Paris before he went to Germany) did not kill the obvious Celtic traits in his music. What is an American anyway? Aren't we all Scotch-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, German-Americans, Jewish-Americans, or whatever our ancestry may be? MacDowell's ancestry was Scotch—he himself was an American. If he showed Scotch tendencies in his music, was his work any the less American?

In his lectures at Columbia (some of them since published as *Critical and Historical Essays*),[2] MacDowell himself disposed of nationalism in music:

> . . . nationalism, so-called, is merely an extraneous thing that has no part in pure art. For if we take any melody, even of the most pronounced national type, and merely eliminate the characteristic turns, affectations, or mannerisms, the theme becomes simply music,

[2] *Critical and Historical Essays,* by Edward MacDowell: The Arthur P. Schmidt Co.

and retains no touch of nationality. We may even go further; for if we retain the characteristic mannerisms of dress, we may harmonize a folk song in such a manner that it will belie its origin, and by means of this powerful factor (an essentially modern invention) we may even transform a Scotch song, with all its "snap" and character, into a Chinese song, or give it an Arabian flavour.

Of course, he wrote an Indian Suite for orchestra, in which he used Indian themes, but I do not think he ever seriously thought he was writing American music just because he used Indian melodies. He once said to Hamlin Garland: "I do not believe in 'lifting' a Navajo theme and furbishing it into some kind of a musical composition and calling it American music. Our problem is not so simple as all that."

Then again, in a lecture, he said: "What we must arrive at is the youthful optimistic vitality and the undaunted tenacity of spirit that characterizes the American man. That is what I hope to see echoed in American music."

As for the music MacDowell left us, Mr. Rosenfeld is correct in saying that it is not of the first water, if we mean by that the music of a Bach, a Beethoven, a Wagner or a Brahms. But as one of the best of the lesser poets, MacDowell produced music of the first order, some of it charming, some of it stirring. Within its limitations, it is the work of a truly creative genius. Between the opus numbers 9 and 62, which include the bulk of his published work, there is much that will live for many years to come. Some of his music may have fallen by the wayside, but the best of it is still vital.

III

It is by his piano music that we know him best. There are four sonatas: the *Tragica,* Opus 45 (1893); the *Eroica,* Opus 50 (1895); the *Norse,* Opus 57 (1900); and the *Keltic,* Opus 59 (1901). The last two were dedicated to Grieg, who acknowledged the dedication of the *Norse* sonata with a charming attempt at English:

MY DEAR SIR:

Will you permit me in bad English to express my best thanks for your kind letter and for the simpathi you feel for my music. Of course it will be a great honor and pleasure for me to accept your dedication.

Some years ago I thought it possible to shake hands with you in your own country. But unfortunately my delicat health does not seem to agree. At all events, if we are not to meet, I am glad to read in the papers of your artistical success in Amerika.

MacDowell once said that if a composer's ideas do not imperatively demand treatment in the sonata form, if his first theme is not actually dependent upon his second and side themes for its poetic fulfillment, he has composed a potpourri rather than a sonata. Certainly MacDowell has lived up to this principle in his own sonatas, for in each of them the themes are related and dependent on each other. There is always a nobility of conception, and an impatience with the limits of the piano that leads him to seek orchestral effects.

There was no definite program suggested in the *Tragica* sonata, but the music itself is sufficiently vivid to enable the listener to understand what kind of thoughts the composer was thinking when he wrote it. MacDowell said that in the first three movements he aimed to express tragic details, and in the finale a generalization—"to heighten the darkness of tragedy by making it follow closely on the heels of triumph." He probably wrote the third movement first—the *largo;* for he played it in Boston at a recital in 1891, two years before the work as a whole was published. There is a beautiful dignity in this movement, a pathos which never sinks to bathos. He shows an artistic kinship with Rachmaninoff; there is a similar feeling for chordal effects between the younger Russian and the American.

The *Eroica* sonata (dedicated to William Mason) bears the motto, "Flos regum Arthurus." Though admittedly program music, MacDowell intended it to be less of an actual depiction of the subject than a commentary. He

had in mind the Arthur legend. The first movement was the coming of Arthur. The scherzo suggested a knight in the woods surrounded by elves. MacDowell's conception of Guinevere was the basis of the third movement, and the last was the passing of Arthur.

In the *Norse* sonata MacDowell attempted to free himself further from the restrictions of form. In painting the barbaric feeling of the Norse sagas he extended the span of his phrases, his chord formations widened, and he achieved a still more epic breadth.

The fourth sonata was the *Keltic,* to which he attached these lines:

> Who minds now Keltic tales of yore,
> Dark Druid rhymes that thrall;
> Deirdré's song, and wizard lore
> Of great Cuchullin's fall.

MacDowell wrote of this sonata:

> Like the third, this fourth sonata is more of a "bardic" rhapsody on the subject than an attempt at actual presentation of it, although I have made use of all the suggestion of tone-painting in my power—just as the bard would have reinforced *his* speech with gesture and facial expression.

And it is true that MacDowell's music does heighten the meaning of the poem. He felt that a poem was far more valuable as a suggestion for instrumental music than as the text of a song, where syllables are generally distorted. As a text for an instrumental work, a poem of four words may contain enough suggestion for four pages of music.

Whether or not MacDowell sacrificed clarity and directness in reaching out so far for the nobler conception, the broader outline, is another matter. Surely he is never as tidy as Grieg—in the finale of the *Tragica* he does not seem to proceed as directly to his goal as Grieg would have gone. Yet mere tidiness is not always inspiring, and MacDowell

showed a courage in his sonatas at which we well may wonder. If the sonatas do not thrill posterity, they are none the less the real expression of a truly poetic nature that sought epic forms for its outlet.

The *First Modern Suite,* Opus 10, was MacDowell's first published work. Since it was first issued in Germany in 1883 the composer made a number of revisions, and it still remains one of his well-known works. It has a number of characteristics that mark the later MacDowell, though the intense individualities are missing. The Prelude is probably played the most; its pianistic flow, not too difficult for many amateurs, makes it grateful to the player.

The two piano concertos (the first, A minor, Opus 15, 1884; the second, D minor, Opus 23, 1890) are both comparatively early works. As such they are brilliant, but they show the influences of his training—marked fluency and ease, but not the imagination of his later works. It was really not until after 1890 that he showed his true colors —though some of the pieces written before that date have shown healthy life: *The Scotch Poem, The Eagle,* and the song *Menie* rank with his best work. But the *Twelve Virtuoso Studies* in 1894 began to show the real MacDowell as a composer for the piano. The *Novelette,* the *Improvisation,* and the *Polonaise* are among the finest work he has done. The *Woodland Sketches* were first published in 1896. *To a Wild Rose,* and *To a Water Lily* may have haunted him with their popularity, but they are exquisite. The *Sea Pieces* were issued two years later. Here is MacDowell at the height of his powers, lyric and dramatic. He keeps within the limits that prevent his losing his breath, and within a smaller frame he writes pieces that are small only in their length; large in their ideas. The last two opus numbers on his list were the *Fireside Tales* and the *New England Idyls.* The next to the last of the idyls was *From a Log Cabin:*

A house of dreams untold,
It looks out over the whispering tree-tops
And faces the setting sun.

Prophetic lines when we know how near he was to his own tragedy when he wrote them. Maybe he knew it too, and gave us one of the sincerest bits of contemplation in the literature of music.

MacDowell wrote several major works for orchestra, but it was not his best medium. He liked best to write for piano. He felt that the modern pianoforte had developed to a degree where it would not be likely to change in the future, and whatever he wrote for it would be played the same both in the present and to-morrow. As for the orchestra, a friend, T. P. Currier, in an article in the *Musical Quarterly* (January, 1915), reported him as saying:

It's one thing to write works for the orchestra, and another to get them performed. There isn't much satisfaction in having a thing played once in two or three years. If I write large works for the piano I can play them myself as often as I like.

Nevertheless his orchestral works were often performed, even though we do not hear them as much as we would like to-day. His first purely orchestral piece was a symphonic poem *Hamlet and Ophelia,* Opus 22 (1885). Three years later he published another, *Lancelot and Elaine,* Opus 25. *Lamia,* after Keats, was written in 1888-9 but not published until after MacDowell's death. *The Saracens* and *The Lovely Alda,* two fragments after the Song of Roland, were numbered Opus 30 and published in 1891. According to Gilman, MacDowell originally intended these two pieces as movements of a Roland symphony. Four movements of the first suite for orchestra, Opus 42, were published in 1891; the third piece (*In October*), although written at the same time as the others, was issued as a "supplement" to the suite in 1893.

After the second (*Indian*) suite, Opus 48, MacDowell wrote no more for orchestra. It was a fitting climax to his list in this field, for it is a fine work. The *Dirge,* like the *largo* of the *Tragica* sonata, has a nobility that makes grandeur in anguish. In explanation of his sources, the composer wrote:

> The thematic material of this work has been suggested for the most part by melodies of the North American Indians. Their occasional similarity to northern European themes seems to the author a direct testimony in corroboration of Thorfinnkarlsefin's Saga.
>
> The opening theme of No. 3 [*In War-time*], for instance, is very similar to the (presumably Russian) one made use of by Rimsky-Korsakow in the 3rd movement of his symphony "Antar."

MacDowell also said of the different movements: "If separate titles . . . are desired, they should be arranged as follows: I. Legend. II. Love song. III. In war-time. IV. Dirge. V. Village festival.

The suite was first performed by Emil Paur and the Boston Symphony Orchestra (to whom it was dedicated) in New York City, January 23, 1896. MacDowell's own views on nationalism in music show clearly that he did not intend to write American music by using Indian themes, nor did he think that such material could be harmonized in a manner that would make it sound like the originals from which it was taken. He may, of course, have been experimenting; but he was no doubt content to catch the spirit of his theme, the joys and sorrows of a vanishing race. This he did most eloquently; the *Dirge* can rank with the funeral marches of the masters.

Although he was never satisfied with music's ability to match the syllables and inflection of a poem, MacDowell's songs show a rare ability to interpret the spirit and mood of the verses he chose for setting. Something of a poet himself, he was often happiest when he wrote his own poems for his songs, for then he had the music in mind as he fashioned his text. Aside from his choruses, he published

over forty songs, some of them masterpieces. Writing in 1900, Henry T. Finck thought that Grieg and MacDowell were the greatest living song writers. But there was Strauss to be reckoned with, and we must remember that Finck never liked Brahms. Yet *Menie* (1889), *Thy Beaming Eyes* (1890), the poignantly emotional setting of Howell's *The Sea* (1893) and the tender treatment of his own poem, *The Swan Bent Low to the Lily* (1898), are exquisite songs, created by a man who knew what a good song should be, without compromises with what singers like to sing.

IV

To understand MacDowell fully, to grasp his powers and to appreciate his limitations, it is necessary to know of his life and his personality. With all true genius, their character and environment shine through their writings. That is, if their work is sincere; and with MacDowell, whatever he wrote was himself. He cannot be separated from his music.

He had advantages that have not been given to many Americans—either before or after him. His talents were recognized by his parents at the start, and everything was done to foster and train his gifts. While he was still in his formative years he entered the Paris Conservatoire, where two years of rigid training gave him a groundwork that was the basis of everything he accomplished technically. Other Americans had studied abroad, but generally for polishing touches to finish what they had acquired at home. MacDowell had the best, the strictest training from almost the very beginning. Mrs. MacDowell once told me what this training had meant to him:

One of the most fortunate things that ever came to him was that period with Marmontel at the Paris Conservatory, where he had to learn rapidity and facility in writing notes, although at that time there was no idea of his ever being a composer. But it was part of the routine. They turned out a musician, whether he played the violin, piano,

or sang, enormously equipped with a musical education. But the work was terrific.

It meant at eighteen when he went into Raff's composition class, although still the piano was his principal goal, that he outstripped all the other students, most of them men ten or fifteen years older than he. Outstripped them, I mean, in actual mechanical facility. Complicated fugue he could scratch off on the blackboard just as I might write a sentence in a letter. I don't have to think how to spell words, although sometimes I don't spell them correctly, nor did he have to think of the possible combinations that were allowed.

He was born December 18, 1861, in New York City, at 220 Clinton Street. He was the third son of Thomas MacDowell and his wife, Frances Knapp. The father was of Scotch ancestry, the mother Irish. There was a Quaker background, and probably the fact that he himself had not been allowed to become a painter, made his father sympathetic with his boy's extraordinary talents for music. Edward had his first piano lessons when he was eight—principally from a South American, Juan Buitrago. Buitrago was a great friend of Teresa Carreño, and on one of her trips to New York she became interested in the talented boy and gave him some lessons herself. It was a friendship that lasted for many years.

When Edward was fifteen it was decided that he should go abroad for study, and his mother took him to Paris. For a year he worked privately with Marmontel, and then his teacher urged him to enter the competition for a scholarship at the Conservatoire. He won it, and became a regular pupil in 1877. One of his fellow students was a lad with queer ideas named Debussy. It was about this time that he had to decide between music and painting for his career. So that he could better understand the lectures at the Conservatoire, he attended a class in French given by a teacher who had a nose like Cyrano de Bergerac. It was too great a temptation for young Edward's facile pencil. Behind his text-book he sketched the teacher. The master saw that he was inattentive and demanded to see what he

was doing. The drawing was tremblingly produced, and the teacher was overcome by the striking likeness. He took it to a friend, one of the famous French artists, who immediately offered to give the boy free lessons, and to pay for his support while he was teaching him.

Music or painting? It was not an easy choice. Here was a painter saying that he had a great career ahead of him, and Marmontel insisting that he should stick at his music. Yet they had come to Paris for music, he had worked hard and done well, so the family council agreed with Edward that he had better keep to his idea of becoming a pianist.

In the Summer of 1878 he decided he had had enough of the Paris Conservatoire. After hearing Nicholas Rubinstein in a concert, he told his mother that he could never learn to play like that if he stayed in Paris. So to Germany to the Stuttgart Conservatory, where things were no more to his liking than they had been in Paris. He would have to forget all he had learned in Paris, and then start over again. A friend suggested Heymann in Frankfort, so to Frankfort they went, and after a few lessons during the Summer with Ehlert in Wiesbaden, he entered Heymann's class at the Frankfort Conservatory in the Fall. Here MacDowell was eminently happy, for he began to study composition seriously with Joachim Raff. Raff saw the possibilities of his gifts, and it was through his influence that MacDowell eventually decided to become a composer. He also formed a friendship with his teacher that was to be one of his fondest memories.

By 1880 he was a thoroughly trained musician, a finished artist. When Heymann retired from the conservatory in that year he thought so highly of MacDowell's gifts as a pianist that he recommended him as his successor. But the youth of the young American, and politics, kept him from getting the appointment. He continued his studies with Heymann privately, and began to take pupils himself.

Some of them were of the German nobility, who bored him excessively. He was also beginning to compose. The *First Modern Suite* was written between lessons, as a response to a sort of challenge on Raff's part. Raff had been disgusted with his mechanical exercises in composition, and told him to try something real. The suite was Edward's answer. He wrote the *Second Modern Suite* on the train rides he had to take to visit his pupils.

His first piano concerto was also composed to show Raff what he could do. Raff paid him an unexpected call one evening, and abruptly asked him what he had been working on. "A concerto," fibbed MacDowell. "Bring it to the next lesson," said Raff. Fortunately the next lesson was postponed several weeks, but MacDowell had to sit up late to have it ready when Raff was able to see him.

In 1882, when MacDowell was twenty-one, Raff urged him to call on Liszt at Weimar. Liszt received him cordially. D'Albert was there at the time, and he played the orchestral part of the concerto on a second piano. Liszt told D'Albert that he would have to bestir himself if he didn't want to be outdone by the young American. MacDowell left some other manuscripts, and soon had a letter from Liszt telling him that he had recommended the *First Modern Suite* to the General Society of German Musicians. MacDowell was invited to play it at the society's meetings, July 11, 1882. Through Liszt's recommendations the suite and the first concerto were published by Breitkopf and Haertel.

But just before this Raff died, and MacDowell was heartbroken. He had grown to love his teacher, who had told him that his music would be played long after his own was forgotten. Raff could not see his pupil's triumph before the august body of German musicians, and it took much of the joy from the great event.

With Liszt's encouragement MacDowell began to give almost all of his time to composition. Conductors of the

Edward MacDowell.

(See page 378.)

Original Manuscript of MacDowell's *Told at Sunset*, No. 10 of his *Woodland Sketches*.

(See page 386.)

kur-orchester, the little bands at the health resorts, tried his new works at rehearsals, and he was able to gain first hand experience. In 1884 he returned to America for a visit, and for a more important matter; he was to be married in Waterford, Connecticut, to an American girl who had been his pupil in Germany—Marian Nevins. The wedding took place in July, and the young couple went back to Europe, living first in Frankfort, where MacDowell began his second concerto. In 1885 they moved to Wiesbaden, where in another year they bought a small cottage near the edge of a wood. He had already finished the second concerto, and before that he had composed *Hamlet and Ophelia.* In the cottage he wrote *Lancelot and Elaine, Lamia, The Saracens* and *The Lovely Alda,* and a number of piano pieces. Moreover, his friend Carreño was telling America of its young music maker, by playing his works at home.

V

Liszt's death in 1886 was a sad blow. After Raff, it removed a friend who had already done much for him, and could and would do still more. It may have been one of the factors that determined him to return permanently to America in 1888, although he probably wanted to come back to his native country anyway. Rollo Brown claims that he wanted to prove that there is a place for the serious musician in the United States.

He first thought of living in New York, but B. J. Lang helped to persuade him that he would be better off in Boston. So for eight years from 1888 he lived in the Hub as a composer, teacher, and concert pianist. He was not too anxious to be a pianist, for he had let himself get out of practice, but he was told that he would have to make his works known by playing them, and that if he wanted pupils he would have to establish his reputation as a concert pianist. It meant taking time from his composing, but he did it in spite of the work.

On the whole, the eight years in Boston were happy ones, although it was not until his third season there that he tasted financial success, and his studio was a mecca for pupils. Also, he was not altogether temperamentally fitted for the type of comradeship and social contacts that Americans demand of their famous artists. Delightful to his friends, he was in a shell when he met mere acquaintances. Shy to the extreme, he really suffered among people he did not know well. A brilliant conversationalist when at ease, he was awkward when he did not feel at home. Though he was blessed with a sharp sense of humor, he could never enjoy the back-slapping methods of the heavy-handed.

It is an easy matter to construct what should prove an accurate picture of MacDowell from the many printed memories written by those who knew him. T. P. Currier's recollections in the January, 1915, *Musical Quarterly,* Rollo Brown's chapter in *Lonely Americans,* several passages from Hamlin Garland, and some articles by W. H. Humiston afford intimate portraits of this sensitive, charming aristocrat. Brown calls him "the handsomest thoroughbred that ever stepped up to address a golf-ball." Currier writes of the Boston years:

> Gradually the figure of "MacDowell the composer" became a familiar one on the Common's walks and the near-by streets. It is interesting to recall the change in his personal appearance that came about after several months' residence in Boston. For some time he had clung, innocently enough, as it afterward proved, to the high, full-crowned felt hat, the rather fiercely curled moustache, and the goatee. . . . Then suddenly he appeared in a derby hat, which became him extremely well; and shortly afterward the goatee vanished. Commenting one day on these changes as gratifying, to my eye at least, he replied in genuinely injured tones, "Why didn't you say so, long ago?"

And in another place in the article:

> He looked strong. And his strength was practically evinced by his surprisingly vital hand-grasp. . . . MacDowell, had he not had an

innate aversion to exercise for the mere sake of physical well-being, might easily have had a body to match his uncommonly strong and active brain.

Garland tells of his first meeting with him,[8] in 1894:

MacDowell, who had retreated behind the piano, now came forward to meet me, shyly, boyishly, one hand sliding along the edge of the piano as a child runs a hand along a banister to relieve his embarrassment. He was a glorious young figure. His scintillant, laughing blue eyes, his abundant brown hair and, beyond all, his smile and his jocund voice, delighted me.

The years in Boston were punctuated with concert tours, for his playing, especially of his own music, was much in demand. He enjoyed his independence, and was loath to tie himself down to a regular routine position when he was invited by President Seth Low, and the trustees of Columbia University, to come to New York and take charge of the new department of music, in 1896. Yet there were several reasons that were worth considering. A guaranteed income, a chance to put into effect some of his ideas for the education of American youth, and an opportunity to give musical training of the first order to some who could not afford to pay for it elsewhere. And so he notified the trustees of his acceptance, and from the Fall of 1896 he occupied the Robert Center chair of music at Columbia, endowed with a fund of $100,000 by its benefactors. Maybe he had his own doubts of the outcome, but few of his friends realized the fatal mistake he was making.

For it really was a fatal mistake. He was not temperamentally fitted for an organization job. He was an individualist, he did not understand university procedure. As Finck remarked after his resignation, it is never wise to harness Pegasus. Though he was a brilliant teacher for brilliant pupils, lecturing and teaching the less intelligent was for him hopeless drudgery.

[8] *Roadside Meetings of a Literary Nomad,* by Hamlin Garland: *The Bookman,* March, 1910.

The first years at Columbia went well enough. Seth Low wanted him because he was an individualist, it was to the glory of the University to have him there. And MacDowell worked like a slave—lecturing on the history and æsthetics of music, and teaching classes in harmony and composition—correcting exercises with meticulous care, consulting with students, and attending to matters of routine. For a season or so he conducted New York's Mendelssohn Glee Club. In a year he had an assistant—Leonard McWhood, who had been his pupil. In 1899 Gustav Hinrichs was engaged to conduct the student orchestra and chorus. And all the while MacDowell was planning and dreaming of what a university music department should be, especially in its relation to teaching other branches of the fine arts.

VI

Exactly what happened to puncture this state of affairs, I do not know. Probably there were a number of factors that led to the final disaster. There are of course printed records of the controversy, newspaper accounts, letters, and records of trustee meetings. But most of the discussions that led up to the break were held verbally between President Butler and MacDowell, and the really inside story may never be known. Maybe there is no inside story. Possibly the printed records are, after all, complete.

I have consulted all the documents in the case, read the contemporary newspaper reports and comments, and talked to his assistants and a number of his associates and pupils. Probably there is something to be said on both sides of the controversy, though partisans have held that MacDowell was shamefully treated. The two points of view are briefly expressed by Butler's statement that MacDowell had resigned because he wanted more time to compose, and MacDowell's retort that he was leaving because he felt his work had been futile, and that he could see no chance for

conducting the kind of department he would care to be associated with at Columbia.

When Seth Low became the first mayor of Greater New York, Nicholas Murray Butler succeeded him as president of the University in 1902. From then on MacDowell was never comfortable. Low had understood him, and sympathized with his plans, but MacDowell felt that the new administration had ideas of its own. He had visualized a department of fine arts at Columbia that would embrace not only Belles Lettres and music, but architecture, painting and sculpture too. No doubt Butler wanted this, but MacDowell claimed he had dismissed his ideas as impractical. When he was absent on his sabbatical year in the season of 1902-3, Butler started a re-organization according to his own ideas. Possibly either MacDowell's or Butler's plan would have achieved the same goal in the end, but each had his own way of doing things. And as Currier wrote of MacDowell in the *Musical Quarterly:*

> He was not fitted by nature to cope with situations where change, or interference with plans he had set his heart on, might have seemed advisable. He could not argue. Either he must do what he wanted to do in his own way, or not at all.

When he resumed his work at Columbia in the Fall of 1903, MacDowell was highly nervous, the strain of work and worry was telling on his health. Maybe his perspective was clouded. After Christmas holidays at his Summer retreat in Peterboro, New Hampshire, and after much discussion with his wife, he concluded to resign, and he so informed President Butler early in January. I do not think he had hard feelings. He was merely discouraged, he felt he could not do the job he had planned, and therefore decided to quit. His assistant McWhood testifies that when MacDowell told him he was resigning, he pledged McWhood to absolute secrecy. He knew that his resignation would attract attention, and he wanted to give Butler a chance to choose a successor before the president's office

was swamped with the applications that would be sure to pour in.

Yet MacDowell was in a state of mind that needed only a spark to send it into flame. Somehow the news of his resignation leaked out, and two student reporters called on him. At first he wouldn't talk, but then they chided him for being a quitter, and that was too much. He had to let off steam, and evidently he did, with a fury. When he had finished, he made the naïve request that nothing of the interview be printed, but who could expect youthful reporters to miss such a scoop. They made for the office of the *Evening Post* as fast as they could get there.

The afternoon of February 3, 1904, was fateful, for on the front page of the *Post* appeared this headline:

MACDOWELL TO RESIGN

Unable to Obtain the Reorganization of Work Which He Thinks Necessary

Then followed some details of his criticism. The next morning the papers had more of the MacDowell affair. The *Times* said that he called college graduates barbarians. "During the time of his service, he had had only three pupils with whom he was entirely satisfied." The *World* had this headline:

COLLEGE MEN BOORS,
SAYS PROFESSOR

No Idealism Left in Columbia, and MacDowell Will Give Up Department of Music

And so the lid was off. If it had not been for this interview, and its publicity, the affair might never have become public, and MacDowell might have retired quietly to recover from the hurt he had sustained. Anyway, there would never have been the recriminations that followed.

VII

Butler answered MacDowell a few days later, in the *Times*. In a lengthy statement, he printed a letter he had received from MacDowell, stating that the interviews were incorrect and unauthorized. He had forbidden the student reporters to give one word of his conversation to the press. (There was, however, no denial that the interview had taken place.) Butler then went on to explain that MacDowell's resignation had been wholly unexpected, that it was prompted by the composer's wish to have all his time and strength for composition. That MacDowell had been a delightful colleague, and the university was losing him with the greatest regret. Moreover, the trustees had offered him a research professorship, which would carry with it no duties, and MacDowell was now considering this offer. In addition, the School of Fine Arts was under consideration. Professor MacDowell was now at work upon a paper outlining the status of music in universities in general, and from this paper the university hoped to obtain valuable suggestions. MacDowell's answer came two days later, in the *Post* of February 10th.

President Butler has evidently misunderstood my interview with him when he affirms that my sole object in resigning from Columbia was to have more time to write: he failed to explain the circumstances which led to my resignation. . . . There is certainly individual idealism in all universities, but the general tendency of modern education is toward materialism.

Then followed a copy of the report he was sending to the trustees.

It is with some chagrin that I have to report the small results my efforts have brought to the development of art at Columbia. The reason for this is obvious. Few colleges in the United States consider the fine arts (except "Belles Lettres" and architecture) worthy of serious consideration.

. . . . . .

I have tried to impress the "powers that be" with the necessity of allowing no student to enter the university without some knowledge of the fine arts. Such knowledge may be very general, and not technical. This would force upon the preparatory school the admission of fine arts to its curriculum. . . .

In order to bring to a focus the art elements existing in Columbia I proposed that music be taken out of the faculty of philosophy and architecture out of the School of Mines, and with Belles Lettres form a faculty of fine arts, to complete which, painting and sculpture would be indispensible.

Owing to my inability to persuade rich men of New York into endowing a chair of painting and sculpture, the scheme, though approved by the "powers that be," was not realized. . . . The outcome of all this was the establishment of a division in fine arts during my absence last year. In this Division of Fine Arts the inclusion of Belles Lettres and Music, including kindergarten, etc., at Teachers College, seemed ill-advised. To me, expansion in this direction, before a focus be attained, means a swamping of Columbia's individuality. The Division of Fine Arts thus acquires somewhat the nature of a co-educational department store, and tends toward materialism rather than idealism.

The research professorship offered me by the president, consisted of my lending to Columbia the use of my name, with no duties, and no salary. I immediately refused it as I was unwilling to associate my name with a policy I could not approve of.

. . . . . .

For seven years I have put all my energy and enthusiasm in the cause of art at Columbia, and now at last, recognizing the futility of my efforts, I have resigned the chair of music in order to resume my own belated vocation.

More fuel for the flames. The authorities at the college were outraged. A professor whose resignation had not yet taken effect had given an official report to the press. At their next meeting the trustees accepted the resignation, and put on record an official reprimand. They regarded "Professor MacDowell's act in making public an official report, as an offense against propriety, a discourtesy to the Board, and a breach of that confidence which the Board always seeks to repose in every officer of the University."

MacDowell wrote a letter which he sent to each of the trustees individually. He said in part:

My letter to the trustees was a condensed repetition of a long conversation I had with President Butler. My aims and ideas he dismissed as being impossible and revolutionary. He, knowing all this, prints a plausible letter calculated to make the public think that my own work was my sole reason for leaving the University. My only means of righting this was an immediate protest. . . . As to my "breach of confidence which the Board always seeks to repose in every officer of the University," I beg to say that the officers seek to repose this same trust in members of the Board; and Mr. Butler's misleading communication to the press was a far graver breach of this confidence than my using the only means in my power to correct this statement.

Nor did the matter rest here. Some time later in the Spring President Butler announced McWhood's advancement to an adjunct professorship, stating that the promotion was well earned, as McWhood had for some time borne the burden of the teaching in the department. Maybe Butler meant merely to explain that McWhood was qualified to assume greater responsibilities, but it was an unfortunate way of putting it. MacDowell himself had tried to secure promotion for his assistant some time before, and there had been no funds to provide for it. In view of this, Butler's announcement stung MacDowell deeply. To his mind he was being called a shirker, and a shirker he never was. He sent the trustees a comparative schedule, showing exactly how many classes both he and McWhood had conducted each week. He felt that McWhood had been disloyal to him, and he told him so in no uncertain terms. McWhood has explained his part of the affair in a paper read before the Music Teachers' National Association in 1923. Butler's statement, he said, was wholly a surprise to him. It certainly did put him in an uncomfortable position, for MacDowell was in a frame of mind to think the worst of him.

June came, and after commencement it was all over. But not for MacDowell. He was not the kind who could shrug his shoulders, and turn placidly to his job of composing.

He brooded and brooded. They had said he neglected his duties; all sorts of interpretations were being put on the entire affair. To make things worse, he was knocked down by a cab on the streets and injured. He lay awake nights—thinking restless thoughts.

VIII

For a year he did some private teaching, but in the Spring of 1905 the end came, as far as he was concerned. His mind refused to do any more thinking, he gradually sank into a state where he looked vacantly out of the window, staring blankly, comprehending nothing. For over two years his was a body without a mind, until he quietly passed away at the Westminster Hotel in New York, January 23, 1908.

The Columbia affair is almost forgotten to-day. The University is proud of the fact that MacDowell was its first professor of music, and recently the position he occupied has been named the Edward MacDowell Chair of Music. Nor is it my purpose to recount these details of a past controversy merely to make interesting reading. To my mind the events at Columbia were prompted by a nature that is clearly reflected in MacDowell's music. Impulsive, hasty, yet generous and sensitive, he sometimes lost his sense of perspective. His music reaches out for great heights. It often achieves them, yet it frequently stops for breath on the way to the summit. There was no compromise either in his music or in MacDowell. He must be himself. He was at a loss in adapting his ideas to the ways of others, even though both were after the same object. They must take the same road, or one of them must stay at home.

And finally a brighter side. A dream of MacDowell's that has been realized through the efforts of his wife, who knew it would please him if she built what he had vaguely planned. The listener to the winds had found a place where he could hear the sounds of nature more distinctly than

anywhere else; where he had the quiet to write them down in his music. With his wife he had discovered Peterboro, in the lower New Hampshire hills, and there they had bought an eighty-acre farm, soon after he had gone to Columbia. He built a log cabin, his "house of dreams untold," where he went early in the Summer mornings to write his *Fireside Tales,* his *New England Idyls.* He often thought of having other artists share his retreat, and he talked of the artist colony they would some day found at Peterboro.

Mrs. MacDowell has made the fulfillment of this idea her life work. Her concert tours, playing her husband's music, have been undertaken for the distinct purpose of raising funds to maintain the colony at Peterboro. To-day it is the Summer refuge of artists, composers, poets and writers who come to do their work in the spot where MacDowell wrote his last two sonatas, his *Sea Pieces,* and his later miniatures.

CHAPTER XV

OUR FOLK-MUSIC

I. THE MUSIC OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

I

THE folk-music of the United States is a controversial topic among musicians. What is it? Where did it come from? Which part of it is truly American? These are matters that are easily decided by those who think superficially; but scholars hesitate to answer such questions. It all depends on what we consider to be American in our surroundings. If Americanism is a matter of geography, or residence, the distinction is clear. But if sources and distinguishing traits are to be considered, the subject of American folk-song offers a puzzle that is not easy to solve.

There are many definitions of folk-song. It is obviously a song of the people, not the street tune that is sung for a few months and then forgotten, but a song that lives for generations. Generally its origin is unknown, as far as the individual who composed it is concerned. To be a true folk-song it must be typical of the people who sing it, part of their daily lives. Most important of all, the song itself must be more important than its composer. *Dixie* is better known than Dan Emmett; *Old Folks at Home* than Stephen Foster.

We have many groups of folk-songs in this country, yet few of them belong to the United States as a whole. The Negro songs are a characteristic utterance of those who were our slaves. The cowboy songs belong to the West; mountain ballads to the mountaineers; hill-billy songs come

from the Ozarks; and the music of the American Indian is a primitive expression which has little to do with the art forms of a civilized people. There is folk-music in America, but the over-worked melting pot has much to do before any part of our folk-song literature becomes a characteristic utterance of the entire nation.

The music of the Indians is a case in point. It is as far from our way of musical thinking as Chinese music. Although the Indians inhabited America for centuries before our ancestors came here, who are the Americans to-day: the white men or the red men? A brutally asked question, but pertinent. In their mode of life the primitive Indians who sang the songs that have since been collected from the remnants of the original tribes, are as foreign to the various white groups that compose America to-day as the Eskimos or South Sea Islanders. Can it then be said that primitive Indian music is American folk-song?

Some say that Indian music is as much the heritage of Americans, as the music of the barbaric hordes of Russia is the heritage of cultured Russians. Not at all; the Russians of to-day are the descendants of those barbaric ancestors. Relatively few of us have Indian blood in our veins. Furthermore, as soon as composers attempt to idealize the songs of the Indian, and reduce them to a white-man's harmonization, their whole character is lost in the process. For there is a long distance between savage music and folk-music. Folk-song is a relatively polished product, and while it may be composed of the same basic material, this material is presented in coherent sentences instead of in ejaculations and recurrence of unchanging rhythms.

Then, too, the term Indian, as applied to all primitive peoples who lived on the North American continent, is too general. There were over fifty basic linguistic stocks, all of whom were divided into separate tribes. At the present time the Office of Indian Affairs is dealing with three hun-

dred and forty-two tribes, not including the sub-tribes and rancheria. These separate races all had different customs and ways of living. Some were highly organized socially and politically, others were simply constituted. Each had its own legends, and presumably its own music. It is more exact, therefore, to speak of Chippewa, Hopi, or Blackfoot music, than Indian music, even though it all may sound the same to the novice. There are traits that all tribes seem to have in common musically, but these are probably characteristics that would be common to savage music in general.

II

It would be impossible in a chapter on the music of the American Indian to give anything approaching a comprehensive account of the songs of the many tribes. All that can be presented is a brief survey of the research that has been done in the field, and a short review of some of the things that these investigators have found. The earliest settlers in America spoke of the Indian's music, and there were many remarks on its peculiarities. When William Wood visited Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay he published an account of what he heard and saw. (London, 1634.)

> Their musick is lullabies to quiet their children, who generally are as quiet as if they had neither spleene or lungs. To hear one of these Indians unseene, a good eare might easily mistake their untaught voyce for the warbling of a well tuned instrument. Such command have they of their voices.

Being unmusical themselves, the colonists made little attempt to study the music of the Indians, or to make any notation of their songs. In the latter eighteenth century there were several publications that attempted to reproduce occasional Indian songs in musical notation. William Beresford printed an Indian tune when he published in 1789 his record of *A voyage around the world; but more par-*

ticularly to the northwest coast of America. Somewhere around 1800 George Gilfert published in New York, and P. A. Van Hagen in Boston, a song that purported to be a genuine Indian melody. This was *Alkmoonok, the Death Song of the Cherokee Indians.* It had been sung in Mrs. Hatton's *Tammany,* for which James Hewitt had arranged the music (1794). The song became very popular, and was known in almost every American drawing room in the early nineteenth century.

It was published in London first. It was issued there in 1784 under the title of *Alknomook,* "The death song of the Cherokee Indians, An Original Air, brought from America by a gentleman long conversant with the Indian tribes, and particularly with the Nation of the Cherokees. The Words adapted to the Air by a Lady." Frank Kidson, in the *Musical Antiquary,* said that this "lady" was Anne Hone Hunter, the wife of a famous surgeon, and Haydn's hostess when he was in London. She wrote verses for a number of Haydn's settings, notably "My mother bids me bind my hair." Whatever Cherokee or primitive traits *Alknomook* may have had, it appeared in wholly conventional dress in both the English and American editions.

When George Catlin published the report of his "eight years travel (1832-9) amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America," he included a description of Indian music and dances. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, in 1851, gave an account of the rites and symbolic notation of the songs of the Walbeno, and showed how these people used mnemonic symbols to refresh their memories for traditional songs.

The first serious attempt by a musician to make a scientific study of the music of the Indians was undertaken by THEODORE BAKER, in 1880. Baker, a German who later made his permanent residence in this country, was at the time a student at Leipsic University. He chose the music of the North American Indians as the subject of a thesis

for his doctorate, and he visited the Seneca Reservation in New York State, and the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He collected a number of songs, studied and analyzed them, but since his essay was published in Germany, it has had less influence than those by others which followed it.

ALICE C. FLETCHER came next. Her treatise on Omaha songs, various articles on the music of the Sioux and Pawnee Indians, and her book, *The Indian in Song and Story,* were among the first authoritative works on the subject. Miss Fletcher was a fellow in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. Among her collaborators was Francis La Flesche, who made a study of the customs of the Osage and Omaha Indians. JOHN COMFORT FILLMORE assisted Miss Fletcher in harmonizing and analyzing the characteristics of the tunes she had collected. Fillmore was a well-trained musician, founder of the Milwaukee School of Music, and later director of music at Pomona College in California. His arrangements of the Omaha melodies are adequate from a musical standpoint, yet they are so conventional that they make the tunes seem not the real thing, even to the ears of the layman. He went so far as to state that the Indians have a subconscious sense of harmony and that their tunes are harmonic melodies.

When the Hemenway Southwestern Expedition was at work among the Zuñi, Hopi, and other Pueblo Indians, BENJAMIN IVES GILMAN had charge of the study of their music. Gilman was very scientific, he studied certain songs from the acoustic standpoint, and by using a mechanical device sought to measure the exact intervals the Indians used in their songs. He invented a system of notation to show minute deviations from diatonic pitch.

Probably the first investigator to use the phonograph in recording the songs of the Indian was JESSE WALTER FEWKES, who first studied the songs of the Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine in 1889. He later joined the Hemenway

expedition, and it was from his records of Zuñi songs that Gilman made his analysis.

FREDERICK R. BURTON commenced his study of Ojibway music in 1901. While at Harvard in 1882 he wrote music for *Hiawatha.* This was later developed into a dramatic cantata and published in 1898. After this he lived among the Indians for long periods. His study of their music culminated in his book, *American Primitive Music,* published shortly after his death in 1909.

NATALIE CURTIS started her work with the Hopis and Zuñis in the Southwest about the same time that Burton began his study of the Ojibways in Minnesota and Wisconsin. Miss Curtis, later Mrs. Burlin, published her observations of over eighteen tribes in *The Indian's Book.* She did not harmonize the songs, but offered them as faithfully to their original form as musical notation could present them. Her work is especially valuable in showing the Indians' attitude toward their music.

FRANCES DENSMORE has for many years been collaborator of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institute. Her researches have led her to study the music and customs of many Indian tribes—Chippewa, Teton Sioux, Northern Ute, Mandan Hidatsa and others. She has used the phonograph in recording native singing, and her records have been preserved for students. She is one of the outstanding authorities on the subject of Indian music, and her views are based on a common sense attitude that not only demands facts, but distinguishes between the logical and the purely romantic point of view.

III

Although it is rarely accurate to speak of Indian music and customs as such, there are a few traits common to all tribes. Few Indians make music for its own sake. Every song is associated with some tribal custom, and is used only for the performance of that custom. There is a song for

almost everything—friends, enemies, gods, animals, forests, lakes, clothing, and sometimes whiskey. As Densmore puts it, "the Indians used song as a means of accomplishing definite results." To treat the sick, to have success in war or in the hunt, to accomplish anything the Indian felt was beyond his power as an individual. Songs are so closely associated with the ceremonies they accompany that Indians do not like to sing them on other occasions, even when they are showing the white man the songs of their tribe. One old Indian refused to sing a hunting song for Burton because it was not hunting season at the time.

Indians sing differently from white men, and there has been much discussion of their relative musical abilities. Some hold that the Indian has a far greater developed sense of rhythm than the white man, shown by his ability to beat his drum in one rhythm while he sings his song in another. Some think that the Indian's scale is far in advance of ours; that his divisions into smaller intervals than we use give him far greater flexibility and expressiveness in his melodies. Yet there are cynics who say that these phenomena merely show that the Indian cannot keep time nor sing in tune. Maybe they are right, for it is but logical to believe that our musical scale, evolved through centuries, has been formalized by natural acoustic laws. Primitive music is no doubt an early groping for these natural effects.

Of course, it is often true that an Indian singer will render a song many times over in exactly the same way as he sang it first. Miss Densmore has had songs recorded in the Summer, and again in the following Winter by the same singer. Comparison of the two records shows the performances to be exactly alike in melody, pitch and tempo. Often a song has been sung eight or ten times on a single phonograph record and the repetitions have been uniform in every respect. Burton took issue with Gilman on the question of the Indian's intonation. Gilman devised an elaborate notation to show exactly what intervals the In-

dians sang. Burton believed that deviations from pitch were not caused by the singers' instinctive feeling for smaller intervals than those of the diatonic scale, but by their inability to hold an accurate pitch. He pointed out that this inability was by no means confined to the Indian, and that if we were to make phonographic records of civilized chorus rehearsals, when the singers were unaccompanied, we would find many curious intervals, if we undertook to measure them accurately. Also records of opera singers. He cited an experience that Fillmore had had with the Indians:[1]

> In one case, Mr. Fillmore observed that the second part of a song was sung in a key a semitone lower than the first part. There was an upward skip of an octave and the singers fell short of it. They proceeded, however, from their false start and sang the second part relatively like the first; but when Mr. Fillmore played the song to them on the pianoforte and carried through the second part, his Indian listeners were displeased. When he played the piece throughout in the same key, they were satisfied.

Many Indians sing with a vibrato, and one of their favorite tricks is to attack a tone by beginning it sharp and immediately sliding down to the sustained tone. Descending melodies are a characteristic of all savage music. Often an Indian tune will descend steadily from the first note to the last. Sometimes there is an ascent in the middle, but then it starts to go down again. Miss Densmore found that in eight hundred and twenty songs, 67 per cent began with a downward progression, and in 87 per cent, the last note was the lowest tone occurring in the melody.

Reduced to an approximation of the accepted scale, many Indian melodies are found to utilize the five-tone, or pentatonic major and minor modes. This is true of much folk-music, for these modes involve the most natural intervals. Many of the songs seem to be in no particular key, although Miss Densmore has found that the majority of them seem

[1] *American Primitive Music*, by Frederick R. Burton: Moffat, Yard & Co.

to end on a tone that proved a satisfactory keynote to the ear. She found this true of 67 per cent of 340 Chippewa songs.

Then there is the question of multiple rhythms. When a civilized musician sings a song, his audience expects that song and accompaniment shall have some relation to each other. When the Indian sings, the arm that wields his drumstick has never heard of his voice, even though they both belong to the same person. When Burton began to study Indian music he had the conviction that the Indian had developed rhythm more highly than the white man. Intensive study made him change his mind, and brought him to the conclusion that the Indian is not aware that his drum beat is in conflict with the scheme of accents he invents for his song.[2]

Both, drum beat and song, are ingenuous expressions of his nature. One is extremely primitive, the other comparatively advanced, and, as he is still primitive, he clings to his cheerful noise, understanding it, aroused by it, while his musical soul toils darkly on toward an expression that aims ever at, and sometimes attains, symmetry. All of which is to say that he drums as he does because he knows no better.

IV

The collector of Indian songs has to be a discriminating person, to choose between what is traditional and real and what is new and synthetic. Much passes for Indian music that is quite modern, composed by comparatively civilized Indians. There are three classes of songs, as far as collectors are concerned. First, the old songs, sung by the old singers. These are now growing scarce, but many have been preserved on records. Second, the old ceremonial and medicine songs belonging to men now dead, but which can still be sung with reasonable correctness by Indians who heard their owners sing them. Third, the comparatively modern songs, representing a transitional culture, and showing the influence of civilization.

[2] *American Primitive Music,* by Frederick R. Burton: Moffat, Yard & Co.

There are many kinds of Indian songs, each tribe having not only its own songs, but its own types as well. Many of the tribes have lullabies and children's songs. Some have comparatively few of these, for the mothers were busy in the fields all day, and babies were left to lie in their hammocks. Yet the Chippewa, Yuma, Makah, Mandan, Ute and Hopi tribes are notable for their children's songs. Many of them accompany games which teach the young how to do essential things.

Songs are often the property of individuals. Those received in dreams may generally be sung only by their owners. Some songs may be purchased from their owners, generally with magic power for healing the sick. There are songs praising a man's virtues, his success in war or in hunting, or maybe his generosity.

Miss Densmore claims that love songs were not sung by the old-time Indians except in working love charms. Marriages among Indians were usually arranged by parents, and were confined to groups who had no blood relationship. Except with the Makahs, love songs are modern, and generally associated with disappointments. Playing the flute at dusk is a custom common to nearly every tribe, although it may not always be for the romantic purpose that poets would have us believe. Yet no doubt it has often helped the bashful lover to say his little speech.

The musical instruments of the Indians were flutes, whistles, drums and rattles. In some form these were common to all tribes in North America. Miss Densmore has said that the Tule Indians of Panama were the only Indians who did not use a drum or pound anything. Flutes were often played by the youth of the village to please the maidens, but sometimes they were used to warn against the approach of an enemy in war time. Whistles were used by magicians and by doctors when attending patients.

The drum was essential to all Indian music. Many Indians could not sing without it. There were hand drums,

big drums which took several men to play, and drums that looked like kegs and were partly filled with water. They accompanied ceremonial dances, religious rites, and the singing of all sorts of songs. Rattles were generally regarded as sacred objects to be used only on religious occasions. There were different kinds of rattles. Some were receptacles containing small objects that hit against each other; some were sticks with objects that hit together suspended from them; and some were wooden clappers. Then there was the notched stick, which was laid by one end on a hollow gourd, while the performer ran a smaller stick over the notches.

In the bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Miss Densmore has given a detailed account and analysis of Chippewa songs. There were the Mĭdè, or Medicine songs, for the expression of religious ideas. Some were for direct ceremonial use (initiations, to secure success in hunting, etc.) and others were connected with the use of medicine; for healing or working charms. Many of these songs were taught only to those who would pay for the privilege of learning them.

The Chippewas were firm believers in dream songs, learned in visions while fasting. Some of these were the songs of the doctor, which could never be bought or sold. There were also the songs of the juggler, who did a sort of Houdini act in freeing himself from all sorts of ropes and knots before the assembled tribe. There were of course the war songs—some to incite war, some songs of the warpath, and others of the scalp dance. Many of them had a religious significance; the "God with us" idea is by no means the sole property of the white man in war time.

Game songs were found in many tribes; often each side sang them to invoke victory. The Indians were great gamblers and the stakes sometimes ran high. In the moccasin game of the Chippewas four bullets or balls were hidden under four moccasins. The man or side that guessed

which bullet was marked got the jack-pot. Some of the songs showed a true sporting instinct. One of them is translated—"I will go home if I am beaten, after more articles to wager."

There is indeed a rich literature in the traditional music of the various Indian tribes. Much of it is interesting and some of it is beautiful. As interpretations of the Indian the songs are invaluable. As specimens of primitive art they are choice. American composers (way back to the time of Father Heinrich) have given us interesting examples of what can be done with these songs in larger compositions. We have already heard of MacDowell's *Indian* suite, and there are many others who have sought to tap the melodic source of the primitive savages. There is an exotic flavor about them that is tempting; there is a haunting loveliness in some of the melodies that is very beautiful. Yet not all of them can be reduced to our conception of harmony and survive the process with any degree of appropriateness.

To select Indian tunes because they are useful is one thing. To choose them for nationalistic purposes is a different matter entirely, for they are American in the geographic sense alone. Mrs. Beach probably summed up the matter with much common sense when I asked her what she thought of using Indian themes. "I see no harm in it; if you want to do it," she replied.

2. NEGRO MUSIC

I

The songs of the American Negro form one of the choicest groups of folk-song found in this country. Whatever their origin, or their ultimate significance to us, they are as rich, as colorful, and as warm in their melodic phrases as any peoples' songs that have ever been born here, or have been brought to our shores from abroad. For the Negro likes to sing, and whether he is singing a tune he

inherited from his ancestors, or something he has picked up from the white man, he puts all of himself into his performance, gay or sad.

The songs are vital because they are sincere—they speak the Negro's real nature. Some of them fervent, some superstitious, others shiftless and irresponsible, they all show some phase of the undeveloped black man's childlike temperament. And when songs truly reflect the character of the people who sing them, they are folk-songs, beyond all question of their origin. Everything the Negro sings about —"Norah" and the Ark, Daniel in the Lion's Den, or the ribald tale of Frankie and Johnnie (*Albert* with the Negroes)—he invariably reduces to his own experience.

Whether or not we are to consider Negro music as American, it has probably made a deeper impression on American life than has any other class of songs. First, through its cousin the minstrel song, then by way of rag-time, and lately through the blues and jazz, the Negroid manner has permeated our popular music. The intelligentsia has so glorified this element that serious composers have been able to stay respectable while they experiment with its idiom. Side by side has come our welcome to the "spirituals," the Negro's religious songs. They have been invited to our concert halls, whether clothed in the trappings of Debussy and sometimes of Stravinsky, or in more appropriate costumes.

General recognition of the artistic value of Negro songs is comparatively modern. Singing on the plantations has long been a tradition, but the vogue of the "spiritual" has come with the present century. Thomas Jefferson spoke of the natural musical talents of the Negro in his *Notes on Virginia,* way back in 1784, and there were some airs from Virginia, one of them a Negro Jig, in Aird's *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs,* published in Glasgow in 1782. (It was this collection that contained the first known printing of *Yankee Doodle.*) We have seen how

the minstrel shows, from the 1830's, were direct imitations of Negro singing. But serious consideration of Negro songs, as anything better than comedy dialect, did not come until after the Civil War, and not too quickly even then.

Negro singing, somewhat formalized, first became known to the country at large through the travels of Negro singers, first from Fisk University, and then from Hampton, Tuskegee, and other industrial schools. Fisk University was founded in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1866, a pioneer institution to educate the freed slaves. Its early years saw bitter struggles, it was hard to raise money for a project not altogether popular at the time. Finally George L. White, who had been in charge of singing at the school, started on a concert tour with thirteen members of his choir. This was in 1871, and though the first months were discouraging, before the little band of singers had finished three years' travel, they had raised $150,000 for the University—chiefly through voluntary collections among their audiences. Moreover, they had been a feature of Pat Gilmore's 1872 Jubilee in Boston, they had been abroad, received by Queen Victoria in England, and by the Emperor in Germany.

As other Negro institutes were founded, this became one of the favorite ways of raising funds for their maintenance. The Hampton and Tuskegee quartets have sung in churches in the Winter, and at resort hotels in the Summer, and through their singing have gained money for their cause, and have helped create the vogue of the Negro spiritual.

At the end of the century a few serious composers experimented with Negro music. Years before, Gottschalk had used Creole songs from Louisiana (in his *Bananier, Bamboula* and other piano pieces), but it was not until our guest composer of the nineties, the Bohemian Dvořák, wrote his *New World* Symphony, that the idea of using Negro music took hold. At that there is considerable dispute as to whether Dvořák intended to use actual Negro tunes, or

whether he merely meant to catch their spirit. But what Dvořák accomplished was to create our respect for the folk-songs that existed in our own country. Since then we have had hundreds of concert settings of Negro songs, some sophisticated and others simple in treatment; choral arrangements; and developments and elaborations of Negro material in symphonic works.

II

The origin of these songs is a matter that has troubled many a student, and caused much discussion. The more seriously students study the question, the less they are inclined to venture dogmatic theories. One supposition is that their idiom is African; that the ancestors of the Negroes brought their songs with them in the slave ships. Their peculiarities were adapted to English words when the Negroes learned the language of their masters, and heard the Bible stories of the missionaries and evangelists. Comparisons are made between the music of African savages and that of the American Negro. The pentatonic scale is common to both; each has a decided tendency to syncopation. Both seem to have an instinct for part singing. Specific songs are brought forth to prove a connection. One writer claimed that *Go Down, Moses* so resembles an old Jewish Chant, *Cain and Abel,* that Hebrews think the Negro song is theirs, and that Negroes claim the Jewish song. This has led to a theory that there was an ancient relation between Negro and Semitic races on the African continent. And yet again, it may only explain why the Jew becomes an expert at jazz.

Of course, the pentatonic scale is found in folk-songs the world over, and syncopation is the exclusive property of no race in particular. Yet it is only logical to assume that there are the relics of an African background in the music of the American Negro. Disputes to-day center around the question of how much of the Negro music we hear is African, and how much is learned from the white man.

Some say that none of the spirituals, or at least very few of them, really belong to the colored man. They are merely his version of songs he heard from revivalists and missionaries. And anyone who studies the gospel hymns of the white people can sympathize with this point of view, for they have much in common with the Negro spirituals. Yet, if the gospel hymns are the parents of any number of the spirituals, it must be admitted that the Negro has improved them musically. Testimony on the makings of many of these spirituals is forthcoming from those who have witnessed them. Baptisms, camp meetings, spiritual orgies are supposed to give birth to new songs. One starts to intone a phrase, another joins him, and soon the whole crowd is answering and swaying to the rhythm. A folk-song is born, then and there. Natalie Curtis Burlin described such a scene in the *Musical Quarterly*, January, 1919:

On a suffocatingly hot July Sunday in Virginia, in a little ramshackle meeting-house that we had approached over a blinding road nearly a foot deep in dust, a number of rural Negroes had gathered from an outlying farm, dressed all in their dust-stained Sunday best for the never-to-be-omitted Sabbath service. . . . Service had already begun before we came and the congregation, silent and devout, sat in rows on the rough backless benches. The preacher now exhorted his flock to prayer and the people with one movement surged forward from the benches and down onto their knees, every black head deep-bowed in an abandonment of devotion. Then the preacher began in a quavering voice a long supplication. Here and there came an uncontrollable cough from some kneeling penitent or the sudden squall of a restless child; and now and again an ejaculation, warm with entreaty, "O Lord!" or a muttered "Amen, Amen"—all against the background of the praying, endless praying.

Minutes passed, long minutes of strange intensity. The mutterings, the ejaculations, grew louder, more dramatic, till suddenly I felt the creative thrill dart through the people like an electric vibration, that same half-audible hum arose—emotion was gathering atmospherically as clouds gather—and then, up from the depths of some "sinner's" remorse and imploring, came a pitiful little plea, a real Negro "moan," sobbed in musical cadence. From somewhere in that bowed gathering another voice improvised a response: the plea sounded again, louder

this time and more impassioned: then other voices joined in the answer, shaping it into a musical phrase; and so, before our ears, as one might say, from this molten metal of music a new song was smithied out, composed then and there by no one in particular and by everyone in general.

Collectors of Negro songs tell of many individual bards who are reputed to have composed their songs. C. W. Hyne, in the introduction to *Utica Jubilee Singers Spirituals* [1] gives an account of "Singing" Johnson, who sang his way from community to community.

His coming was eagerly anticipated. The congregation hung on his voice, alert to learn a new song. As they listened, some would join in uncertainly, the keener ears soon catching the melody and words. The whole congregation easily learned the response, which is generally unvarying. Always the strong voice of the leader corrected errors until the song was learned perfectly. Singing Johnson undoubtedly derived his support in somewhat the same way as the preachers: part of a collection, food and lodging. He spent his leisure time in originating new words and melodies and new lines for old songs. A maker of songs and a man with a delicate sense of when to come to the preacher's support after a climax in the sermon, by breaking in with a line or two of a song that expressed a certain sentiment, often just a single line.

Odum and Johnson, in *Negro Workaday Songs*,[2] tell the story of "Left Wing" Gordon, of the *species hobo*, who never stayed in any place more than three weeks, "leastwise never mo' 'n fo'." Gordon was a great songster.

"Wing" claimed a blues for every state and more; if there was none already at hand, he would make one of his own. . . . Wing had practically no variation in his tunes and technique of singing. A high-pitched voice, varied with occasional low tones, was the most important part of his repertoire. But what variation in words and scenes, phrases and verses, the recording of which would exhaust the time and endurance of the listener and call for an ever-recording instrument!

[1] *Utica Jubilee Singers Spirituals*, taken down by J. R. Johnson, introduction by C. W. Hyne: Oliver Ditson Co.

[2] *Negro Workaday Songs*, by Odum and Johnson: University of North Carolina Press.

It is not always safe to trust the Negro's claim to authorship. William Francis Allen, and Lucy McKim Garrison, when they published their collection of *Slave Songs* in 1867, often found songs in Methodist Hymn Books, which Negroes said they had composed themselves. *Climb Jacob's Ladder* proved to be a song from a Northern book, as did *Give Me Jesus,* and *I'll Take the Wings of the Morning.*

Discussion regarding the origin of Negro songs is after all an academic matter. The important fact is that they are the Negro's interpretations of his surroundings, his superstitions, his beliefs, his legendry. If he has derived, even copied, a small part or most of this from the white man, it makes little difference. The songs are beautiful, and there is a wealth of them. If they have been shaped by the Negro's American surroundings and influences, they have far more claim to being American than if they were pure importations from Africa.

III

In one respect, the singing groups from Fisk and Hampton have given a false, or at least one-sided, emphasis to our idea of Negro music. The travelling quartets, which have sung principally in churches, have confined themselves to the spirituals, or religious songs. When a Negro "gets religion" he turns his back to his "wicked" secular songs. It is largely through Tin Pan Alley that the non-religious type of Negro song is generally known, and then largely formalized and stripped of most of its native charm. For this reason some of the latest collections of authentic Negro secular songs are most valuable.

Although all the songs of the colored man have much in common, musically and temperamentally, his music may be separated into religious and secular groups. Of course, the religion of the Negro is partly superstition. Also, in the slave days, he seized upon the idea of an after life as his release from bondage. He interpreted many Bible

stories in terms of his own experience. The children of Israel were in a predicament similar to his own; he looked to a black Moses for his deliverance. If the Lord had delivered Daniel, he certainly wouldn't forget the poor black man in America.

The religious songs include the spirituals, and the shout songs. Allen and Garrison claimed that the shout songs, or "Running Sper-chels" were confined to the Baptists, and were to be heard mostly in South Carolina and the states south of it. A typical "shout" was described by a writer in the New York *Nation* in 1867.

> The true "shout" takes place on Sundays or on "praise-nights" through the week, and either in the praise-house or in some cabin in which a regular religious meeting has been held. . . . The benches are pushed back to the wall when the formal meeting is over, and old and young, men and women, sprucely-dressed young men, grotesquely half-clad field-hands . . . boys with tattered shirts and men's trousers, young girls barefooted, all stand up in the middle of the floor, and when the "sperchil" is struck up, begin first walking and by-and-by shuffling round, one after the other, in a ring. The foot is hardly taken from the floor, and the progression is mainly due to a jerking, hitching motion, which agitates the entire shouter, and soon brings out streams of perspiration. Sometimes they dance silently, sometimes as they shuffle they sing the chorus of the spiritual, and sometimes the song itself is also sung by the dancers. But more frequently a band, composed of some of the best singers and of tired shouters, stand at the side of the room to "base" the others, singing the body of the song and clapping their hands together or on the knees. Song and dance are alike extremely energetic, and often, when the shout lasts into the middle of the night, the monotonous thud, thud of the feet prevents sleep within half a mile of the praise house.

Some of the spirituals are sad, some are happy. Generally the sad ones express a hope for the future, or a child-like faith in the hereafter: "Nobody knows the trouble I see, Nobody knows but Jesus"; "Swing low, sweet chariot, Comin' for to carry me Home." Often lively rhythms and tunes were used for the most devout songs: "Couldn' hear nobody pray"; "Roll, Jordan, roll"; "I want to be ready."

The precentor idea was common among the Negroes. Hundreds of the spirituals, and the secular songs too, had their verses lined out by the leader, while the congregation of worshippers waited to join in the oft-repeated refrain. The leader would start:

> I got a robe, you got a robe;

then the chorus:

> All God's chillun got a robe,
> When I get to heab'n, gonna put on my robe,
> Gonna shout all over God's heab'n.

In the next verse the leader had a harp, in the third, wings, and in the fourth, somewhat in anti-climax, shoes.

Obviously the spirituals may be sub-divided into many smaller groups. Funeral songs and chants, songs of a semi-religious nature, sung in a comic vein, but with Bible stories for their text. Slave songs and sorrow songs form a definite group, although many fall into several classifications.

IV

The secular songs cover a far greater field than is commonly appreciated. Not only are there the songs that date back to the slave days, plantation melodies and cabin songs, but many of more modern origin, which show outside influences, but nevertheless seem authentically of the Negro. Work songs, for cotton picking, corn shucking, stevedoring; railroad songs of the section gang; steamboat songs; prison songs of the chain gang and the rock pile. Bad men's songs; devil songs (many unprintable); and then of course the "blues," which have been carried into our modern jazz.

The Negro has a love of balladry, of the true narrative type. Many of these songs are his versions of the white man's ballads—*Casey Jones,* and others of its kind; and some of the English ballads from the mountaineers in the Appalachians are sung by the Negroes. Yet many of them

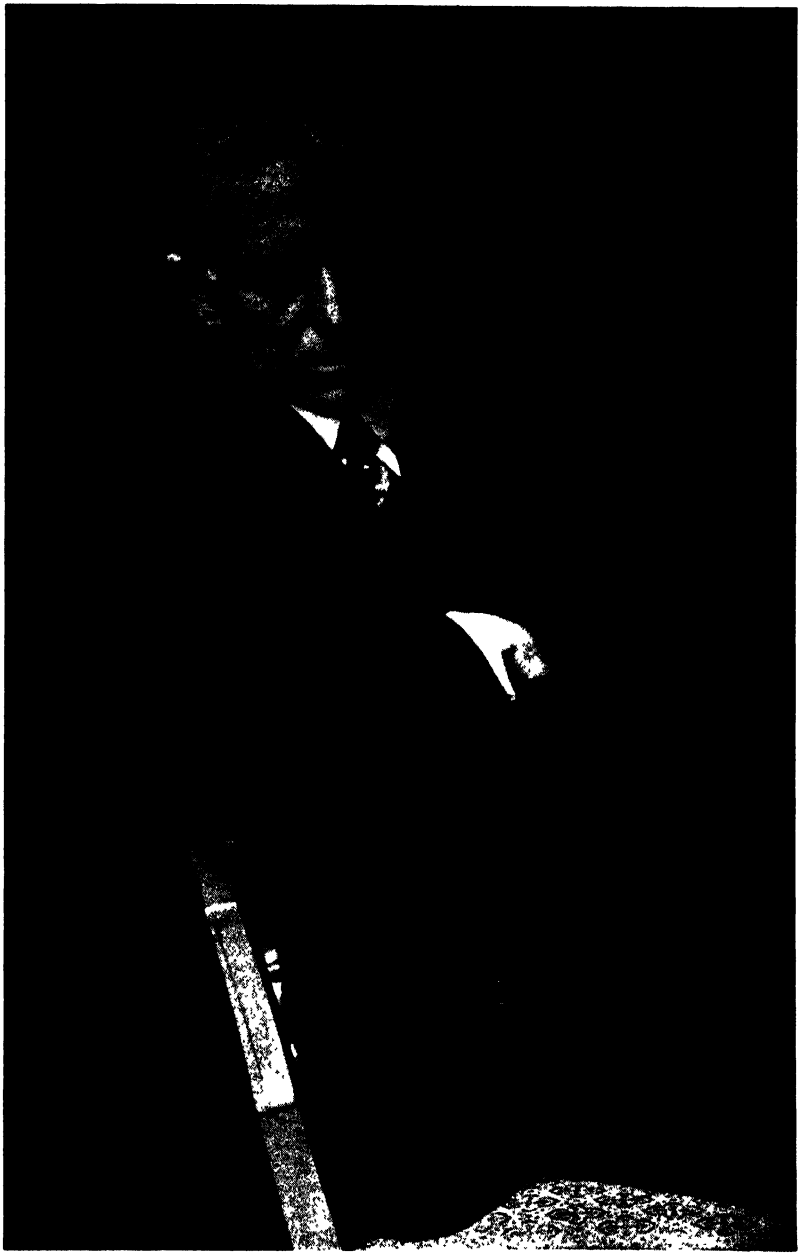
seem to be of his own making. He loves the bad-man ballads—the tale of the *Travelin' Man,* who made a "livin' stealin' chickens"; or *Bad Man Lazarus* (not the one of Bible fame), who "broke in de commissary"; and finally was shot down with a "forty-five." The Negro often violates the impersonal tradition of balladry by using the first personal pronoun, thus injecting his imaginary self into the story. "I'm de hot stuff man from de devil's lan' "; or "I'm de rough stuff of dark-town alley."

In his music the Negro is often filled with self-pity. Like many white men, he loves to think how people will mourn for him after he is dead, maybe by his own hand, by jumping into the sea, or by laying his head on a railroad track. Then he will be understood and appreciated, when it is too late. He sings "Ship my po' body home, If I die long way from home"; or "I wish I was dead," in which he borrows a phrase from the white man—"Over de hill is de po' house."

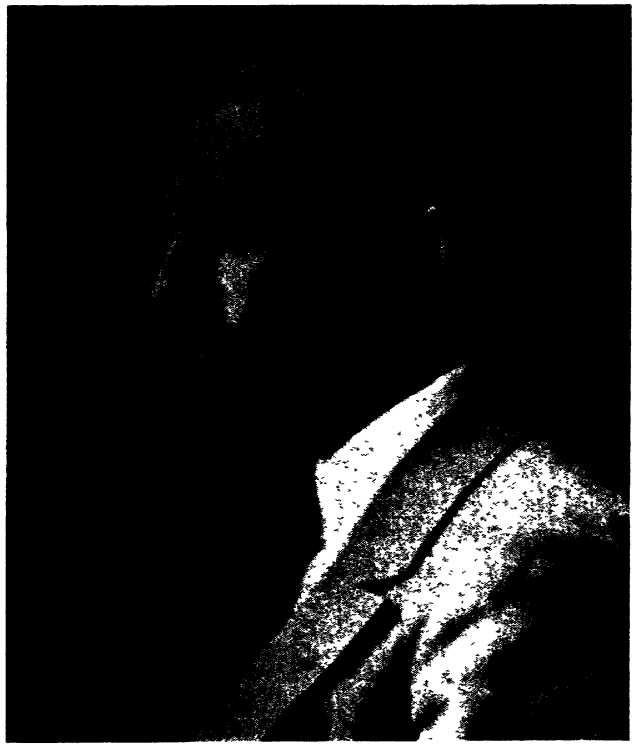
This self-pity element has been partly responsible for the "blues," a type of the sorrow songs. This kind of song has forced its way into our modern jazz, and into polite musical circles. It was popularized largely through the efforts of W. C. Handy, who published the *Memphis Blues* in 1912. Of its development, and its part in our popular music of the day we shall learn later, for we are concerned here only with how the Negro enjoys his music in its native state. The blues are based on self-pity, yet often in happy-go-lucky fashion they express the singer's knowledge, or hope, that maybe things are not so bad after all. Handy once summed the matter up in these words:[8]

> Why the happy character in a plaintive mood? Why call it the blues when the music is joyous? It happens in this way: Rastus owes his rent. He is going to be ejected to-morrow if he does not pay. He has part of the money. He tries in vain to get the rest. Defying

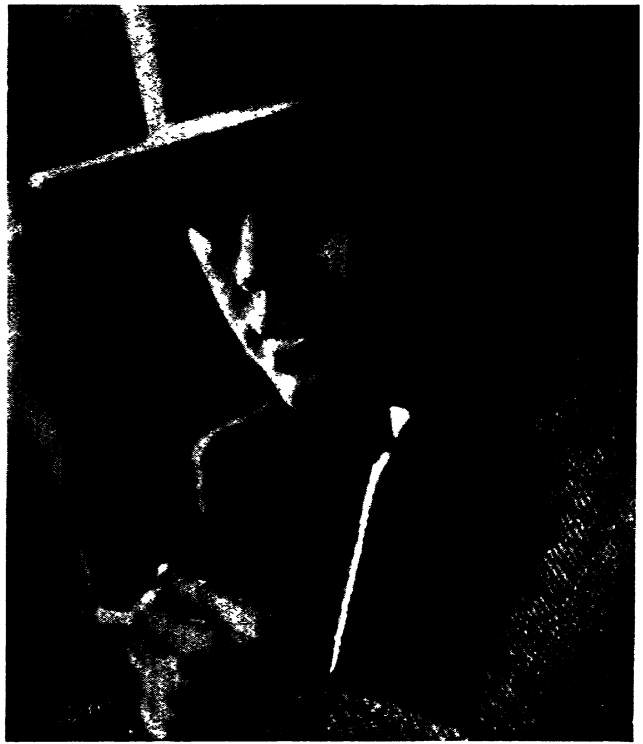
[8] *Music Publishers' Journal.*



Arthur Farwell.
(See page 439.)



Charles Wakefield Cadman.
(See page 445.)



John Powell.
(See page 457.)

his fate, he goes to a party—dances joyously, spends generously, camouflaging perfectly his heavy heart. That's why the blues are joyous.

Yet the real blues are often lonely and melancholy. In most of them the trouble is caused by the relationship of man and woman, so rarely satisfactory, according to the Negro bard. "The man I love he has done lef' this town"; or "I laid in jail, back to the wall, Brown skin gal cause of it all."

Since Handy popularized the blues, they have been sung by whites as well as blacks. Many have been written by sophisticated composers, yet the originals are no doubt genuine, and thoroughly characteristic of a predominant phase of the uneducated Negro's make-up. Odum and Johnson, in *Workaday Songs,* discuss at length the question of authentic and modern blues, especially in view of the millions of phonograph records that have been sold in the past ten or fifteen years. They have found a surprising similarity between the words and titles of recent popular blues, and those of the songs collected more than twenty-five years ago. Explaining the present relationship between folk-blues, and the formal, or composed, variety, they write:[4]

When a blues [phonograph] record is issued it quickly becomes the property of a million Negro workers and adventurers who never bought it and perhaps never heard it played. Sometimes they do not even know that the song is from a record. They may recognize in it parts of songs long familiar to them and think that it is just another piece which some songster has put together. Their desire to invent a different version, their skill at adapting stanzas of old favorites to the new music, and sometimes their misunderstanding of the words of the new song, result in the transformation of the song into many local variants. In other words, the folk creative process operates upon a song, the origin of which may already be mixed, and produces in turn variations that may later become the bases of other formal blues. . . .

Whether the formal blues have come to stay or not, it is impossible

[4] *Negro Workaday Songs,* by Odum and Johnson: University of North Carolina Press.

to tell at present. Possibly they will undergo considerable modification as the public becomes satiated and the Negro takes on more and more of the refinements of civilization. . . .

The folk blues will also undergo modification, but they will always reflect Negro life in its lower strata much more accurately than the formal blues can. For it must be remembered that these folk-blues were the Negro's melancholy song long before the phonograph was invented. Yet the formal songs are important. In their own way they are vastly superior to the cruder folk productions, since they have all of the advantages of the artificial over the natural. They may replace some of the simpler songs and thus dull the creative impulse of the common Negro folk to some extent, but there is every reason to suppose that there will be real folk blues as long as there are Negro toilers and adventurers whose naïveté has not been worn off by what the white man calls culture.

V

And now for the significance of all this Negro music to America. It has been protested that it is the song of the Negro alone, who represents but a single part of our population. Those of us who are not black cannot share the ownership of this literature with the Negro, because it is characteristic of him, and not of us. The Americanism of Negro song involves questions that are beyond the scope of a book on music. Social and political questions, involving segregation of races, or admixtures not pleasant to discuss. In the case of mixtures, one Southern gentleman has said that the melting pot would become a witches' cauldron, and there are many Northerners who would sympathize with him. Obviously, the Negro songs are nearer our musical comprehension than the savage chants of the Indian. The Negro has been long enough in contact with the white man to acquire his musical scale.

There is a universality of appeal about the Negro music that makes it something more than the chant of a single race. The songs are so fundamentally human that they have already outlived the generation and conditions that

produced the oldest of them. As Alain Locke writes in *The New Negro.*[5]

> They have survived in turn the contempt of the slave owners, the conventionalizations of formal religion, the repressions of Puritanism, the corruptions of sentimental balladry, and the neglect and disdain of second-generation respectability. They have escaped the lapsing conditions and the fragile vehicle of folk art, and come firmly into the context of formal music.

We shall see, in a later chapter, how many of these Negro songs have been used by serious composers. Some of them have been treated in type, and some have been garbed in a dress that is incongruous. Though the Negro songs are nearer our own expression than the music of the Indians, they nevertheless have to be treated appropriately to preserve their native appeal, otherwise their original flavor is lost. As MacDowell said when discussing Indian music, the problem of Americanism in music is not so easily solved as by taking folk-songs born in America and harmonizing them haphazardly.

Some feel that the strongest impress of Negro music has come by way of jazz, now the sport of the musically polite. Rather than the naïve idealism of the spiritual, the restless syncopation, the discordant shriekings of the primitive black man, more nearly voice the fever of modern American life. Maybe they do, but all of these are questions that time alone can answer. We know that in America we have the songs of the Negro, some of them his own, and some of them his version of what he has learned from us. If the Negro is American, his songs are American. If we like his songs, we are welcome to use them, even though we may be borrowing them from a tenant who is none of our relation.

[5] *The New Negro,* edited by Alain Locke: A. & C. Boni.

3. OTHER SOURCES OF FOLK-SONGS

I

Throughout America there are sources of folk-songs that have been appreciated by collectors only in recent years. It is good for our literature that we have at last awakened to the fact that we have valuable folk-songs in hitherto unsuspected places, for as primitive customs and manners disappear, the songs associated with these traditions will vanish also. Civilization, and especially the age of machinery, do not provide fertile soil for folk-songs. With our modern standardization of living, and such mediums as the radio and the talking pictures setting artificial standards in even the remotest places, the most rural countryman may soon acquire the manners and speech of the city dweller. Then he will sing the latest jazz hits instead of his own songs.

Folk-songs are generally common to people whom civilization has touched the least, where society and life in general is the least organized. Isolation from other people, hand-labor, and lack of printed literature are factors that nourish and perpetuate folk-music. A certain naïveté is essential to the true people's song; sophistication is its deadliest enemy. True folk-music is found among the Negroes, the mountaineers in the Southeast Appalachians, the cowboys, the lumberjacks and shanty-boys, in the New England farm districts, among the wandering tribe of hoboes, with sailors and longshoremen, and often in the jails.

Not that each group has an exclusive, individual literature. There is much interrelation of songs. The cowboy sings "Bury me not on the lone prai-rie," and the sailor chants, "O bury me not in the deep, deep sea." *The Dying Hobo* is heard in West Virginia, among the Maine lumberjacks, and in Texas. *Turkey in the Straw,* originally known as *Zip Coon,* is native to the minstrel show, indigenous to

the South and Southwest, it is the authentic accompaniment to the Virginia Reel, and it is used for barn dances in Maine. It is probably the nearest approach to a truly national folk-tune that we have.

II

The mountain regions of Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas and Virginia offer a splendid example of preservation of folk-song by isolation. British settlers came into these mountains in the latter eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The region is secluded and inaccessible. Few roads have been built into the mountains, and railroads are miles away. The people have been dependent on themselves alone. Each family has raised its own vegetables, and had its own cattle and sheep. Money was unnecessary; when they traded, the mountaineers bartered in kind. For liquor they had their own stills, and made their own moonshine; hence the feuds with revenue officers of the government. When disputes arose with neighbors, justice was a private matter, often requiring a gun. Then revenge was in order, and blood feuds between families and clans were carried on for generations.

Otherwise they are a leisurely people, sociable and kindly when they are not suspicious. Hospitable to anyone they are not afraid is a "revenoo-er," they are cordial to strangers, courteous and dignified. Cecil Sharp found them somewhat like English peasants, with one essential difference. They had none of the obsequiousness common to the English villager.

Most of the mountain songs are traditional English ballads, brought from England by the ancestors of the present inhabitants. Civilization has not touched the singers, nor the songs, and even though those who sing today may understand little of what they are singing, they tell of knights and ladies, of courtships and tragedies, of a time and place far different from their own. Cecil Sharp, when he published his collection of *English Folk Songs*

from the Southern Appalachians, included in his work an appendix that shows where various of the songs have been noted in England. Thirty-seven of the ballads are to be found, for example, in Child's *English and Scottish Ballads.* Among them are the tales of *Barbara Allen; The Maid Freed from the Gallows* (known also as *The Hangman's Song,* and sung in various forms in many corners of the globe); *The Two Brothers; Lord Randal; Earl Brand;* and many others. The songs include *My Boy Billy* (generally known as *Billie Boy*); *Sourwood Mountain; The Farmyard* (seemingly an ancestor of the Rotarians' *Old MacDonald Had a Farm*); *Frog Went a-Courtin',* etc.

Other collectors have noted some of these and other songs. Josephine McGill published a collection, and Howard Brockway and Loraine Wyman gathered a number into their set of *Lonesome Tunes* and *Twenty Kentucky Mountain Songs.* In his *Folk-Songs of the South,* John H. Cox presented songs he had collected in West Virginia.

While most of the songs were obviously brought by the first settlers from England, some of them make references to more modern events. *Brother Green* speaks of the "Southern foe," who "laid him low." The story evidently refers to the Civil War, though in its present form the song may be a variant of an older version. *The Wreck on the C. & O., The Boston Burglar,* and others of their kind are the mountaineers' versions of American ballads.

Generally the mountain people sing without accompaniment, in a straightforward manner, unconscious of an audience. The folk-singer thinks of the story he is telling, rather than the effect he is producing on a listener. In some quarters, visitors to the mountains have found instruments. Occasionally a fiddle, and sometimes a guitar. In Kentucky some singers play on the dulcimer, a shallow wooden box, with four sound-holes—a sort of elongated violin. Generally three strings are stretched over this box.

Two are used as drones, and the third for the melody. The effect is either that of an ancient drone, or a sound like the twanging of a banjo or guitar.

III

The cowboys of the Southwest have had their song literature, some of it preserved by such ardent collectors as John A. Lomax. Railroads and other modern forms of transportation, and the cutting up of the huge ranches into small farms, have dimmed the romance of the time-honored profession of cow-punching. The old-time round-up has almost disappeared, and the cattle trails to Kansas and to Montana are covered with grass. In the seventies and eighties large forces of men were needed to take care of the cattle in the Winter season, to round them up in the Spring and to brand the calves. Then they had to be driven to market, up the long trails from Texas, sometimes as far north as Montana, where the grass made better grazing.

The cowboys had to provide their own entertainment, and so they sang, sometimes songs they had learned elsewhere, and often those they composed themselves. Often their songs were useful—rhythmic yells to stir up lagging cattle, or cattle "lullabies" to quiet the restless animals at night. Sometimes the "dogie" songs were used to halt stampedes. Aside from songs connected with his business, the cowboy's taste ran to opposites. He liked songs and ballads of the desperado—*Jesse James* (found in many parts of the country); *Billy the Kid;* or the story of *The Hell-Bound Train.* He could grow sentimental and sing of *The Dying Cowboy;* his *Home on the Range;* or the religious *Rounded Up in Glory.* He also shared many ballads and songs with frontiersmen and ballad-singers generally. Some of these were pretty much unchanged by the cowboy: *The Boston Burglar;* the tale of *MacAfee's Confession,* and others. Sometimes he adapted songs to his own surroundings, and occasionally he included in his song-

words stanzas that are found elsewhere. For example, the cowboy refrain

Jack o' diamonds, Jack o' diamonds,
I know you of old,
You've robbed my pockets
Of silver and gold,

is similar to the refrain of a totally different song—the Negro convict song, *Water-Boy,* known chiefly through Avery Robinson's concert arrangement.

The cowboy literature is colorful, some of the melodies he sang are very beautiful. On the whole his ballads are typical of himself, and like all folk-song literature they show the temperament and life of those who sing them. As Lomax has written in his volume of *Cowboy Songs:* [1]

The changing and romantic West of the early days lives mainly in song and story. The last figure to vanish is the cowboy, the animating spirit of the vanishing era. He sits his horse easily as he rides through a wide valley, enclosed by mountains, clad in the hazy purple of the coming night,—with his face turned steadily down the long, long road, "the road that the sun goes down." Dauntless, reckless, without the unearthly purity of Sir Galahad, though as gentle to a pure woman as King Arthur, he is truly a knight of the twentieth century. A vagrant puff of wind shakes a corner of the crimson handkerchief knotted loosely at his throat; the thud of his pony's feet mingling with the jingle of his spurs is borne back; and as the careless, gracious, lovable figure disappears over the divide, the breeze brings to the ears, faint and far yet cheery still, the refrain of a cowboy song:

Whoopee ti yi yo, git along little dogies;
It's your misfortune and none of my own.
Whoopee ti yi yo, git along little dogies;
For you know Wyoming will be your new home.

IV

Lumberjack songs from the woods of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota have been collected by Franz Rickaby,

[1] *Cowboy Songs and other Frontier Ballads,* by John A. Lomax: The Macmillan Co.

and published in a volume of *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy*.[2] Some of these seem to be original and others are adaptations. Rickaby found that the shanty-boy makes no general use of his songs while he is actually at work. He is not by nature a gang-worker, and so his songs do not have the place that other songs have had in labors where efforts are timed in unison, or the general rhythm of the work is maintained by the singing of the group, or an individual in the group. But, as Rickaby wrote,

> . . . back in the shanty, particularly on Saturday evenings, secure from the outer cold,—his supper stowed safely within him, the old iron stove throwing out its genial heat, and the mellowing ministrations of tobacco well begun,—the shanty-boy became story-teller and singer. The emotional thaw set in; and a great many of his songs were, in the words of an old shanty-boy, "as fine as any you'll hear."

Many of his favorite songs tell of his own type of life:

> Oh, a shanty-man's life is a wearisome life,
> Altho' some think it void of care.
> Swinging an axe from morning till night
> In the midst of the forests so drear.

Or the *Shanty-man's Alphabet*, in which

> A is for axe as you all very well know,
> B is for boys that can use them just so.
> C is for chopping, and now I'll begin;
> And D is for danger we ofttimes run in.

Rickaby believes that the woods songs were composed by individuals who set out definitely to compose. There has been little communal writing of songs and ballads, similar to that attributed to the Negro. New stanzas might often have been added, but the songs themselves rarely if ever originated with the group. Generally the words were fitted to a tune the author had in mind when he wrote them.

Roland Palmer Gray collected the *Songs and Ballads of*

[2] *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy*, by Franz Rickaby: Harvard University Press.

the Maine Lumberjacks. His volume presents a number of the songs that Rickaby found in the mid-west: *The Alphabet Song,* and a version of the *Shanty Man's Life*—the *Lumberman's Life* in Maine. There are a few of the old English ballads; *The Twa Sisters; The Dark-Eyed Sailor,* and some historical ballads. Some of these, culled from broadsides, record local historical events of recent date—*The Bangor Fire,* of 1911. One is a tribute to President Wilson.

V

Origin of folk-songs and ballads will always provide material for discussion and controversy, and it is difficult and dangerous to be arbitrary in such matters. Sometimes a publisher has issued a sheet music edition of a traditional ballad, and many people have thought it a new song. There was a recent vogue of *Ain' gonna rain no more,* and not all who heard it for the first time realized how old it really was. *Frankie and Johnnie* has been attributed to various sources, and has known countless versions. The incident it relates has been credited to various localities—from New Orleans to the North. Recently a story in the New York *World* stated positively that it occurred in St. Louis, as recently as 1889; that the man's name was Albert and that Frankie is still living. Moreover that the actors in the tragedy were not white, but colored.

Sometimes a recently composed and published song achieves such currency that it is commonly considered to be a traditional ballad. *The Blue and the Gray* was issued before the Spanish War as coming from the pen of Paul Dresser, brother of Theodore Dreiser, the novelist, yet it is included in Louise Pound's *American Ballads and Songs,* with the meagre information that the compiler found the text in a manuscript book.

The perpetuation of these songs is as interesting as their origin. Some of them were introduced into plays, and were

sung nightly all over the country. *In the Baggage Coach Ahead* was used in vaudeville, its dreary story illustrated by lantern slides. Then there were broadsides, or song sheets (a relic of an English custom dating back to the time of Queen Elizabeth), which were sold at fairs and circuses, or by travelling sellers of patent medicines. Of course in isolated sections, like the mountain districts, songs were handed down from father to son by word of mouth, especially where the people were illiterate. Then there was another way in which families have helped to preserve songs through several generations—the manuscript books, into which were written the words of songs heard orally.

We have already learned something of the extent of the overlapping of songs in different sections of the country; how some lyrics and ballads are the common property of cowboys and lumberjacks, Negroes and mountain whites. The more general anthologies are valuable in showing types of songs which have had widespread use. In *The American Songbag,* Carl Sandburg groups the songs as "Dramas and Portraits," "Minstrel Songs," "The Ould Sod" (those of an Irish flavor), "Pioneer Memories," Kentucky Songs, songs commemorating "The Lincolns and Hankses," the "Great Lakes and Erie Canal," "Hobo Songs," tales of "The Big Brutal City," "Prison and Jail Songs," "Blues, Mellows and Ballets," songs of "The Great Open Spaces," "Mexican Border Songs," ballads and lyrics of the "Southern Mountains," "Picnic and Hayrack Follies, Close Harmony, and Darn Fool Ditties," "Railroad and Work Gangs," songs of "Lumberjacks," and of the "Sailorman," "Bandit Biographies," songs of the "Five Wars," about "Lovely People," and the "Road to Heaven."

VI

What effect all this folk-music, and the songs of the Indian and the Negro, will have on American music of the future it is impossible to determine. It is hard to say just

which of it is truly American. Some of it has been born here, and some has been brought from abroad. Some people hold that whatever folk-songs of the many European races or nationalities which make up the American nation have survived the transplantation on American soil, are legitimately to be considered as forming part of the body of American folk-music. And there are some who say that nothing is American that does not have its origin here.

Yet in folk-music, as in the formal music of the concert hall, Americanism is a more subtle thing than a mere question of geographic origin. As in spoken or written language, there are certain habits of speech, and certain points of view, that are peculiar to us. Not mere reference to local events and scenes, but the manner of referring to them and looking at them. So in music; it is a question of association and traits inherent in the music itself. The best instances that I know of this subtle something are found in *Yankee Doodle, Dixie, Sucking Cider Through a Straw, The Arkansas Traveller,* or *Zip Coon* (Turkey in the Straw), which Carl Sandburg calls as American as corn-on-the-cob.

4. COMPOSERS WHO HAVE USED OUR FOLK-SONGS

In America, as elsewhere, some people say that a composer shows his poverty of ideas if he cannot invent his own tunes. Yet it is surely better to hear a good folk-song, admirably handled, than a mediocre theme of the composer's own making. For even great composers sometimes write undistinguished melodies. Music makers the world over have made frequent use of folk-tunes; almost since music began, just as poets have based their poems on traditional legends, and painters have taken their subjects from life, and nature. Haydn's music was filled with Croatian melodies; the first phrases of the *Austrian Hymn*

were taken literally from a folk-song. Weber, Brahms, Liszt, Grieg, the Russian nationalists since Glinka have drawn heavily on the songs of their people.

The American composers who have used the folk-songs heard in this country have generally done so for one of two reasons, or sometimes for both. Often they have had no purpose other than to take melodies, which they thought were beautiful, and to treat them in a way that would emphasize their beauty, or their native character. Sometimes they have aimed to make their compositions describe the people who sing the songs.

The other motive has been a desire to throw off the European yoke, to cease imitating the styles and traditions of the Old World. So much of our early music has been in imitation of foreign models that American musicians have developed an inferiority complex, which has made some of them take desperate measures to cut the cord as quickly as possible. Even though they must have known that such a condition was inevitable in a country that had been a nation for little more than a century, composed of people from all races, where most of our composers had gone to European masters for their training, they nevertheless grew self-conscious about our lack of nationalism in music, and took stern measures to acquire a native speech. They preferred provincialism to a weak, diluted internationalism. Some of them used traditional musical formulæ in handling the folk-songs, and employed accepted forms and harmonies. Others made a sincere attempt to devise an harmonic dress that would clothe primitive themes in robes to emphasize their native flavor.

Although the problem of musical nationalism is far too complex and difficult to solve by the use of such obvious devices, and though many of the ardent nationalists have shot wide of their mark, the interest in folk-music has stimulated composition in this country. It has put a more vital note into our music than it had before. And the intense sincerity

of the leaders in the movement has rendered it something that cannot be brushed aside by cynicism. Though we cannot admire all we hear, we must needs respect the pioneer spirit at the bottom of it all, and take off our hats to the man who wants to be himself and not a mere reflection of some one else.

We have learned that American composers experimented with folk-music, Indian melodies, and the like, way back into the eighteenth century. Father Heinrich was the first to use Indian themes in orchestral works of the larger variety. But the idea never took strong hold, or aroused much interest, until Antonin Dvořák spent his four years in this country, from 1892 to 1895. An intense nationalist, his work is filled with the folk-spirit of his native Bohemia. In his work at the National Conservatory of Music in New York he tried to develop a nationalistic school of music among his American pupils. The works he wrote in this country were intended as examples of what our own composers could do with the material at hand. He expressed the impressions he received during his visits to various parts of the country. He studied the folk-songs in America and used and imitated them in his works. The *New World* Symphony, played first by the New York Philharmonic in 1893, has the benefit of being the greatest of Dvořák's several symphonies; and because it is a great work, and a highly popular one, it focussed attention on the use of American folk-songs. Whether or not Dvořák actually used *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot,* or whether he himself composed Negro-*like* themes for his symphony, he did try to express America. He tried to embody the same spirit in a string quartet and in a quintet. Probably all he accomplished was to give a Bohemian's impression of America, and in plaintive moments to voice his own homesickness. But he started the vogue, and most of the serious effort to harness American folk-song dates from the visit of the Bohemian Dvořák.

One of the hardy pioneers was ARTHUR FARWELL, who keenly resented the fact that commercial publishers turned their backs to American composers whenever they wrote anything not in the conventional mould. He had tried experiments with Indian music himself, and he felt a kinship with a group of younger composers who had ideas of their own about American music. He founded the Wa-Wan Press, a publishing organization with the avowed intention of issuing unsalable works by American composers; all progressive and individual work, whatever its tendencies and artistic affiliations, with a special welcome to any music that developed in interesting fashion any folk-music to be found on American soil. This was in 1901, and for eleven years Farwell helped to support the Wa-Wan Press, and raised the money to pay its deficits by lecturing and writing. Through it he helped launch a number of his fellow composers: Henry F. Gilbert, Edgar Stillman Kelley, Harvey Worthington Loomis, and many others. At the end of eleven years he felt that his work was done, and he handed over the catalog of compositions to the firm of G. Schirmer, in New York.

Farwell did not decide to become a musician until he had graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at the age of twenty-one. He was born in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1872, and though he had violin lessons from the time he was nine years old, there was no musical life in the St. Paul of his early years that would give him any idea of taking music seriously. It was when he went to Boston, just before he entered *Tech,* that he heard a symphony orchestra for the first time (Nikisch with the Boston Symphony), and after that his principal reason for staying at the engineering school was that it kept him in Boston, where he could hear the concerts every week. The day he graduated he had an interview with George Chadwick, and later he met MacDowell. He had been studying harmony in the summers, and he decided to become a composer.

Then he studied composition in Boston, and four years later went abroad to study with Humperdinck and Pfitzner in Germany, and with Guilmant in Paris. When he came back to America in 1899 he became lecturer on the history of music at Cornell University, and began his first experiments with Indian music. He founded the Wa-Wan Press at Newton Center, Massachusetts, in 1901. In the following years he made frequent journeys to the Far West, lecturing, and studying the songs of the Indians in the Southwest, and the folk-songs of the Spanish Californians.

For six years from 1909 he was on the staff of *Musical America* in New York, and when Gaynor was elected mayor in 1910, Farwell was appointed to the newly created position of Supervisor of Municipal Music. He supplanted several of the park bands with orchestras, and he carried into effect some of his ideas regarding pageants. He wrote incidental music for Louis Parker's *Pageant Play,* and for *Joseph and His Brethren.* He wrote and conducted the music for the presentation of Percy Mackaye's *Caliban,* which was given in New York's Lewisohn Stadium in 1916.

In 1915 he succeeded David Mannes as director of the Music School Settlement in New York, and in 1916 he organized the New York Community Chorus, together with Harry Barnhart. For nine years after 1918 he was in California teaching at the University of California in Los Angeles and in Berkeley, organizing choruses, and composing music for pageants. Often directing them, for this form of Community Drama has been one of his hobbies. In 1927 he went to East Lansing, Michigan, where he now conducts the theoretical courses and lectures on music history at the Michigan State College.

Farwell says that his interest in folk-music comes from the fact that as a spiritual descendant of the tribe of Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn he gets "a great kick out of a ripsnorting development of a good old American tune," such as he has used in his recent *Sourwood Mountain,* for piano.

He makes no flat break with tradition in his music, although in his later works he uses Oriental scales instead of the major and minor modes. He feels that a new music can be evolved by applying the harmonies of the West to the scales of the East.

The first of his Indian compositions for orchestra was *Dawn,* played for the first time at the St. Louis Exposition, in 1904. This was published in a piano arrangement by the Wa-Wan Press. His next large Indian score was called *The Domain of Hurakan*—the wind god of the Central American Indians. For piano, he has written a group of *American Indian Melodies;* a *Navajo War Dance; Impressions of the Wa-Wan Ceremony* (from the Omaha tribe); *Pawnee Horses;* and a *Fugue Fantasia.* He has also made settings of some Negro melodies, and cowboy and prairie songs.

He has written many compositions not derived from folk-sources: songs, piano pieces, and a number of works for orchestra, in addition to the music for pageants. He has recently tried experiments in a form that has an analogy to the choral-prelude of the reformation. This is exemplified in his *Mountain Song,* which he calls a symphonic song-suite; symphonic movements on the themes of choral songs, the audience singing the songs whenever the form of the piece demands it. Farwell had tried this before in his *Symphonic Hymn on March! March!,* and the *Symphonic Song on Old Black Joe.* His orchestral suite, *Gods of the Mountain,* after the play by Dunsany, was given its first performance in Minneapolis in 1929.

Farwell has made an important contribution to American music; as one of the first seriously to take Dvořák's advice to develop American folk-themes, and by founding the Wa-Wan Press, and thus inaugurating one of the first movements to help the worthy American composer to publication. By giving special encouragement to the composer who turned to folk-material, the Wa-Wan Press exerted a tre-

mendous influence, and was in a great part responsible for the awakening of American interest in the folk-song on our soil. When Puccini started to write *The Girl of the Golden West* he sent for the Wa-Wan publications, and from them he took themes to give his opera local coloring. The miner's song from the first act is a Zuñi *Sunrise Call.*

Farwell was the author of the *Music in America* volume in a series of books called the *Art of Music.* This was an important work, and it is a pity that it has not had the circulation it might have had if it had been issued separately, rather than as part of a set.

One of the most important of the Wa-Wan group was HENRY FRANKLIN BELKNAP GILBERT (1868-1928), a genuine talent whose music has a spontaneity and a raciness that makes it sparkle. Gilbert was not recognized for many years, and his association with Farwell and others of the composers who thought in nationalistic terms was no doubt one of the reasons that he was heard at all. Although his setting of Stevenson's *Pirate Song* ("Fifteen Men on a Dead Man's Chest") had been made popular by David Bispham, and his work for soprano and orchestra, *Salammbô's Invocation to Tanith,* had had a single performance by the Russian Symphony Orchestra in New York, it was not until 1911, when Gilbert was forty-two years old, that he was really brought to the attention of the musical public. In April of that year the Boston Symphony played his *Comedy Overture on Negro Themes.* It may have disturbed the audience, but those who heard it knew that it was something new. As Olin Downes remarked, "There were some who thought that the opening was undignified, and stopped thinking at that place."

The *Overture* had originally been intended as a prelude to an operetta based on the *Uncle Remus* tales of Joel Chandler Harris. Gilbert actually completed his sketches of the operetta and then found that the exclusive stage rights had been granted to another composer. So he could

only use the overture, which he rescored for a larger orchestra. The first theme was a Negro melody from the Bahamas; the second a tune sung by the roustabouts of the Mississippi steamboats—*I'se G'wine to Alabammy, Oh;* and the middle section was a witty, rollicking fugue on the *Old Ship of Zion.* The genuine treatment of this material caused Gilbert to be talked about, and two years later he was invited to write an orchestral work for the Litchfield County Festival in Norfolk, Connecticut.

For this occasion he wrote his *Negro Rhapsody,* which pictures first a Negro "Shout," alternating a savage dance tune and a spiritual; then a glorification of the spiritual in which the barbaric is supposed to fall away and the nobler elements take its place. It is interesting to contrast this final triumph of the spiritual with the reversion to paganism depicted in John Powell's rhapsody, discussed later in this chapter.

Five songs of the Louisiana Creole Negroes were the basis of Gilbert's *Dance in the Place Congo.* First written as an orchestral piece, the composer later composed a ballet scenario, and the work was finally performed at the Metropolitan in New York, March 23, 1918. It is one of the best of Gilbert's works. The tropical grace of the Creole tunes is subtly emphasized, but the gloomy, tragic note of the slave dances in the old Place Congo of New Orleans forms a weird and fantastic background. First comes the Bamboula, then some light moments rising to frenzy, interrupted at last by the booming of the great bell that summoned the slaves back to their quarters. Then a pause and a cry of despair.

When Gilbert first hit upon the idea of using native themes I do not know. Possibly he talked with Farwell about the example that Dvořák, and MacDowell, with his *Indian* suite, had set for American composers. At any rate Gilbert turned to the Negroes while Farwell looked to the Indians, and shortly after the formation of the Wa-Wan

group, Gilbert produced his *Americanesque,* an orchestral work based on three minstrel tunes—*Zip Coon* (Turkey in the Straw), *Dearest May,* and *Don't Be Foolish, Joe* (1903).

He had been MacDowell's first American pupil, and while he was studying composition in Boston, from 1889 to 1892, he earned his living playing the violin in theatres and for dances. This disgusted him, and he determined to keep his musical work apart from the routine of getting money to feed himself. Olin Downes, in the *Musical Quarterly* of January, 1918, has told how he first became real-estate agent, then a foreman in a factory, a raiser of silk-worms, and finally a bread and pie cutter in a restaurant at the Chicago World's Fair. There he met a Russian Prince who had been a friend of Rimsky-Korsakoff, and who, when he recovered from "the unconventional advances of the bread and pie cutter, was able to impart interesting information about this composer and other members of the 'Neo-Russian' school."

Gilbert was always interested in composers who used folk-songs in their music, and his journeys after 1895, when he inherited a small sum of money, took him wherever he could find material and kindred spirits. He was so stirred when he heard of the première of Charpentier's *Louise* in Paris, knowing that it tended toward the use of popular themes, that he worked his way to Europe on a cattle-boat to hear the first performance.

He left some works not based on American folk-songs. In his *Symphonic Prelude* to Synge's drama, *Riders to the Sea,* he makes use of a fragment of an old Irish melody. This was first written for small orchestra, to be played at some performances of the drama by the Twentieth Century Club of Boston, in 1904. Later he expanded the work, and scored it for full orchestra, and it was performed at the music festival of the MacDowell Memorial Association in Peterboro, September, 1914. He also composed a one-act

opera that has never been performed—*Fantasy in Delft,* with the scene laid in the Dutch town of Delft in the seventeenth century.

HARVEY WORTHINGTON LOOMIS has been as successful as any of our composers in catching the spirit of Indian music, and preserving it in his arrangements of the melodies. His *Lyrics of the Red Man,* settings for piano, first issued by the Wa-Wan Press, are altogether remarkable in the way they emphasize native, primitive traits. Loomis does not appear as a white man, presenting in civilized fashion a European version of Indian music; he has achieved the true distinction of clothing his material in appropriate dress.

He was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1865. He won a three years' scholarship at the National Conservatory, and became one of Dvořák's favorite pupils. His Indian settings have gained him a considerable reputation, and he has also been signally successful in writing music for children. He composed an opera, *The Traitor Mandolin;* four comic operas; a number of musical pantomimes; incidental music to plays; a piano sonata and one for violin.[1]

CHARLES WAKEFIELD CADMAN is one of the most widely known of our composers to-day, and although he dislikes the specialist label, he is famous as a composer who utilizes Indian material. This is not strange, for his little song, *The Land of the Sky Blue Water,* admittedly an Indian melody, ranks with Nevin's *Rosary* in popularity. Cadman is one of the very few composers who have been able to make their living principally through writing music. Aside from brief concert tours, he has been able to devote himself entirely to composition, and to make his work pay him well. The song, *At Dawning,* has reached a circulation well over a million copies, and has been translated into four languages.

Cadman has written two Indian operas: *Shanewis,* produced at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1918, and subsequently in various cities of the country; and *The Sunset*

[1] Loomis died December 25, 1930.

Trail, first heard in Denver in 1925 and later presented in 1926 at Rochester, by the troupe that afterwards became the American Opera Company. It was included in the company's repertoire on subsequent tours. Cadman qualifies *Shanewis* as an Indian opera by calling it a phase of present-day American life, with the Indian in transition. Nellie Richmond Eberhart's libretto tells the story of Shanewis, an Indian maiden who goes to New York for musical training and falls in love with a white man. The second act shows the Indian Reservation, to which the hero has followed Shanewis. Her foster brother shoots her lover through the heart with a poisoned arrow.

A number of Indian melodies appear in the score. The *Spring Song of the Robin Woman* is based on a Cheyenne melody recorded by Natalie Curtis. The *Intermezzo* uses an Omaha song from Alice Fletcher's collection. There is an Osage ceremonial song, collected by Francis La Flesche, in the pow-wow scene near the close of the opera, and the first act finale and two of the narratives of Shanewis were suggested by scenes described in Frederick Burton's book, *American Primitive Music.*

The Sunset Trail is less in the style of grand opera than *Shanewis.* In fact its music seems better suited to an operetta. It tells of an Indian tribe gathered about the camp fire, debating the problem of submitting to the white man, or trying further to repulse him. The old men are for giving in, but the young braves decide to fight some more. They return defeated and wounded, and at the end the whole tribe takes the Sunset Trail and bows to the will of destiny.

Cadman's *Thunderbird* Suite for piano represents part of the music he wrote for the production of the drama by Norman Bel Geddes. In its original form the score first presented Omaha themes in unaltered form, sung with Indian vocables by the actors during the action of the play.

Between the acts the melodies were heard in idealized form, harmonized and developed.

Although Cadman has for years pointed to Indian melodies as a source of native material for American composers, and in 1915 (*Musical Quarterly* for July) pleaded the cause of nationalism in our music, he does not care today to be identified with any group of composers who claim to write American music simply because they have used the songs of the Negro or Indian. He feels now that Americanism represents an attitude, a fundamental nationalistic temperament.

He has passed through several distinct stages in his work. In his early days he was concerned principally with comic operas and operettas. Then he devoted himself largely to writing songs and part-songs. Next came his interest in Indian music. He had already made some settings of Indian themes, and in 1909, when he was twenty-seven years old, he went to the Omaha Reservation with Francis La Flesche, and spent the Summer recording on the phonograph many of the tribal songs and flute music. For sixteen years, until 1925, he maintained his interest in the subject, and gave many lecture recitals on Indian customs and music. Since that time he has turned his attention elsewhere, and he resents being known only as an arranger and idealizer of Indian melodies. Lately he has been interested chiefly in the opera, and his avowed ambition is to be the composer of what shall be called the first great American opera, and to compose a symphony and a symphonic poem which shall reflect the spirit of the country. He has already written much instrumental music. An *Oriental Rhapsody* for orchestra; a sonata for violin and piano; a trio; a quintette, *To a Vanishing Race;* and many piano pieces, some for concert use and others for teaching.

His most successful attempt at grand opera is *The Witch of Salem,* in which, as he is particular to state, there is but

one Indian character. This work, first produced by the Chicago Civic Opera Company in 1926, deals with the witch-burning days of Salem. It is more unified in its structure than *Shanewis,* and shows a better sense of dramatic values. He has also written a score to a libretto based on Hawthorne's story of *Rappaccini's Daughter.* This is called *The Garden of Mystery,* and though completed in 1916, it did not have its first performance until 1925, at Carnegie Hall, New York. In this score Cadman ventures further with dissonance than in his other works, using it to paint the scenes of horror and dismay.

He was born in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in 1881, the son of a metallurgist employed by the Carnegie Steel Company. He was musical from childhood, although there was no piano in his home until he was thirteen. His teachers were Leo Oehmler of Pittsburgh, and Luigi von Kunitz. He had difficulty in placing his first works with publishers, and in having his works performed. He walked the sidewalks of New York for almost two years, trying to interest theatrical agents and managers in an early comic opera. When he was twenty-three he had some song manuscripts accepted by publishers, largely through collaboration with Mrs. Eberhart. Then came publication of several organ pieces and after that he had less difficulty in securing recognition. He feels that he owes much of his success to Mrs. Eberhart, his first collaborator. She was the first to suggest that he write songs, to propose that he compose operas, and she has been the librettist for all but one of his operas and choral works.

Personally, Cadman is typically the American. He has overcome tremendous handicaps of health, he has shown in his own actions the "youthful optimistic vitality and the undaunted tenacity of spirit" which MacDowell said were characteristic of the American. Whether he has put this into his music is another question. That would require very great genius.

CHARLES SANFORD SKILTON'S *Indian Dances* have been played all over the country in their scoring for large orchestra, and in arrangements for smaller combinations in theatres, on phonograph records and over the radio. He has avoided overelaboration and development. He uses the resources of the modern orchestra to emphasize primitive effects, and wherever it is required, he employs the monotonous insistence of the percussion to sharpen the constant recurrence of drum rhythms.

Skilton is a New Englander by birth—he was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1868.[1] He graduated from Yale University, and then after teaching in a school at Newburgh, New York, he went abroad to study music at the Berlin Hochschule. When he returned to America he had several teaching positions, and in 1903 he went to Kansas to take charge of the music at the state university.

He first became interested in Indian music in 1915, when an Indian pupil offered to trade tribal songs which he would sing to Skilton, for lessons in harmony. After that Skilton paid many visits to the near-by Indian school—Haskell Institute. His first works on Indian themes were the *Deer Dance* and the *War Dance,* originally written for string quartet, and later expanded to orchestral form. These comprised the first part of his *Suite Primeval.* The second part was published four years later, consisting of four movements, all based on primitive songs: *Sunrise Song* (Winnebago); *Gambling Song* (Rogue River); *Flute Serenade* (Sioux); and *Moccasin Game* (Winnebago).

Skilton has written Indian operas. One of them, the three-act *Kalopin,* is based on the New Madrid Earthquake of 1811 and the legendary causes attributed to it by the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians. The Indians believed that the disaster was the punishment sent by the great spirit because Kalopin, the young Chickasaw chief, went to another tribe for his bride. Skilton treats this as an allegory, representing the overwhelming of the Indians by the white

[1] Skilton died March 12, 1941.

race, just as the Indian village was overwhelmed by earthquake and flood.

Kalopin has not yet had a public performance, but a one-act opera by Skilton, *The Sun Bride,* was given a radio production over a network of the National Broadcasting Company in the Spring of 1930. The plot is based on the sun-worshipping beliefs of the Pueblo Indians of Arizona. The composer uses as one of the motives the Winnebago Sunrise Song found in the *Suite Primeval.* He also uses a Chippewa melody. Exotic rhythms help to bring out the Indian locale and story, and in spite of a conventional melodiousness, the Indian atmosphere is effectively suggested.

Skilton has composed other music than that founded on Indian sources. One of his first scores was the incidental music and choral odes for a performance of Sophocles' *Electra* given at Smith College, Northampton. His oratorio, *The Guardian Angel,* was performed under the auspices of the Kansas Federation of Music Clubs, who provided for its publication. His orchestral works include a *Legend,* first performed by the Minneapolis Orchestra in 1927, and an overture, *Mt. Oread.*

FREDERICK JACOBI, born in California in 1891, is one of the younger group of composers who have turned part of their attention to Indian music. Jacobi has written in many forms, but his *String Quartet on Indian Themes* (published in 1926) and his *Indian Dances* for orchestra have done more to focus attention on his talents than any others of his works. He has spent considerable time in recent years studying the music of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. He is nevertheless careful to state, that though he believes that there is far greater beauty and importance in Indian music than is generally admitted, he sees no necessity for basing an American music on the music of either the Indians or the Negroes.

Jacobi was a pupil of Rubin Goldmark and Ernest Bloch.

From 1913 to 1917 he was an assistant conductor at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. The *String Quartet* has been featured on the programs of the Flonzaley Quartet, and was selected for performance at the International Festival of Chamber Music at Zurich. The *Indian Dances* have been played by the Boston, Philadelphia and San Francisco Symphony Orchestras.

Other orchestral works by Jacobi include *The Pied Piper; The Eve of St. Agnes;* a symphony; *Two Assyrian Prayers,* for voice and orchestra; and *The Poet in the Desert,* first performed by the Friends of Music, in New York.

ARTHUR NEVIN (born in 1871) is a younger brother of Ethelbert Nevin, and though his music has covered many forms of musical composition, his principal work is based on his experiences with the Blackfeet Indians. He spent the summers of 1903 and 1904 on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana, and there heard the story of *Poia,* which Randolph Hartley put into a libretto for the opera that Nevin composed. President Roosevelt invited the composer to give an illustrated talk on his work at the White House in 1907, but in spite of this indorsement and interest, the opera was performed, not in an American opera house, but in Germany, where it had four performances at the Royal Opera in Berlin during the Summer of 1909. Humperdinck, then at work on Königskinder, assisted in the German translation of *Poia's* libretto. Humperdinck asked Nevin to stay in Germany, to assist him in preparing the orchestral score of Königskinder, but Nevin had to return to America.

Nevin wrote another opera in 1911—*Twilight,* in one act. This, it is said, was actually accepted for performance by the Metropolitan, but through a misunderstanding with the management it never came to performance there. Under the name of *A Daughter of the Forest* it was produced in Chicago in 1918.

Like his brother, Nevin studied piano with Klindworth. His composition teacher was the expatriate American, O. B.

Boise, who trained so many Americans in Berlin. Nevin has held many positions of honor, and has published over a hundred and fifty works, chiefly songs and piano pieces. His works in the larger forms include four orchestral works —*Lorna Doone Suite* (1897); *Miniature Suite* (1902); *Springs of Saratoga* (1911); *Symphonic Poem* (1930);— and a string quartet in D minor (1929).

President Harding followed Roosevelt's earlier example of taking an interest in operas based on the legends of American Indians. When ALBERTO BIMBONI was conducting an opera season in Washington, and had in his portfolio the score of his own opera, *Winona,* Harding did all he could to further its interests and to see that influence was used to have it performed. Bimboni is an Italian who was born in Florence in 1882. He came to America in 1911, and was immediately engaged by Henry Savage to prepare his company for its tour with Puccini's *Girl of the Golden West.* After this Bimboni was an opera conductor in various parts of the country.

The opera *Winona,* first performed in Portland, Oregon, in 1926, is founded on a Sioux-Dakota legend. The music is based on hunting songs, war songs, moccasin songs, a Chippewa lullaby, Indian flute calls, and Chippewa and Sioux serenades. Bimboni was careful not to violate Indian tradition. All of the choruses are presented in unison; there is no part singing.

Another foreigner who has interested himself in Indian music is CARL BUSCH, born in Denmark in 1862, and since 1887 a resident of Kansas City. Busch had studied with Godard in Paris, and when he came to America he was a well-equipped musician. In the forty years he has been in America he has been active as a composer, a teacher, and conductor of various choral and orchestral organizations, most of them founded by himself. His orchestral work in Kansas City finally culminated in a symphony orchestra,

which lived for seven years but finally died for lack of support.

Busch's life in the near Far West has had its effect on his music. Though a foreigner by birth he has succeeded in bringing something of the atmosphere of the prairies to his music. There is an openness about his symphonic episode for military band—*A Chant from the Great Plains*—that suggests the breadth of vast spaces. The same is true of his symphonic poem for orchestra, *Minnehaha's Vision,* based on an episode from Longfellow's *Hiawatha.* His recent suite for orchestra, *Ozarka,* with its *Hill Billies Dance,* seems definitely to establish its locale in the south Missouri mountains.

Busch has made many settings of Indian songs, some as solos with piano accompaniment; and some in larger forms, notably the *Four Indian Tribal Melodies* for string orchestra. These include an Omaha Love Song and three Chippewa melodies—a Vision, a Lullaby, and a Love Song. Busch has an impressive list of compositions, cantatas, choruses, orchestral works, and some chamber music.

Among the composers who have emphasized Negro music, the name of HENRY THACKER BURLEIGH is prominent because he was one of the pioneers in arranging spirituals for concert use, and also because as a singer, himself a Negro, he has sung the songs of his people throughout the country. He was born in Erie, Pennsylvania, in 1866, and as a young man he was active principally as a church singer. In 1892 he was awarded a scholarship at the National Conservatory in New York, where he studied with Dvořák, who became enthusiastic over the Negro songs that Burleigh sang for him. Since 1894 Burleigh has been the baritone soloist at St. George's Church in New York, and since 1899 at the Temple Emanu-El also. He has appeared frequently in concert, and has acted as musical editor for a publishing house.

Burleigh has made arrangements of dozens of the spir-

ituals, generally without development or alteration of the melodies. His setting of *Deep River* has enjoyed as great a popularity as any of the Negro songs. Strange to say, though he is a Negro, his harmonizations and treatment are generally far from Negroid. He brings to the melodies a sophistication of treatment, chromatic harmonies and the like, which sometimes lifts them from their native element. The results may be satisfying musically, but they are not always in keeping with the original.

R. NATHANIEL DETT is a Negro composer who emphasizes the native character of his racial music. His *Juba Dance,* for piano, is one of the raciest bits of Negro-like music that has ever been published and not too exotic for conservative ears. He has been particularly successful in his settings of spirituals for chorus. His *Chariot Jubilee* is for full orchestra.

Dett was born on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls in 1882. In 1903 he went to Oberlin, Ohio, to study music. After appearing as a concert pianist, and holding a number of positions as director of music in colored institutes, he was put in charge of the music at Hampton Institute in Virginia, and has been there continuously since 1913. In addition, he conducts the Hampton Choral Union, which recently made a European tour.

CLARENCE CAMERON WHITE is another Negro who was educated at the Oberlin, Ohio, Conservatory of Music. Later he went abroad to study with the famous English Negro, Coleridge-Taylor. He is principally active as a violinist, but his *Bandanna Sketches,* for violin and piano, have attracted attention to his gifts as a composer. Kreisler, Spalding, and other famous violinists have found his setting of *Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen* a highly effective program number. White has published a book of forty Negro spirituals, and he has in manuscript a string quartet on Negro themes, and a Negro Rhapsody for orchestra.

JOHN ROSAMOND JOHNSON, born in Florida in 1873, was first known as a Negro composer of light music. He wrote the music for Cole and Johnson's *Shoo-Fly Regiment,* and for some of the productions of the late Bert Williams. He toured in vaudeville. Lately he has turned his attention to more serious matters. Since 1914 he has been director of the Music School Settlement for Colored People in New York, and he has made arrangements of Negro spirituals. He is the composer of a song that has become known as the Negro National Anthem—*Lift Every Voice and Sing.* The words were written by his brother, James Weldon Johnson.

WILLIAM GRANT STILL, another Negro trained at Oberlin (and later under Chadwick, and then with the modernist Varèse), is a former arranger of popular music for jazz orchestras. He has established himself as a serious composer who utilizes the Negroid elements of jazz. Quasi-modern, he is seeking an individual idiom halfway between the ultra-modernists and the conservatives. He first attracted attention in the concert halls when the International Guild of Composers, at one of their concerts in New York a few years ago, presented a group of four of his songs, for solo voice and chamber orchestra; *Levee Land,* a blues; *Hey-Dey; Croon;* and *The Backslider.*

Although he is young—he was born in 1895—Still has a long list of works. *Darker America* is a symphonic poem, first performed in 1926, and subsequently published. Other works for orchestra include *From the Land of Dreams,* with the addition of voices treated instrumentally; *Log Cabin Ballads; From the Black Belt; From the Journal of a Wanderer;* and *Africa,* a symphony in three movements—*Africa, Land of Peace; Africa, Land of Romance;* and *Africa, Land of Superstition.*

DAVID GUION is important among the group of white composers who have turned to Negro songs. His concert transcription for piano of *Turkey in the Straw* ranks with Dett's *Juba Dance* as one of the most characteristic arrange-

ments of native music. His polyphonic subtleties never interfere with the melodic outline of the original, or destroy its delicious impertinence. Guion has classified his piano pieces into several groups. First there are the "Cowboys' and Old Fiddlers' Breakdowns"—*Turkey in the Straw; Sheep and Goat Walkin' to Pasture;* and the *Arkansas Traveler.* (Be sure to pronounce it Arkansaw.) Next on his list comes the group of "Alley Tunes"—*Brudder Sinkiller and His Flock of Sheep; The Lonesome Whistler;* and *The Harmonica Player.* He has made piano settings of traditional Mother Goose rhyme tunes, and in his list of drawing-room and concert pieces are a *Negro Lament;* a *Pickaninny Dance; The Scissors Grinder;* and a *Jazz Scherzo.*

For voice he has arranged many of the spirituals, as well as a number of cowboy songs, and he has written a group of *Imaginary Early Louisiana Songs of Slavery.* His latest is a *Ballet Primitive.* It was performed first in Dallas, Texas, in its original form—for two pianos. Guion has since scored the music for orchestra.

With Guion, music is the tangible expression of things as he sees them, hears them, and feels them. Primarily a nationalist, he interprets his observations in terms of the part of the country he came from—the Southwest. He knew the real Southern darkey—he can preserve his native accent. He grew up in the saddle, and as Charles Finger said, he can sit there with as much ease as he can sit on the piano stool.

He was born in Ballinger, Texas, in 1895. He had some musical training in America, and then went abroad to study in Vienna. He has held a number of teaching positions in Texas, and also at the Chicago Musical College. Percy Grainger, always a lover of folk-music, has termed *Turkey in the Straw* a cosmopolitan masterpiece, and John Powell has ranked the settings of the Old Fiddlers' Breakdowns higher than Beethoven's Country Dances. High praise, and

possibly deserved; but at any rate, they are to American music what baseball is to American sport.

When JOHN POWELL uses Negro themes, he is seeking to interpret the Negro, not America. He feels that American nationalism is to be found in a totally different direction—from Anglo-Saxon sources. The first settlers from abroad came from Britain, our constitution is founded on Anglo-Saxon ideals, and our culture is fundamentally from Anglo-Saxon roots. The Negro is a race apart from the rest of us, and should be treated as such, socially and culturally.

Henry F. Gilbert's Rhapsody depicts the barbaric background of the Negro giving way to an idealization. The higher spiritual elements conquer the pagan beginnings. Powell's *Negro Rhapsody* starts with a mighty sigh, a primal wail, a savage dance which leads to a calmer moment when the theme of *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot* appears. But when this comes to a climax it collapses with a crash, and the rest is an orgy, a note of despair, and a final tragedy.

Donald Francis Tovey, the eminent critic of Edinburgh, once wrote of Powell's Rhapsody:

> Music and politics, though some politicians have insisted on combining them, seldom go together without worrying the listener. But there is a political aspect of Mr. Powell's energies which is profoundly germane to the music of this Rhapsody. . . . Its final orgy is presented, not from the point of view of the brilliant player rousing applause for his fireworks, but as the tragic ruin of the beauty that had begun in romantic pathos.
>
> Mr. Powell has the profoundest respect for the Negro as artist and human being. But profound sympathy is very different from the facile sentimentality that refuses to recognize the dangers that threaten two races of widely different stages of evolution that try to live together. The "Rhapsodie Negre" is music, not political propaganda; but it will be soonest understood by those, who, whether from personal knowledge of the composer or from the capacity to recognize emotional values in music, manage to understand from the outset that this is not only an eminently romantic, but also a thoroughly tragic piece.

The Rhapsody, for piano and orchestra, has become one of the most widely played of the larger works by American composers. In a little over ten years it has had more than fifty performances, with the composer playing the piano part. In Europe it has been heard from Rome to Amsterdam, and it was chosen as the representative American work to be performed with soloist on the New York Symphony Society's European tour, under Walter Damrosch. Henry Hadley conducted it with the New York Philharmonic on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the American Society of Arts and Letters.

Powell is one of the outstanding composers of the present day. He is an able pianist, and introduces his own works on his concert tours. He was born in Richmond, Virginia, in 1882, the son of John Henry Powell, who kept a large girls' school in Richmond. His mother was a descendant of Nicholas Lanier, who had been court musician to Charles the First in England, and an ancestor of Sidney Lanier, the musical poet. Powell grew up in an atmosphere of culture and intellectual activity, and from the time he could talk he showed musical leanings, and interested himself in the musical activities at his father's school. He had music lessons with F. C. Hahr, and then went to Vienna to study with Leschetizky and Novratil.

He has composed much in both large and small forms. All of his work has been performed, and most of it is published. There are two sonatas for violin and piano, one of them the *Sonata Virginianesque,* which presents certain of the more amiable aspects of plantation life in Virginia before the days of the Civil War. The first movement, *In the Quarters,* shows the Negro making merry with his own kind, free (to quote the composer) "from the self-consciousness imposed by the patronizing or repressing presence of the whites." Unrestrained gayety and salty humor lilt through the racy themes based on Negro dance songs—"Done pawn my wife, done pawn my chile, done pawn my

di'mon' ring," and others. The second movement is more lyric. Called *In the Woods,* it presents the young Negro gallant alone in the forest on his way to a rendezvous with his dusky lady love. The theme is a Negro song of a type rare among the Negroes, for love is often more a matter of action than contemplation—"Lula my Darlin', why don't you come here." The final movement shows the Negro *At the Big House,* making music for the dancing of his masters and enjoying their gayety. The form is a rondo, and the themes are based on Virginia reel tunes derived from old English country dances.

At the Fair consists of brief piano pieces—a *Hooche-Cooche Dance; Circassian Beauty; Merry-go Round; Clowns; Snake Charmer;* and *Banjo Picker.* Powell has also written a suite, *In the South;* a set of *Variations and Double Fugue;* a *Sonata Noble* for piano; and a concerto for violin and orchestra. He is now at work upon another work for piano and orchestra.

He is significant for a number of reasons. First, because he is an excellently equipped musician with something definite to say, and able to say it. Then because his music is prompted by a primal urge that makes it salty and vital, always alive. He is such an intense person himself, that his almost feverish temperament creeps into all that he writes—yet with some exquisitely lyric moments in between. And lastly, and possibly most important, his social and political creed makes him a nationalist, typical of the Anglo-Saxon southern aristocracy, with fixed racial ideas that are thoroughly apparent in his music. He is a prophet of the white South.

WILLIAM J. REDDICK is a native Kentuckian, born in 1890, who has arranged a number of Negro spirituals in a sparkling fashion that brings out both their naïve quality and their richness. His compositions have been almost entirely for voice. A few original songs, but more important than these, the spirituals—*Standin' in the Need of Prayer;*

Leanin' on de Lawd; Wait till Ah Put on My Crown, and some others.

He has been active as an accompanist and coach for singers, as an organist, and recently as conductor of the Little Theatre Opera Company in New York. He had most of his training in Cincinnati, at the College of Music, where he studied under Romeo and Albino Gorno, and with Louis Victor Saar. Bill has a nice sense of humor; he shows it in his spiritual settings. When he first came to New York he told me he was going to advertise in the musical papers for an "unlimited number of pupils." He claims to be one of those fellows who will probably die of old age as a promising musician.

JOHN J. NILES has come into prominence recently through his arrangements of Negro spirituals and for his inimitable presentations of them in recital with Marion Kerby. He calls his arrangements *Negro Exaltations,* and they do have a primitive lift. He has also arranged a group of Kentucky Mountain Songs, and has collaborated in two anthologies of songs sung by the soldiers in the World War—*Singing Soldiers* and *Songs My Mother Never Taught Me.*

In collaboration with Loraine Wyman, who collected the texts, HOWARD BROCKWAY has gathered and arranged a number of the Kentucky mountain ballads, and published them in two volumes—*Lonesome Tunes* and *Twenty Kentucky Mountain Songs.* He has brought to his harmonizations subtleties worthy of Debussy, and has achieved a result that is warm, rich and beautiful. That he has preserved the native character of these songs as they are heard in the mountains is open to question. Brockway's career and works are discussed in a later chapter, for his settings of folk-tunes are the smallest part of his creative work.

There are others who have made use of folk-songs. JOHN A. VON BROEKHOVEN (1852-1930), born in Holland and for many years a teacher of counterpoint at the Cin-

cinnati College of Music, published a *Creole Suite* for small orchestra. OSCAR J. FOX, a native Texan, has won distinction for his concert arrangements of cowboy songs, chiefly those found in the Lomax collections. He has set the "dogie song"; *Whoopee ti yi yo; Old Paint;* the *Old Chisholm Trail; Rounded Up in Glory,* and others; as well as three desperado songs—*Sam Bass; Prisoner for Life;* and *Jesse James.*

THURLOW LIEURANCE is known to the public principally for his song—*By the Waters of Minnetonka,* which has rivalled Cadman's *Sky-Blue Water* in popularity. Lieurance has adapted an Indian melody for his song, and placed against it a harp-like accompaniment which is effective, even though it may not be authentic. He was born in 1878, in Iowa, trained at the Cincinnati College of Music, and has spent altogether some twenty years in research work among the Indians, studying their life and recording their songs. In addition to his many settings of Indian songs he has composed an opera, *Drama of the Yellowstone.* He is now associated with the University School of Music at Lincoln, Nebraska.

These are the principal composers who have turned to the heritage of musical tradition found in this country—American or merely racial and sectional, whatever we choose to call it. Considering everything, they are a vital group. Whether the folk-music has made them so, or whether their naturally vital instincts have made them turn to peoples' songs, with their vigor and freshness, is a question that may be debated long and loudly. But whatever their motives, conscious or subconscious, and whatever they may have accomplished or failed to accomplish on nationalistic lines, they have made a highly important contribution to American music; one that has had the benefit of enthusiasm, backed, on the whole, by intelligence.

Chapter XVI

OUR CONTEMPORARY COMPOSERS

I. IN THE LARGER FORMS

THERE are hundreds of composers to-day where there were a few dozen yesterday. The majority of them well-equipped technically, able to speak their musical thoughts with fluency and ease. Conductors of orchestras will tell you that twenty-five years ago most of the American scores that were submitted to them were so faulty in their orchestration that they either had to be returned, or edited and revised if they were to sound at all as their composers intended. Now the conductors have a hard time choosing from the large number of ably written works, clever in their scoring and colorful in their instrumental combinations.

This is not an automatic development that has just happened. Conditions have changed, and the composer has something of an outlet for his talents. Before 1900 there were only a few orchestras in the country, and only a few American works could be played each year. The composer had little opportunity to hear his music and to get experience in writing for orchestra. There were few laboratories where he could experiment. His book learning in orchestration was not sufficient. He must hear the sounds he had put on paper.

There is still much complaint about the treatment given American composers by conductors and performing artists generally, and later on we shall discuss the steps that have been taken to protect their interests. Nevertheless, we have the orchestras, the chamber music societies, the choruses and, in a smaller degree, the opera companies.

There are enough of them to give young composers a chance if they will write the kind of music the organizations want to play, and if the organizations will agree to play it when it is written.

According to Pierre Key's *International Music Year Book* for 1929-30, there are now seventy-three permanent symphony orchestras in America, eleven in Group I, and sixty-two in Group II. Most of those in the first group have been made permanent either by endowments, or by annual guarantees to offset deficits. The New York Philharmonic is the oldest, founded in 1842. In 1928 it was merged with the Symphony Society of New York, which had been established in 1878 and conducted first by Leopold Damrosch and from 1885 by his son Walter. The Boston Symphony Orchestra was founded by Major Higginson in 1881, the first of the orchestras to be assured financial independence. The present Chicago Orchestra was formed in 1891, and Theodore Thomas made its conductor. Next came Cincinnati, in 1895, and after that, in succession, Los Angeles (1897), Philadelphia (1900), Minneapolis (1903), St. Louis (1907), (there had been orchestras in St. Louis from 1879), San Francisco (1909), Detroit (1914), and Cleveland (1918).

There are fewer opera companies than orchestras. The Metropolitan in New York attracts the most famous singers from all over the world, and the younger Chicago Civic Opera Association, with its palatial new home to supplant the old Auditorium, presents a brilliant, though shorter season. The American Opera Company is a travelling organization of native artists. The Ravinia Opera in Chicago and the Cincinnati Zoo Company in Ohio offer ten-week Summer seasons, with eminent singers. There are two companies in Philadelphia, which offer a dozen performances each Winter.

Key lists fifty-five chamber music groups, trios and quartets. There are 576 choral societies, some of them new and

some with a long history—the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston, still strong and active, and the New York Oratorio Society which was formed for Leopold Damrosch in 1874. There are many permanent festival organizations, offering annual performances on a large scale. Key gives the names of 122. Among the oldest are the Northwest Saengerbund, which meets annually in Milwaukee; the Worcester Festival, founded in 1858; and the Cincinnati in 1873 (by Theodore Thomas).

So the American composer works in a field far different from that of fifty or even twenty-five years ago. And he can get most or all of his education and training at home; unless he wants to go abroad to widen his vision. There are probably more able teachers in this country to-day than there are in Europe, for the World War made the Old World uncomfortable for many artists and teachers. They have settled here, and our music pupils may study with them, privately or at any of the hundreds of conservatories and music schools.

The pioneer work of Lowell Mason in the public schools has borne its fruit. Starting with vocal and choral instruction, the work has expanded to include instrumental training, and orchestral work, often of symphonic proportions. There are over 35,000 orchestras in the public schools of the country, and recently the work has been crystallized by the formation of the National High School Orchestra, a group of over three hundred players selected competitively from the schools of all states, and coming together to play for educational conferences. The National High School Orchestra Camp has been founded by its moving spirit Joseph Maddy. In a pleasant spot in Michigan the student players meet each Summer for eight weeks' playing and instruction.

Many of the universities and colleges have followed the lead of Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania by including schools of music, or at least courses in music, as a

definite part of their organization. Some of these are professional schools, and some courses intended merely to teach music as a cultural background.

All of which is highly important to the American composer. It means that he can secure adequate training, opportunity to experiment, and ultimately a market for his works, if he writes music that people want to hear.

It is a difficult task to commence an account of our contemporary composers. There are so many of them. To treat them adequately would require several volumes, and to include them all would reduce the account to a mere catalog. We shall have to make some omissions, and we shall have to treat some of our musicians very briefly indeed, but we shall base our choice of names somewhat on the fame they have already gained, and somewhat on the promise that others show for the future.

EDGAR STILLMAN KELLEY really belongs with the Chadwick, Foote and Parker group, for he dates from the time when the American composer had to work hard to make himself heard. He also reflects the German models of his student days abroad. Yet he has shown a venturesome nature, and his experiments in tone color have led him to discoveries interesting to his listeners, as well as to himself. One of his early works was his Chinese orchestral suite—*Aladdin.* He listened to native music in San Francisco's Chinatown, and he used oboes, muted trumpets, mandolins to imitate the Chinese instruments. When he wrote his *New England* symphony he based his themes on bird notes, Indian songs, and Puritan psalm tunes. For incidental music to the New York production of *Ben Hur,* in 1899, he used Greek modes.

His best known work is his oratorio, *The Pilgrim's Progress,* with text by Elizabeth Hodgkinson, based on Bunyan's allegory. It was first performed at the Cincinnati Festival of 1918, and has since been given by the New York Oratorio Society, at the Worcester Festival, and at choral festivals in

England, as well as many others in America. His symphonic poem, *The Pit and the Pendulum,* was first heard at the Cincinnati Festival of 1925, and was shortly afterwards repeated in Portland, Oregon, where it was awarded the prize in the annual contest of the National Federation of Music Clubs. *Alice in Wonderland,* a symphonic suite, was composed for the Norfolk (Connecticut) Festival of 1919.

His first symphony, still in manuscript, is a droll bit of program music, following the life of *Gulliver in Lilliput.* Gulliver is represented by a pompous English theme. A storm scene throws him on the beach; stranded, he falls asleep. The Lilliputians enter with their little brass band playing their national anthem. Various miniature events lead to the final rescue.

Kelley was born in Sparta, Wisconsin, in 1857, of New England ancestry. He studied first in Chicago, with Clarence Eddy, and then went to Stuttgart to work at the Conservatory. He came back to America and settled first in San Francisco, where he was organist, teacher, and music critic on one of the papers. He came East in 1890 to conduct a comic opera company. In 1892 he produced an operetta of his own—*Puritania.* It ran over 100 nights at the Tremont Theatre in Boston. In the season of 1901-2 he was acting professor at Yale University, while Horatio Parker was absent on his sabbatical year; and then for eight years he was in Berlin, teaching piano and composition.

In 1910 he was awarded a Fellowship in Musical Composition by the Western College at Oxford, Ohio, and he was invited to make his home and do his work on its campus. He has been made Dean of the Composition and Orchestration Department of the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music.

His music has been played a great deal. The *Ben Hur* score has been performed five thousand times in English-speaking countries. His piano-quintet and the string quartet, Opus 25, have been played in America and in Europe.

He has definite ideas on nationalism, and he has tried to carry them out in his music. In his opinion

> the American composer should apply the universal principles of his art to the local and special elements of the subject-matter as they appeal to him, and then, consciously or unconsciously, manifest his individuality, which will involve the expression of mental traits and moral tendencies peculiar to his European ancestry, as we find them modified by the new American environment.

FRANK VAN DER STUCKEN (1858-1929) was said to be the first orchestral conductor to present all-American programs. He did this first in New York, in the eighties, and then he gave one in Paris, at the 1889 exposition. Van der Stucken was a prolific composer, and an able conductor. He was in much demand for festivals.

He was born in Texas in 1858, of German and Belgian parents. Educated chiefly in Europe, his music teachers included Reinecke and Grieg. He came to New York in 1884 and made his début in Steinway Hall. Then he was made conductor of a male choral society, the Arion, and he directed orchestral concerts. In 1895 he went to Cincinnati, to be the director of the College of Music and conductor of the new symphony orchestra. When Thomas died in 1905, Van der Stucken succeeded him as conductor of the Cincinnati Festival, and he held the position regularly until 1912. He conducted many festivals abroad, for after 1908 he lived mostly in Europe.

Some of Van der Stucken's early music was performed first in Europe, when he was a young man of hardly twenty-five. Liszt presented his prologue to Heine's tragedy, *William Ratcliff,* at Weimar, and his incidental music to Shakespeare's *Tempest* was played at Breslau. He had a fine talent for orchestration; his scores sparkle with subtle effects. He composed a symphonic prologue, *Pax Triumphans,* in which peace is indeed triumphant, though noisy; a festival march, *Louisiana;* other shorter pieces for or-

chestra, and a *Festival Hymn* for men's voices and orchestra. He wrote a number of songs and piano pieces.

CHARLES MARTIN LOEFFLER is one of the picturesque figures in American music. There are many who deny his Americanism; not because he was born in Alsace, but because his music is so akin to the Frenchmen of Debussy's time that it is really not American at all. Yet to some all things are American; and if Loeffler, in his musical journeys around the world, has picked something from France, a bit from Russia and maybe a blossom or two from the banks of the Rhine, who shall say that he is any the less American for sampling whatever he found? Especially since he has wrought it all with such exquisite perfection, and has turned everything he has touched to jewels and gold.

Loeffler lives the life of a recluse at Medfield, Massachusetts, twenty miles from Boston. The disputatious Mr. Rosenfeld thinks his many years in Boston have made his work sterile; that the brilliant musician has succumbed to the correct manners and inhibitions of New England. He even goes so far as to compare his music to the dead Queen of Castile, whose remains were swathed in royal robes, and hung with gold and precious stones. But there are others who are dazzled by the jewels, and who yet feel the pulse within. The musical refinement and the brilliance of Loeffler were not any too common among the American composers of past decades.

Loeffler first came to America in the Summer of 1881. He had an unusual background. He was born in Alsace, (January 30, 1861) had lived in Russia and had been one of Joachim's favorite violin pupils. He studied in Paris with Massart, pupil of Kreutzer, and played in Pasdeloup's orchestra. He was engaged for the private orchestra of Baron Paul von Derweis, who spent his summers at his castle near Lake Lugano and his winters at Nice. Whenever the court moved from summer to winter quarters, three special trains were needed to carry the family, the guests

and the tutors for the children, the servants and the horses, and the orchestra of seventy and the mixed choir of forty-eight singers. Loeffler was a favorite with the Baron, and he was often asked to help in the performance of chamber music by members of the family.

Loeffler was in New York for about a year, playing in Damrosch's orchestra, and sometimes with Theodore Thomas. Then Major Higginson asked him to come to Boston to play in the Boston Symphony, which had just finished its first season. He shared the first desk with Listemann, the concert master. When Franz Kneisel succeeded Listemann, Loeffler played side by side with Kneisel until 1903. Then he resigned, gave up playing his violin in public, and decided to devote the rest of his life to composition, and his farm at Medfield.[1]

Spiritually, Loeffler is a mystic, a deep student of medieval culture and thought. He is an authority on Gregorian plain-song; the church modes of the middle ages. Living in the twentieth century, he seems a wanderer searching for a place where pious mystics speak his language. Not finding it, he lives in his dreams. There he polishes his music until it is refined to a purity that will satisfy his sense of the exquisite. Even though Rosenfeld finds him sterile, and his style chosen from many sources, he is frank to admit the skill with which he fashions his music.

Loeffler published practically nothing until he had finished his career as a violinist. Many of his works had been performed, but he had kept them all in manuscript. In 1891 the Boston Symphony played his suite for violin and orchestra, *Les Veillées de l'Ukraine* (after Gogol); in 1894 his *Fantastic Concerto* for 'cello and orchestra; and in 1895 his *Divertimo* for violin and orchestra. He had also written a number of songs and chamber music works, which were performed by the Kneisels and others.

His first published orchestral works were the dramatic poem *La Mort de Tintagiles* (after Maeterlinck), and a

[1] Loeffler died at Medfield, May 20, 1935.

symphonic fantasy based on a poem by Rollinat, *La Villanelle du Diable.* They were issued in 1905, though *La Morte de Tintagiles* had been written first in 1897 and revised in 1900, and *La Villanelle* in 1901.

Loeffler's most played work is the *Pagan Poem.* It is based on the eighth Eclogue of Virgil, in which a Thessalian girl tries to become sorceress, to draw her truant lover home. The piece was first written in 1901, as chamber music for piano, two flutes, oboe, clarinet, English horn, two horns, three trumpets, viola and double bass. Loeffler arranged the score for two pianos and three trumpets, and it was played in 1903 at the home of the famous Mrs. Jack Gardner. Then Loeffler remodeled the work, and expanded it to symphonic proportions, for piano and large orchestra. It was first played by the Boston Symphony in 1907, and published in 1909.

The three trumpets are treated *obbligati*—they suggest the refrain of the sorceress: *Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim* (Draw from the city, my songs, draw Daphnis home). First they are heard off-stage, then nearer and nearer until they finally come onto the stage, and the orchestra voices the triumph of the sorceress in an outburst of exultant passion. Loeffler's dark, brooding music brings the odor of strange incense, the magic incantations. It paints a vivid picture of the love-sick sorceress, chanting her desirous songs.

The plain-chant, Gregorian influence is most apparent in the *Music for Four String Instruments* (published in 1923); and in the symphony, *Hora Mystica,* written for the Norfolk (Connecticut) Festival of 1916, and still in manuscript. Loeffler supplied explanatory notes for the symphony:

> The mood is one of religious meditation and adoration of nature. A lonely pilgrim winds his way through a land of ever-changing enchantments, a land where clouds move like a procession of nuns over the hills or descend upon a lake, changing it into a mysterious gray

sea—a land where shepherds still pipe to their flocks. From far away comes a curious tolling of church-bells. At last the wanderer stands before the cathedral of a Benedictine monastery, contemplating its beauty—even the grotesque beauty of the gargoyles, placed on the house of worship to ward off evil spirits. In the church, with its rose-window still aglow with the last evening light, the office of compline—known to the Benedictine monks as Hora Mystica—is tendered to God, and peace descends into the soul of the pilgrim.

Recently the Library of Congress, under the provisions of the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation, commissioned and published Loeffler's *Canticum Fratris Solis,* a remarkable setting for solo voice and chamber orchestra of the "Canticle of the Sun" by St. Francis. It was first performed in Washington, at the first chamber music festival at the Library of Congress, in 1925. Again Loeffler used old church modes, and sometimes definite liturgical motives. It is rare music, a truly distinguished work.

Besides his songs (to poems of Verlaine, Baudelaire, Rossetti, Poe, Yeats), he has written and published two rhapsodies for oboe, viola, and piano (*L'étang* and *La Cornemuse*); a chorus for women's voices, *By the Rivers of Babylon;* an eight-part chorus for mixed voices a cappella, *For One who Fell in Battle;* a *Poem* for orchestra; and an orchestral poem, *Memories of my Childhood* ("Life in a Russian Village").

Much has been written about Loeffler's work, but there are few portraits of the man himself. Carl Engel has written as intimate an account of him as probably can be provided in the *Musical Quarterly* of July, 1925. He treats his subject with sympathy and with understanding.

HOWARD BROCKWAY has composed little in recent years, whether from lack of inclination or loss of interest he alone can say. And it is indeed a pity, for he has one of the most genuine talents among our native composers—a gift for melody and an harmonic warmth that brings a lustre to all he has written.

Brockway was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1870. When he was a little boy, even when he was only three, he was taken regularly to the Theodore Thomas concerts, and to string quartet recitals. He sat by the hour while his teacher played him Bach, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin. When he was nineteen he went abroad to study with Barth, and composition with O. B. Boise. In 1895 the Berlin Philharmonic gave a program entirely composed of his works. He had written a number of pieces which were published in Berlin—a sonata for violin and piano, a ballade for piano, and a number of shorter works.

He came back to America in 1895 and settled in New York. He was active as a pianist and teacher, and in 1903 he joined the faculty of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, where he stayed for six years. Then he came back to New York, and has been active principally as a teacher—privately, and at the Institute of Musical Art and the Mannes School.

Brockway's works for orchestra are a symphony, a ballade, a symphonic scherzo, and a *Sylvan* suite, which was published in 1900. The suite was first performed by the Boston Symphony under Gericke in 1901. The symphony was not heard until 1907, when the Boston Orchestra, then conducted by Muck, gave it a performance. He has written a number of works for chorus, and we have already spoken of his exquisite arrangements of songs from the Kentucky Mountains.

Brockway is at heart a conservative, enough to believe that melody is the basis of musical composition. He senses the value of the astounding experiments that others have made in harmonic freedom, through polytonality and atonal structure. But he is wise enough to know that the ultimate use of these devices must be subjective, if they are to accomplish anything for music as an art.

FREDERICK SHEPHERD CONVERSE'S one-act opera, *The Pipe of Desire,* was the first opera by an American to be

produced at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, March 18, 1910. It was a tragic little fairy tale, vividly portrayed by the music. Converse is a New Englander, born in 1871 at Newton, Massachusetts. He was a student at Harvard and attended the classes of John K. Paine. Then he went into business for six months; left it for good, and studied with Chadwick. Then to Germany and Rheinberger. His symphony in D minor was played when he graduated from the Royal Academy in Munich in 1898. When he came back to Boston in 1899 he taught harmony at the New England Conservatory, and two years later went to Harvard as a teacher of composition and later as assistant professor. He resigned in 1907 to devote himself to composition, but later went back to the Conservatory as professor of theory and composition.

Recently Converse has achieved fame for a masterful bit of musical humor, which he wrote chiefly to amuse himself. When Honegger sought to immortalize a mountain locomotive of the Pacific type, Converse thought of the Ford. If anything is American, surely it is the flivver. So Converse took his music paper, had a few rides in a Ford, and wrote *Flivver Ten Million.*

It opens with *Dawn in Detroit.* The toilers march to work, and make their din as they build their machines. Then the *Birth of the Hero,* as he emerges from the welter, full fledged, ready for service. He tries his metal, and wanders forth into the great world in search of adventure. "America's Romance" is a *May Night by the Roadside.* "America's Frolic" brings *The Joy Riders;* "America's Tragedy" *The Collision.* Then a reminiscence of the building theme, and in *Phoenix Americanus* the hero, righted and shaken, proceeds on his way with redoubled energy, "typical of the indomitable American spirit." For all this the composer requires the modern orchestra in all its glory of wind and percussion, plus muted Ford horn, a wind machine, a factory whistle and an anvil. Koussevitsky gave it

its first performance with the Boston Symphony in the Spring of 1927.

Converse has a fluent technique, he writes easily and with assurance. Chadwick was wise to send him to Rheinberger, for he acquired the contrapuntal facility common to Rheinberger's pupils. He has a long list of works. For orchestra, two concert overtures, *Youth* and *Euphrosyne;* a *Festival March;* two symphonic poems, *Ormazd* and *Ave atque Vale;* three symphonies; two poems, *Night* and *Day,* for piano and orchestra. His recent tone-poem, *California,* was suggested by scenes at the fiesta in Santa Barbara, 1927.

Another opera, *The Sacrifice,* was given by the Boston Opera Company in 1911. He wrote an overture, entr'actes and incidental music for the Philadelphia production of Mackaye's *Jeanne d'Arc* in 1906. His dramatic poem *Job* was first performed at the Worcester Festival of 1907, and a year later in Hamburg. On the same occasion Schumann-Heink sang his *Hagar in the Desert,* a dramatic narrative for low voice and orchestra.

Henry Kimball Hadley has for a number of years been one of the most prominent of our native composers; and probably the most prolific in the larger forms. He has written so much that some have been unkind enough to call him the Henry Ford of our composers. This is not altogether fair, unless we remember that Mr. Ford really makes a very good car, which generally gets to its destination. For Hadley may be facile, and never deeply reflective, but his music is youthful, energetic and eager. Maybe that makes it American.

He was born in Somerville, Massachusetts, in 1871. His father had charge of the public school music in that suburb of Boston. He gave his son lessons in piano and violin, and helped him to compose little pieces. Then Henry went to the New England Conservatory, and studied composition with Emery and Chadwick. When he was twenty his overture, *Hector and Andromache,* was performed by the

Manuscript Society of New York, with Walter Damrosch conducting. When he was twenty-two he was made conductor of the Laura Schirmer-Mapleson Opera Company, and toured the country. Then he went abroad to study composition with Mandyczewski at Vienna. When he came back he was music director of St. Paul's School at Garden City on Long Island. From 1904 to 1909 he was abroad again, composing and conducting, the last year at the Stadt Theatre of Mayence, where he produced his one act opera, *Safie.*

In 1909 he went to the far West, to be conductor of the Seattle Symphony Orchestra. For five seasons from 1911 he conducted the San Francisco Orchestra. In 1920 he was made associate conductor of the New York Philharmonic, and in 1929 he organized the Manhattan Symphony Orchestra in New York.[1]

He has written music in all the forms, and for every combination, vocal and instrumental; seemingly with equal success in each, for all of his works have had repeated hearings. Whatever his music may lack in philosophic contemplation, it is playable and so agreeable that people like to hear it. And that is a great deal in these days. He has written four symphonies—all performed and two published. The first, *Youth and Life,* was first heard in 1897, in New York. The second, *The Four Seasons,* won the Paderewski prize in 1901, and another from the New England Conservatory. The third symphony was first played in Berlin, in 1907, and in 1908 by the Boston Symphony. The fourth, *North, East, South, West,* was written for the Norfolk Festival in 1911, and was later played by the Boston Symphony and at Queen's Hall, London.

In Bohemia was the first of his concert overtures to be published. It was first played in 1902, in Pittsburgh. Hadley thinks his tone-poem *Salome* the best of his orchestral works. It was introduced in Boston in 1907. In 1909 the rhapsody for orchestra, *The Culprit Fay,* was awarded

[1] Hadley died September 6, 1937.

the thousand dollar prize offered by the National Federation of Music Clubs. Another tone-poem, *Lucifer,* was written for the 1915 Norfolk Festival. There are also a symphonic fantasia; an *Othello* overture; a tone-poem, *The Ocean;* an Oriental suite; three ballet suites; and a concerto for 'cello and orchestra.

Hadley's operas have been performed by our leading companies. After *Safie,* the next was *Azora;* although *The Atonement of Pan,* the masque he wrote for the 1912 "High Jinks" of the California Bohemian Club, was virtually an opera. *Azora's* full title was *Azora, Daughter of Montezuma,* and its libretto by David Stevens dealt with the Aztecs of Mexico in the fifteenth century. It was presented in 1917 and 1918 by the Chicago Opera Company, in both Chicago and New York.

Bianca won the thousand dollar prize, and the production offered by the Society of American Singers in 1918. Grant Stewart adapted the libretto from Goldoni's comedy, *The Mistress of the Inn.* The first performance was at the Park Theatre in New York. *Cleopatra's Night* is probably Hadley's best opera. When it was produced at the Metropolitan in 1920, many critics hailed it as the most colorful American opera that had yet been written. It was given a superb production, and its score was rich in its atmospheric treatment. It lasted for two seasons at the Metropolitan.

Hadley has been successful in writing for chorus. His *Ode to Music,* from Henry Van Dyke's poem, was the feature of the Worcester Festival in 1917. The secular oratorio, *Resurgam,* has been performed in America and in Europe. *Mirtil in Arcadia* is poetically fanciful, and in many respects beautiful. Hadley is resourceful in handling voice parts. There are a number of cantatas and seven ballads for chorus and orchestra. In the field of chamber music he has written a quintet, a quartet, and a sonata for violin and piano. And as if all these were not enough, he has written and published about one hundred and fifty songs.

RUBIN GOLDMARK is the nephew of Carl Goldmark, the Austrian composer of *Sakuntula*. When Dvořák heard young Rubin's trio at one of the concerts at the National Conservatory in New York, he exclaimed: "There are now two Goldmarks!" And there are, for the nephew has done very nicely in carrying on the family reputation. He was born in New York in 1872. He had his academic education at the College of the City of New York and the University of Vienna. He studied music at the Vienna Conservatory. After he returned to New York he studied piano with Joseffy, and composition with Dvořák at the National Conservatory.

Later he became a teacher of piano and theory at the Conservatory. Then his health failed, and he went to Colorado. That was in 1894, and when he was better he founded the Colorado College Conservatory. By 1902 he was able to come back to New York, where he is established as a composer, and as one of our leading teachers of composers. He has probably trained more of the younger group than any other teacher. In addition to his private work, he heads the composition department at the Juilliard School of Music.[1]

His best known work is the *Requiem* for orchestra, suggested by Lincoln's Gettysburg address. It has an austere grandeur that is faithful to its subject, a directness of purpose that wastes no musical words, but proceeds in a straight line to its goal. His *Hiawatha* overture was an earlier work, introduced in 1900 by the Boston Symphony. James Gibbons Huneker wrote of this performance:

> At the first cantilena on the strings I nearly jumped out of my seat. It was bewilderingly luscious and Goldmarkian—a young Goldmark come to judgment. The family gifts are color and rhythm. This youth has them, and he also has brains. Original invention is yet to come, but I have hopes. The overture, which is not Indian, is full of good things, withal too lengthy in the free fantasia. There is life, and while there's life there's rhythm, and a nice variety there is. The allegro has one stout tune, and the rush and dynamic glow lasts. He

[1] Goldmark died March 6, 1936.

lasts, does Rubin Goldmark, and I could have heard the piece through twice. The young American composer has not been idle lately.

The tone-poem *Samson* was first played in Boston in 1914. The *Requiem* had its première with the New York Philharmonic in 1919. Goldmark has tried Negro material in his *Negro Rhapsody,* published in Vienna, and he has caught the American locale in *The Call of the Plains,* for orchestra. He has written a string quartet, a piano trio, a sonata for violin and piano, and many smaller pieces and songs.

DANIEL GREGORY MASON is a composer who has experimented with folk-songs, but has come to the conclusion that American music is necessarily eclectic and cosmopolitan. That its distinctiveness must be individual, rather than national. Hence in his own music he has followed his own taste. Taking little spontaneous pleasure in the impressionism of Debussy, Ravel, Scriabin, or in the primitivism of Stravinsky, he turns to the classic-romantic type of beauty worked out by Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms and Franck. He is willing to risk the reactionary label. Yet he has the satisfaction of seeing a number of his fellow composers swing over to the standards he has been following.

Mason is a member of the famous Mason family. He is a grandson of Lowell Mason, and a nephew of William. His father was the Henry Mason who was one of the founders of the piano house of Mason and Hamlin. He was born in 1873 in Brookline, Massachusetts. When he was a student at Harvard he attended the music classes of John K. Paine, but he found Paine so uninspiring that he virtually dropped his music while he was in college, except for writing the music for the Hasty Pudding Club shows. When he graduated from Harvard he studied with Chadwick in Boston, and Goetschius in New York. Then he went to Paris to work with d'Indy. From 1900 he has been active as lecturer and teacher. In 1910 he joined the

music faculty of Columbia University, and in 1929 he was made the MacDowell Professor of Music.

His works number thirty. Opus 5 is a sonata for violin and piano; Opus 7 a quartet for piano and strings, played by Gabrilowitsch with the Kneisel Quartet. His *Country Pictures* for piano, Opus 9, have been played by Josef Hofmann, John Powell, and Percy Grainger. His first work for orchestra was the Symphony No. 1, published abroad, and played by Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra. It has had later performances by the Detroit, New York Philharmonic, Chicago, and Boston orchestras.

His sonata for clarinet (or violin) and piano was one of the first works selected by the Society for the Publication of American Music. His song cycle, *Russians,* for baritone and orchestra, has been featured by Reinald Werrenrath with several symphony orchestras. His *String Quartet on Negro Themes* was first printed privately, but later withdrawn, revised, and issued in its new form by the Society for the Publication of American Music. Other works for string quartet are Variations on a theme by his friend John Powell, and a Folk-Song Fantasy on the English theme of *Fanny Blair.* His latest orchestral works are the *Festival Overture* (published under the provisions of the Juilliard Foundation) and the Symphony No. 2, in A major.

Mason is known both as a composer and as a writer on music. In the latter field he shows scholarliness and clear thinking. His critical-historical series—*Beethoven and His Forerunners, The Romantic Composers, From Grieg to Brahms,* and *Contemporary Composers*—is comprehensive, accurate, and, most important, interesting. *The Dilemma of American Music* is a searching analysis of music conditions in America to-day. *The Orchestral Instruments and What They Do* is a guide-book that has been a boon to many concert-goers.

Walter Damrosch once said that JOHN ALDEN CARPENTER is one of the most American of our composers. In his

ballet *Skyscrapers* he seeks to portray our age of rivets and mechanism, and in *Krazy-Kat* the exaggerated humor and slap-stick caricature of the comic strip in the newspapers. Yet there are others who deny Carpenter his Americanism, because of the French derivation of his style, or because he seems to feel so keenly, and so subjectively, the moods of nature. The rank and file of Americans are apt to think of the out-of-doors in objective terms—as a base-ball game or an automobile ride.

Carpenter is entitled to amateur standing as a musician. He is a business man; vice-president of George B. Carpenter & Company, Chicago merchants in mill, railway and vessel supplies. Yet for all his business interests he has found enough time for music to become one of the most important of our contemporary composers. He was born in Park Ridge, Illinois, in 1876. His mother was a talented amateur singer, who gave him his first lessons. He went to Harvard, where he studied with John K. Paine, and took all the music courses the college offered. Then he studied for a short time with Edward Elgar, the English composer, and later with Bernhard Ziehn in Chicago.

His first important work for orchestra was the suite, *Adventures in a Perambulator.* It was written in 1914, and published a year later. It has been performed by all the important orchestras in America, and in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin and Stockholm. Carpenter describes the sensations of a baby wheeled along the sidewalks by his nurse. He sees *The Policeman, The Hurdy-Gurdy, The Lake,* and the *Dogs.* It is witty, sparkling music, and the composer is skillful in gaining his effects—the street organ, dogs barking.

The *Concertino* for piano and orchestra, written a year later, suggests a light-hearted conversation between the piano and the orchestra—two friends who have travelled different paths and have become a little garrulous over their separate experiences. As Carpenter suggests:

The rules of polite talk, as always between friends, are not strictly observed—often, in animated moments they talk both at once, each hearing only what he says himself. . . . Presently the moment comes, as always between friends, when no conversation is necessary—a relaxed moment, when friendship itself takes them in hand, and they have nothing to say. But the reaction is quick and strong—there is still so much that presses to be said—on a pleasant night—with youth in the air—between friends.

The *Concertino* was published in 1917, and has had performances in many cities.

His symphony was written in 1916 for the 1917 festival at Norfolk, Connecticut. The other purely orchestral pieces are a *Pilgrim Vision* and *Jazz Orchestra Pieces*. He has written no opera, but he has achieved distinction with his ballets. *The Birthday of the Infanta* was first produced by the Chicago Civic Opera Company in 1919, and revived in 1921. In 1930 the Chicago Symphony played an orchestral suite based on the music. *Krazy-Kat* was written in 1921, and was produced first in Chicago. It was an interesting experiment in transferring the jazz idiom to respectable company. The scenario and action were based on the George Herriman cartoons, which still gambol through the newspapers of the country. Krazy Kat's happy psychology ran through the score; the whines and the laughter helped the buffoonery.

Skyscrapers attracted much attention when it was first presented at the Metropolitan, in 1926. It was Carpenter's most radical score, and it dealt with modern phases of our American life. It was thoroughly impressionistic, and there was no attempt to spare the cacophony of our city streets. In 1928 it was produced at the *Staatoper* in Munich, and in a condensed version for orchestra alone it has been played by the principal American orchestras, and by Koussevitsky in Paris.

Carpenter has written two chamber music works—a sonata for violin and piano, and a few works for piano

alone, notably the *Polonaise Américaine.* But outside of his works for orchestra, and his ballets, he is best known as a song writer. In that field he has attained rare distinction. It is in his songs that he shows his leanings toward the French school of impressionists. Nor is such a comparison necessarily a denial of individuality, for Carpenter's refinement and aristocratic elegance are often his own. He is especially happy with the texts of Rabindranath Tagore, whose spirit he seems to catch more faithfully than any other composer. He has been penetrating in drawing from the poems the Oriental warmth of color, the sensitiveness to mood. From *Gitanjali* he selected: *When I bring you colour'd toys; On the day when death will knock at thy door; The sleep that flits on baby's eyes; I am like a remnant of a cloud of autumn; On the seashore of endless worlds;* and *Light, my light.*

He has called his settings of four Chinese poems *Water Colors,* and they are well named, for they deal in tints rather than in solid colors. He suggests the Chinese lute in the accompaniment, and he has been subtle in bringing out the drollery that lurks in the verses. In quite different spirit, similar in type to the *Perambulator* suite, his *Improving Songs for Anxious Children* show real live children in every mood. Sometimes they are good little boys and girls, other times not so good; but always little boys and girls, as liable to human failings as their parents.

Ernest Schelling has had a brilliant career. He has been one of our leading concert pianists, pupil of Moszkowski and Paderewski; he has a number of vital compositions to his credit; and in recent years he has become one of the leading exponents of orchestral concerts for children, conducting Saturday morning concerts with the New York Philharmonic in New York and neighboring districts. He was born in Belvidere, New Jersey, in 1876, and was a musical prodigy from childhood. When he was only four years old, he made a public appearance as pianist at the

Academy of Music in Philadelphia. When he was six he was taken to the Paris Conservatoire to study with Mathias. Later he worked with Moszkowski, Pruckner, Leschetizky, Huber, Barth and finally for four years with Paderewski at his villa in Switzerland. He achieved international rank as a pianist, and has played in recital and with orchestras throughout America and in Europe.

When the War broke out Schelling was made a captain, and later a major. In 1918 he went to Poland with his friend Paderewski, at the time when the great Pole became premier of his native country. In the Summer of 1919 he was injured in an automobile accident in Switzerland, and it was necessary for him to give up most of his work as a pianist. Lately he has been known chiefly as a composer and orchestral conductor. His children's concerts have achieved a great success. Their object has been primarily to explain the various instruments of the orchestra. Schelling has collected illustrations of instruments from all over the world, and during his concerts he has them thrown on a screen by stereopticon projection. The children love it, and listen eagerly to the music.

Schelling's most important works are the *Impressions from an Artist's Life* and *A Victory Ball.* The first is a set of variations for piano and orchestra. Each variation depicts one of the composer's artist friends. It was first played by the Boston Symphony under Muck, in 1916, and published in Leipsic. *A Victory Ball* takes its program from the poem by Alfred Noyes. The gayety of the dancers is halted by the sounds of war, by the spirits of the fallen, the roll of the drum, and taps. It is vivid music, uncompromising in its reminder of the horrors of war. It was first introduced in Philadelphia, under Stokowski in 1923, and has had repeated performances since its première.

Schelling has also written a *Legende Symphonique,* played by the Berlin Philharmonic in 1906; a symphony in C minor; a *Suite Fantastique,* introduced by Mengleberg

in Amsterdam (1905); a violin concerto, played by Fritz Kreisler with the Boston Symphony in 1917; a tone-poem, *Morocco,* played in 1927 by the New York Philharmonic with the composer conducting; and a number of piano pieces and some chamber music.[1]

DAVID STANLEY SMITH has been Horatio Parker's successor as dean of the Yale University School of Music at New Haven. He had been Parker's assistant for many years. Born in Toledo, Ohio, in 1877, he was the son of a self-taught organist and composer, a business man who played the organ in Toledo churches as an avocation. David's mother was a singer. He went to Yale, though not with the idea of studying music; but he came under Parker's influence from his freshman year, and then attended his classes. He began to play the organ, and while he was a student he had positions in various New Haven churches. When he graduated, Parker urged him to go to Europe for a year; and he went, not for definite instruction, but to hear music and to broaden his horizon. When he returned after a year and a half, Parker put him on the music faculty at Yale, and in 1920 he succeeded his teacher as dean and professor, and as conductor of the New Haven Symphony Orchestra.

As a composer, Smith likes to feel that music is an art worthy of the time of a man of serious purpose and intellectual attainments, and not, as he says, "a joke or a vehicle for proclaiming some 'ism.'" As for modernism, he holds that dissonance must be defended on the ground of logic, never used for mere caprice. All music must have architectural and technical interest as well as melodic intention and feeling. He has no sympathy for sentimentality, but he tries to avoid the extreme of harshness or cruelty in reacting against it.

This creed is carried into his music. It is always obviously well thought out and planned. Whatever it may lack in spontaneity it supplies in its intellectual background. He

[1] Schelling died December 8, 1939.

has a long list of works. Three symphonies: the first, in F minor, played by Stock and the Chicago Orchestra in 1912; the second, in D major, first presented at the Norfolk 1918 Festival, and later by the New York Philharmonic and the Chicago; the third, in E flat, was written in 1928 and has not yet been performed. The *Prince Hal* overture has been played many times, at home and in London and Rome. Georges Barrère was the flutist who first played his *Fête Galante,* for flute and orchestra, with the New York Symphony. The *Poem of Youth* was introduced in Boston, and the suite, *Impressions,* in Chicago. He has written a *Cathedral Prelude* for organ and orchestra, performed in New Haven and Minneapolis.

Three of Smith's chamber music works have been issued by the Society for the Publication of American Music; the string quartet in C major (Gregorian) (1922), a sonata for violin and piano (1924), and a sonata for oboe and piano (1926). There are three other quartets and a quintet, all published but one of the quartets. There is a sonata for 'cello and piano; and a sonata for piano alone.

His most important choral work is the *Rhapsody of St. Bernard,* for chorus, semi-chorus, soli and orchestra. It was performed at the Chicago North Shore Festival in 1918. A symphonic poem for chorus, two soloists and orchestra, *Vision of Isaiah,* and an opera, *Merrymount,* have not yet been performed.

The death of CHARLES TOMLINSON GRIFFES (1884-1920) was a cruel loss to American music, for it took away one of our most promising talents; when he was only thirty-six years old and had written a mere handful of works. But that handful was enough to give him a permanent place among our composers. His works fall into three distinct periods. First the student period, when he was definitely under the influence of his German teachers—Rüfer and Humperdinck. In his second style he leaned toward the Frenchmen, and also showed his fondness for the Russian

Orientalism that was to appear as the mysticism of his later works. *The Lake at Evening,* from the three tone-pictures for piano, shows him in this period, and it also proves his power of musical description. The third period shows his modern trend; a grasping for something less rigid than the tempered scale, a medium to sound the overtones he wanted us to hear. Then he wrote his piano sonata and his orchestral works.

The sonata has the intellectual consistency of a Schoenberg, a pursuit of tonal logic without the sacrifice of poetic conception. The themes are well defined, but it is their development that is interesting, rather than the themes themselves. *The Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan,* a tone-poem for orchestra, was his most important work for orchestra. It was first performed under circumstances that were indeed pathetic, as far as Griffes was concerned, for the labor of its composition was partly responsible for the illness that caused his death. When he knew it would have a performance by the Boston Symphony he set himself to copy out the parts, as all composers must do with a manuscript work unless they can afford to hire a copyist. He was tired and busy with his regular work of teaching music at a boys' school, and when he was finished he fell ill with an attack of pneumonia. Word of his great success was brought to him just before he died.

He took his inspiration from Coleridge's poem: the lines that describe the "stately pleasure dome," the "sunny pleasure dome with caves of ice, the miracle of strange device." In writing his music Griffes gave his own imagination free rein in his description of the palace, and of the revelry that might take place there. The vague, foggy beginning suggests the sacred river, which ran "through caverns measureless to man down to a sunless sea." Then the outlines of the palace gradually rise, "with walls and towers girdled round." Sounds of revelry and dancing rise to a wild climax and then suddenly break off. The original mood

returns, and we hear again the sacred river, and the "caves of ice."

It is colorful music, and so is his *Poem* for flute and orchestra, which was first played by Georges Barrère with unforgettable mastery. In the orchestration of the *Poem* Griffes surpassed his work in the *Pleasure Dome.* It is the most mature of his works. Starting in a gray mood it merges into a dance movement of strange tonality, with a suggestion of Oriental rhythm and color.

In his works for the piano Griffes is best known for his *Roman Sketches.* First comes *The White Peacock,* who makes his bow with a languorous chromatic theme. *Nightfall* brings the strange sounds of the early evening, an almost oppressive quiet. *The Fountain of the Acqua Paola* shows the rise and fall of the water, the shimmering lights of the foam. *Clouds* starts with a lofty chordal passage, suggesting the high and massive cloud banks.

Griffes was born in Elmira, New York, in 1884. He was talented in other fields than music. He could draw well with pen and ink; he made excellent water color landscapes, and later in life he worked in etchings on copper. When he was in high school he decided to be a musician, and he went to Berlin to learn to be a concert pianist. It was not until he studied theory with Humperdinck that he decided to be a composer. Then he came back to America, in 1908, and took the position of music teacher at the Hackley School in Tarrytown, New York, which he held until his death in 1920.

Griffes' songs are much used on recital programs, from the early settings of German poems, through those to texts by Fiona MacLeod, to the later songs. In those he showed that he was finding himself—*An Old Song Re-Sung,* the *Sorrow of Mydah* and others of their kind.

Whether Griffes would have gone further if he had lived, it is hard to say. Probably his ideals were high enough to have saved him from being spoiled by success. I think his

equipment was so complete that he could have taken a high place in our music. The few works he left have made him important.

The recent successes of DEEMS TAYLOR have caused more consternation and dismay in many musical circles than any event in twenty years. Hard-working composers have spent many hours when they might have been working, trying to explain the phenomenon. Here was a composer breaking into the front pages of the newspapers, not for his love affairs, but for the music he had written. Something was wrong. It was a fine thing to give music such publicity, but not to a composer who writes synthetic music, who speaks Wagner without an accent, who composes another *Tristan.*

The remarkable thing is that all this is both true and untrue. Taylor's music is synthetic and derived, he admits it; he is a post-Wagnerian; and the *King's Henchman* is at times dangerously like *Tristan* and *Siegfried,* with a little of Debussy's *Pelléas* thrown in for the love duet. But there is one thing that Taylor has done that many fail to accomplish: he makes little chills run up and down the listener's spine. And that is the real test of music.

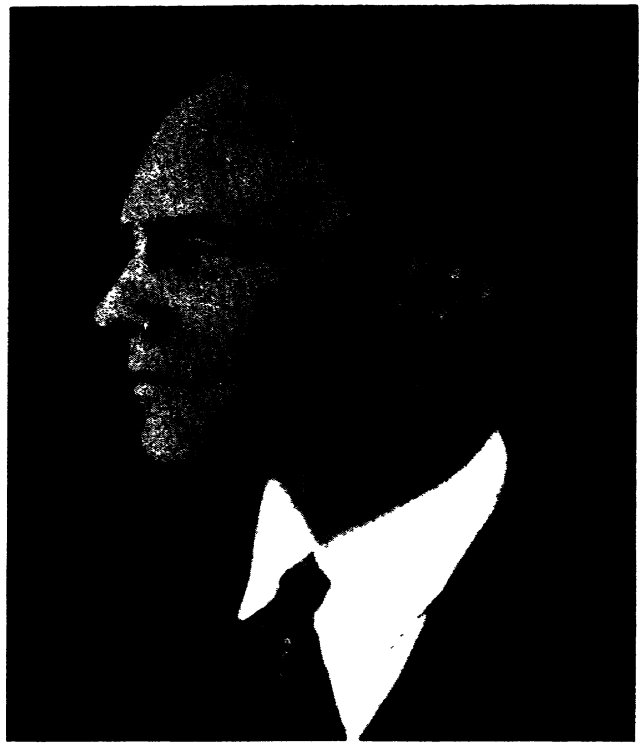
His first notable success came with the performance of *Through the Looking Glass,* a suite from Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland.* It was first written in the years 1917-19, and scored for chamber orchestra. Carolyn Beebe played it with the New York Chamber Music Society. Then Taylor rescored it for full orchestra, and since 1922 it has had repeated performances by every orchestra in America, and all over the world. Taylor was successful in handling Carroll's wit, because he himself had wit enough to know that its mood is half tender and half mocking. He kept this balance in his music. He is affectionate, he caresses his theme, and then chuckles with it as the ridiculous, though rather touching White Knight falls off in front when his horse stops, and backwards when it goes on again. And it is all presented with an irresistible sparkle and brilliance.

Edgar Stillman Kelley.
(See page 465.)

Photo by Pirie MacDonald.

Henry K. Hadley.
(See page 474.)

John Alden Carpenter.
(See page 479.)



Deems Taylor.
(See page 488.)

The King's Henchman kept the Metropolitan boards for three years, a record of performances for an American opera. In the Winter of 1925 Taylor was commissioned by the board of directors to write an opera for which they promised a production. He asked Edna St. Vincent Millay for a libretto, and she responded with the story of *Æthelwold* sent by King *Ædgar* of England to fetch *Æfrida* for his queen. Æthelwold falls in love with her, and without telling her of his mission marries her himself. When Ædgar comes to visit, and finds that Ælfrida is really beautiful, Æthelwold remorsefully plunges his dagger into his own breast. The theme of *Tristan,* yes, but of John Alden and Priscilla too.

The opera was ready in 1927, and had its première on February 17th. There was plenty of publicity, and all of New York that could buy tickets at a premium turned out to hear the opera with which the Metropolitan had broken tradition by commissioning its writing. And the critics were as enthusiastic as the public. In the *Tribune,* Lawrence Gilman called it

> . . . the best American opera we have ever heard, and so easily the best of the ten produced by Mr. Gatti-Casazza at the Metropolitan that there is none other in the running. Mr. Taylor has woven a deft and often lovely sounding score about a superb poetic text—a text pithy and glamorous and full of character; rich in humor and dramatic force, rich in imagery that is often startling in its beauty and its swift felicity. And this text is apt for voices or for viols. It clamors for vocal utterance and for enforcement by the instruments of the mirroring orchestra.
>
> Mr. Taylor's score is in the worthiest sense theatrically planned and developed. It is obvious that he wrote with his eye on the stage, with his intelligence responsive to its tyrannous requirements. Furthermore, he has given musical voice to English words which, sung from the stage, are not only heard, but are expressive, and fitting, and often beautiful. The music, as music, "sounds"; it fills the ear, is richly textured, mellifluous, has grace and movement and flexibility. It is the writing of an expert craftsman, an artist of sensibility and warm responsiveness.

In his music Taylor uses leit-motives for his principal characters, and he alters them to match their emotions and deeds. As for its derivation from other sources, Taylor said of the *Henchman:* "I can only hope that its spiritual grandfather may turn out to be Wagner rather than Puccini." Nearly every one who has written about the opera has spoken of its Wagnerian influence, but few have noticed its affinity to another American opera, Parker's *Mona.* For there is much in common in the musical conception of the two works, except that *Mona* is the more modern. If it had had the lavish production and care that was bestowed upon the *Henchman, Mona* might have lasted longer at the Metropolitan.

Taylor has just completed the score of his next opera, commissioned by the Metropolitan after the success of the *Henchman.* It was some time before he finally chose his subject for the second work. First he started the libretto and setting of an opera based on a novel by Heywood Broun; then he tried an adaptation of *Street Scene;* abandoned or postponed that, and then turned to *Peter Ibbetson,* the du Maurier-Constance Collier play that John and Lionel Barrymore produced so successfully a number of years ago. The new opera is scheduled for performance early in 1931.

Taylor is a remarkable person, in many ways inordinately clever. He has been a newspaper-man, critic, linguist, translator of prose and poetry, an artist with the brush and the pen, an editor, and a public speaker. And a composer. He was born in New York in 1885, and educated at New York University. In college he collaborated with William Le Baron in writing the student shows, and one of them, *The Echo,* was later given a Broadway production, with Bessie McCoy as the star.

When he graduated from college his musical curiosity made him take some lessons in harmony with Oscar Coon, but aside from these, all of his knowledge in composition and orchestration has resulted from his own study. And it is

generally conceded that he has acquired a remarkable technique. After college he held a number of positions, most of them in rapid succession, some on newspapers, some with magazines, until in 1921 he was appointed chief music critic of the New York *World*. His penetrating analysis, and his pungent, sometimes acid wit, made him the most read critic in town. He resigned in 1925 because he wanted to give all his time to writing his opera. Then after its production he became the editor of *Musical America* for two years.

Besides the *Looking Glass* suite, his orchestral works are *The Siren Song,* Op. 2; *The Portrait of a Lady,* Op. 14, a rhapsody for strings, wind and piano; a symphonic poem, *Jurgen,* Op. 18; and *Circus Day,* Op. 18, a suite scored for jazz orchestra by Ferde Grofe, and for symphony orchestra by the composer. *Jurgen* was commissioned by Walter Damrosch and the New York Symphony, one of the few instances where an American orchestra has sought the composer, instead of the composer seeking the orchestra. Taylor has revised the score of *Jurgen* since its first performances, and it is just as well, for the original, based on Cabell's novel, lost itself a bit too much in the philosophical depths of Jurgen's nature.

Taylor has written two choral cantatas: *The Chambered Nautilus* and *The Highwayman,* written for the MacDowell Festival at Peterboro in 1914. He has composed many songs, and made stunning arrangements of folk-songs. He has provided incidental music for two New York Theatre Guild productions—*Liliom* and *The Adding Machine;* a ballet for *Beggar on Horseback* (*A Kiss in Xanadu*); and music for the plays—*Will Shakespeare, Humoresque, Rita Coventry,* and *Casanova.*

There was a time when WALTER DAMROSCH had ambitions as a composer, but of late years he has felt that his usefulness lay in other directions, that his style was too much derived from other sources, and that the rival con-

ductor who called his *Scarlet Letter* the "Nibelungen of New England" was probably right. *The Scarlet Letter,* based on Hawthorne's novel, was his first opera, and he produced it with his own company in Boston in 1896. It was thoroughly Wagnerian in conception, with leit-motives and everything else that goes with a post-romantic German music-drama.

Cyrano, an opera after Rostand's play, was produced at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, in 1913. A comic opera, *The Dove of Peace,* to a libretto by Wallace Irwin, was produced in 1912 in New York and Philadelphia. Damrosch also wrote incidental music to the Greek dramas, *Iphigenia in Aulis, Medea,* and *Electra,* for performances in California in 1915. His sonata for violin and piano bears the title, *At Fox Meadow.* In his songs he achieved more individuality and better success than in his work in larger forms—particularly in setting ballads of the dramatic type: Kipling's *Danny Deever,* and others.

Damrosch has had a long and honored career in America. Born in Breslau, Germany, in 1862, he came to New York with his family when he was nine years old. His father, Leopold Damrosch, had come to America, first to conduct the New York Männergesangverein Arion, a male chorus. In 1874 he organized the New York Oratorio Society, and in 1878, after a season with the Philharmonic, he was made conductor of the newly founded Symphony Society of New York. The elder Damrosch became a bitter rival of Theodore Thomas, and the orchestra war of the late seventies and eighties added spice to table conversation and to the columns of the musical journals. And bitterness too.

When his father died, Walter succeeded him as conductor of the Oratorio Society and the New York Symphony. He had been his father's assistant as conductor of German opera at the Metropolitan, and in 1894 he organized his own company, which gave German operas in New York and in other cities for five years. For two years after 1900 he

was conductor of German operas at the Metropolitan. For the season of 1902-3 he conducted the Philharmonic, and when the Symphony Society was reorganized the following year he again assumed its leadership. In 1928 the orchestra was merged with the Philharmonic and for a season Damrosch was one of the conductors of the combined orchestras. In 1929 he resigned to devote all of his time to radio broadcasting, giving weekly orchestral concerts in the evening, and a children's series in school hours, with explanatory remarks.

HENRY HOLDEN HUSS is a composer of the elder contemporary group who has written music of considerable charm, in the romantic mould, even though he seems to lack enough of the power of self-criticism to give his works endurance. His sonata for violin and piano, issued by the Society for the Publication of American Music, is spirited and playable; in turn rhythmically full of life, lyrical and capricious. His quartet for strings, Opus 31, has been performed by the Kneisel and Berkshire Quartets.

Huss was a pupil of Rheinberger. Born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1862, a descendant of the Bohemian patriot and martyr John Huss, he studied first with his father and later under Boise and Rheinberger abroad. Most of his life has been spent in New York, teaching and giving joint recitals with his wife, the former Hildegard Hoffmann, a soprano.

He has written two works for piano and orchestra—a rhapsody and a concerto in B major. He has played them with orchestras abroad and at home. There are several quartets, a trio, the violin sonata, and a sonata for 'cello and piano, as well as a number of piano pieces and about thirty published songs. He has written several works for chorus, one of them a *Festival Sanctus* for chorus, orchestra and organ.

LOUIS VICTOR SAAR is a Hollander (Rotterdam, 1868) who came to America in 1894 as an accompanist at the Metropolitan Opera House. His family had been distantly

related to Schubert. While he was in New York he taught at the National Conservatory, and at the Institute of Musical Art. From 1906 to 1917 he was head of the theory and composition courses at the College of Music in Cincinnati, and since 1917 he has held a similar position at the Chicago Musical College.

He has written and published a long list of works: a string quartet; a piano quartet; a quartet for clarinet, horn, 'cello and piano; and sonatas for violin and piano, 'cello and piano, and horn and piano; many piano pieces, and songs; works for chorus, and a large number of orchestral and piano arrangements.[1]

ROSSETTER GLEASON COLE, born in Michigan in 1866, was a pupil of Max Bruch in Germany and of Middleschulte at home. For almost thirty years he has lived in Chicago as a teacher, composer, organist, lecturer. Since 1908 he has been professor in charge of music at the Columbia University Summer Session in New York. As a composer he has published over ninety works. His style has possibly been influenced more by the music of César Franck than by any other composer; but he has nevertheless succeeded in evolving something of a personal idiom. He feels that American music must grow on individual rather than on nationalistic lines.

His *Symphonic Prelude* for orchestra was first performed by the Chicago Symphony under Stock in 1916, and repeated in 1918. An overture, *Pioneer,* was written in commemoration of the Illinois State Centennial (1918), and dedicated to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. It was first performed in 1919, the composer conducting. An *Heroic Piece* for orchestra and organ was first played at a special concert of the Chicago Symphony in 1924.

Cole has written three choral works—*The Passing of Summer; The Broken Troth,* a cantata for women's voices; and *The Rock of Liberty,* a Pilgrim ode, composed for the

[1] Saar died in 1937.

tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims. His sonata for violin and piano was first performed in Germany, in 1892, and then in America, by Theodore Spiering, in 1897. It is an early work, conventional and long, though melodic and musical. The ballade for 'cello and orchestra was introduced in Minneapolis in 1909.

HENRY EICHHEIM has won his spurs principally for his study of Oriental music, and for his faithful settings of its melodies. He was born in Chicago in 1873, and educated at the Chicago Musical College. For a year he was a member of the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, and from 1890 to 1912 one of the first violins of the Boston Symphony. Then he resigned to give himself to composing and recital work.

His *Oriental Impressions* for orchestra (published in 1927 by the Society for the Publication of American Music) is an enlargement of a series of *Oriental Sketches* composed for the Pittsfield (Massachusetts) Chamber Music Festival of 1921. He had journeyed several times to the Far East —Korea, Japan, China, India, Java, Burma. He studied various types of Oriental music, and returned from each trip with copious notes and a large collection of instruments. Of the *Impressions,* Carl Engel wrote in the *Chesterian:*

> They are vivid, graphic and abound in unusual sonorities which pleasantly impinge upon the ear. Mr. Eichheim stops at no half measures; he does not hesitate to introduce all the "offensive" din and metallic racket dear to the pig-tailed music lover. To the untraveled, these brief sketches suggest a knowledge of the East as sensitively sympathetic as that of Paul Claudel, tempered as it is—in both cases—with Gallic thought and taste. To anyone enriched with recollections, they may conjure up the harmonious disorder of Yeddo and Peking.

In manuscript, Eichheim has a sextet and a quartet for strings; a 'cello sonata and a violin sonata; *Malay Mosaic* for chamber orchestra; a *Chinese Ballet*—in two versions: one for small orchestra and the other a large symphonic version, under the title, *Chinese Legend;* a *Burmese Ballet;*

and a large orchestral work, *Java.* He has conducted performances of his works in many American cities, and in Paris and London.

SIGISMOND STOJOWSKI is a Pole (born in 1870) who came to America in 1905. Except for visits abroad he has been with us ever since. He was a pupil of Delibes at the Paris Conservatoire, and had the guidance of Paderewski in his piano studies. He has been active in America as a pianist and a teacher of pianists. He has written a symphony and a suite for orchestra; two concertos and a rhapsody for piano and orchestra; a violin concerto and one for 'cello; a quantity of chamber music and many piano pieces. His *Prayer for Poland* is scored for chorus, organ and orchestra.

FRANK PATTERSON is the composer of two operas that have been produced. *The Echo* was presented in 1925 at the Biennial Conference of the National Federation of Music Clubs, in Portland, Oregon, in 1925. *Beggar's Love* was performed in 1929 by the Matinée Musicale of New York. This was an earlier work than *The Echo,* for it had been written and performed some ten years before in Los Angeles, under its original title, *A Little Girl at Play* (*A Tragedy of the Slums*).

Patterson was born in Philadelphia in 1871. He studied music with Hugh Clarke at the University of Pennsylvania, and then with Rheinberger and Thuille in Munich. He has a reputation as a theorist, and in addition to his editorial work on the staff of the *Musical Courier* he has delved deeply into the subject of tone relationships. He is the author of *Practical Instrumentation; How to Write a Good Tune;* and *The Perfect Modernist.* As a composer he is at heart a conservative; for he says that he loves melody and tries to write it. Yet he has an intense sympathy with his modernist colleagues; he helped organize the United States Section of the International Society for Contempo-

rary Music, and for several years he has been the chairman of its music committee.

EDWARD BURLINGAME HILL is of New England parentage and of the Harvard tradition. His grandfather was president of the university, and his father a chemistry professor. He was born in Cambridge (1872), and lives there to-day. When he graduated from Harvard he had highest honors in music (under John K. Paine). He later studied with Widor in Paris, and Chadwick in Boston. Since 1908 he has been a teacher at Harvard—first as an instructor, then a professor, and since 1928 chairman of the Division of Music.

His most charming work is the *Stevensoniana* Suite for orchestra; four pieces after poems from Robert Louis Stevenson's *Child's Garden of Verse.* The scoring is rich and colorful, with a leaning toward the French impressionists; yet with a tenderness and simplicity that is altogether personal. The sonata for clarinet (or violin) and piano is useful because it is not technically difficult to play; yet it offers a splendid opportunity for the musicianship of the performers. Hill's other works are a *Jazz Study* for two pianos; *Nuns of the Perpetual Adoration,* for women's voices and orchestra; two symphonies; an orchestral poem, *Lilacs,* after Amy Lowell; a symphonic poem, *The Fall of the House of Usher;* and two symphonic pantomimes. There are a number of songs and piano pieces. Although he feels that American music is still groping for freedom of expression, he thinks that patience and humility towards the need of a thorough technical grounding will eventually enable America to attain a distinctive style of her own.

ARNE OLDBERG has written many orchestral works and considerable chamber music. Two symphonies; two overtures—*Paola and Francesca,* and *Festival;* an orchestral fantasy, *At Night;* and a *Rhapsody;* a set of twelve variations for organ and orchestra; a concerto for horn; another

for organ; and one for piano and orchestra; a string quartet; two quintets for piano and strings, and another for piano and wood-wind quartet; a piano sonata, and many smaller works.

Oldberg was born in Youngstown, Ohio, in 1874, the son of an eminent authority on pharmacy. He had his early training in Chicago, and then studied abroad under Leschetizky (piano), and Rheinberger (composition). Since 1899 he has been the head of the piano department at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. His works have been brought out at the North Shore Festivals, and by the Chicago, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and other orchestras.

Although FREDERICK AYRES did not use actual Indian melodies in his works, he nevertheless caught the spirit of the West—the breadth of the mountains, the vastness of the plains. He was born in Binghamton, New York, in 1876, had an academic education at Cornell University, and then studied composition with Edgar Stillman Kelley and Arthur Foote. For a number of years he lived at Colorado Springs, and became a musical spokesman for the Rocky Mountain section, where he died in 1926. He composed an overture, *From the Plains;* a string quartet; two trios; a sonata for violin and piano, and one for 'cello and piano. His song cycle, *The Seeonee Wolves,* is vivid and startling.

MORTIMER WILSON is technically one of the best-equipped composers in this country. A disciple and pupil of Max Reger, he is definitely of the Reger tradition, and can toss complicated counterpoint from his pen as easily as he can talk to his friends. He is always to the point in his music. If he wishes to develop a theme, he can write a symphony on the simplest of ideas. If he chooses not to develop a melody, he states it simply and stops. He hates to be obvious; if he thinks that another composer would have extended a theme if he had been writing his piece, Wilson snatches the tune away and tells the listener he can have

no more of it. A bit perverse sometimes; for Wilson likes to laugh at his audience.

He has an imposing list of published works. A suite for trio, *From My Youth,* later scored for full orchestra and played by the New York Philharmonic; two sonatas for violin and piano; three suites for piano (one of them, *In Georgia,* has been orchestrated by the composer); a trio; an *Overture "1849";* a scenic fantasy for orchestra, *My Country;* and many shorter pieces. In manuscript there are five symphonies; a *Country Wedding* suite for orchestra; and an organ sonata.

Wilson was born in the Middle West, at Chariton, Iowa, in 1876. He studied in Chicago with Jacobsohn, Gleason and Middleschulte. Then he taught theory for six years (1901-7) at the University School of Music at Lincoln, Nebraska, and after that spent three years in Leipsic, studying with Hans Sitt and Max Reger, and teaching pupils of his own. When he came back in 1911 he went South, taught at the Atlanta Conservatory in Georgia, and conducted the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. He came to New York in 1918, and has been there off and on ever since, teaching composition and writing music.[1]

He made some experiments that antedate the modern synchronized scores of our sound pictures. Before the day of the talkies, Douglas Fairbanks engaged him to write original scores to accompany his motion pictures, to be played by theatre orchestras during the presentation of the pictures. The idea was highly successful in the major cities, where the orchestras were adequate and had time to rehearse the timing of the music with the film. But in smaller cities and towns the results were not so happy. In the most ambitious of the scores, the one he composed for *The Thief of Bagdad,* Wilson wrote music on broad lines, with leit-motives for every character, and for underlying emotions. It was gorgeous melody, and it enhanced the glamour of the film.

[1] Wilson died in 1932.

ERIC DELAMARTER is one of the leading organists of Chicago; since 1914 he has played at the Fourth Presbyterian Church, and his organ recitals have become famous. He is an orchestral conductor, and when Frederick Stock was absent during the season of 1918-19, Delamarter took his place as director of the Chicago Symphony. He has been a music-critic for the Chicago *Record-Herald,* and for the *Tribune.* He was born in 1880 in Lansing, Michigan, and studied with Middleschulte in Chicago, and Guilmant and Widor in Paris. As a composer he has written for orchestra an overture, *The Faun,* and a suite from his incidental music to *The Betrothal.* His sonata in E flat for violin and piano is a work of considerable originality with an interesting slow movement, and an individual finale. He has written many songs, piano music, organ pieces, and incidental music for plays.

ARTHUR SHEPHERD has an interesting background. He was born in 1880, in Idaho, educated in music at the New England Conservatory, and then went to Salt Lake City, where he conducted a theatre orchestra as well as a symphony orchestra. In 1908 he went back to Boston to be a teacher at the New England Conservatory. A number of years later he went to Cleveland, where he inaugurated children's concerts, as assistant conductor of the Cleveland Symphony. In 1929 he became music-critic for the Cleveland *Press.*

As a composer, Shepherd won prizes with his early works. The Paderewski prize for his *Ouverture Joyeuse* (1902), and in 1909 two from the National Federation of Music Clubs—one for his piano sonata and the other for a song, *The Lost Child.* These works were followed by two more overtures, *The Festival of Youth,* and *The Nuptials of Attila;* an orchestral suite; and a *Humoreske* for piano and orchestra. *Song of the Sea Wind* was scored for women's voices and orchestra, and *The City of the Sea* was for baritone, chorus and orchestra. Some of his early piano pieces

were issued by the Wa-Wan Press—a *Mazurka,* a *Prelude,* and a *Theme and Variations.*

His recent *Triptych,* for soprano and string quartet, to poems by Tagore, was published in 1927 by the Society for the Publication of American Music. Other works of recent years are the *Overture to a Drama,* and *Horizons,* the latter published under the provisions of the Juilliard Foundation. *Horizons* is interesting because it is based partly on original material and partly on frontier ballads: *The Dying Cowboy, The Old Chisholm Trail,* and the *Dogie* song. The suite is full of the raciness, the adventure, the spacious life of the plains.

When Charles Augustus Lindbergh landed in Paris from his famous flight on the 27th of May, 1927, all Tin Pan Alley rushed to its pens and pencils to get out songs about the hero. *Lucky Lindy* and others had short though profitable lives. JAMES PHILIP DUNN thought that the symphonists should be represented. He started to work on Decoration Day, and in three weeks his tone-poem, *We,* was finished. A vivid bit of program music, telling of the flight, its start and finish. Through all the effects of whirring motors, it painted the fixity of purpose, the dogged persistence of the young flyer. The poem was played that Summer at the Stadium concerts of the New York Philharmonic—on August 27th, exactly three months after Lindy had landed. Since then it has had many hearings in different parts of the country.

Dunn has a facile talent, prolific almost to a fault. He has written a number of songs that have had considerable use, and his part songs are well written for voices. His cantata, *The Phantom Drum,* is a setting of a tragic legend of Revolutionary Days. An *Overture on Negro Themes* was published first for organ, and in 1925 issued in full score for orchestra. The themes are Negro-like tunes, chiefly of the author's own invention, except for a music-hall ditty he had heard May Irwin sing a number of years

before. The conception and working out of this overture is a tribute to Dunn's imagination and inventiveness, and its performances have helped to raise the public esteem of a composer who was too well known for his trivial songs and lyric ballads—things like *The Bitterness of Love.* But then, artists, like plumbers, must eat.

Dunn was born in New York City in 1884. He had his bachelor's degree from the City College and then went to Columbia to study music with MacDowell, and later with Rybner. He has been an organist in Catholic Churches for many years, first in New York, then at St. Patrick's in Jersey City, and more recently at St. Henry's in Bayonne. Aside from his published works he has in manuscript two string quartets; a piano quintet; a violin sonata; an opera, *The Galleon;* a symphony, and a symphonic poem; and a passacaglia and fugue for orchestra, *The Barber's Sixth Brother,* based on the tales of the Arabian Nights.[1]

W. FRANKE HARLING has won high praise from the critics for his operas and bursts of enthusiasm from his audiences. When *A Light from St. Agnes* was produced by the Chicago Civic Opera Company in 1925, the prima donna, Rosa Raisa, started things by kissing the composer before the curtain. That looked good to the audience, and the shy Mr. Harling had troubles in the lobby which have become history in the musical and osculatory annals of the country. And yet in spite of its ovation, the opera had only one performance. One of the singers, Forrest Lamont, was taken ill, and no one was chosen to sing in his place for future performances. But in spite of that, Harling was awarded the David Bispham Memorial Medal of the American Opera Society of Chicago.

The score was a setting of a lyric tragedy by Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske, the actress. The locale was a village near New Orleans. The composer made of it a jazz opera, modernizing his orchestra with saxophones, banjo, xylo-

[1] Dunn died in 1936.

phone. All this was intended not as an effect in itself, but to gain realism.

He tried jazz effects again in *Deep River,* disqualified by purists as a grand opera because the action is carried by spoken conversation. New Orleans was again the scene, the time 1830. Voodoo meetings, quadroon balls lent color to the melodrama. The work was performed by a special company of singers and actors—first for a run in Philadelphia and then in New York in the Autumn of 1926.

Harling was born in England, in 1887, but was brought to America before he was a year old. He was educated first in Boston, and then went to London and Brussels for music study. He has been active as a church organist and as a conductor. He has written some incidental music for plays, a number of songs, and works for chorus. *The Miracle of Time* is a symphonic ballad for chorus and orchestra. It was the prize composition at the Newark (New Jersey) Festival in 1916.

EDWARD BALLANTINE is one of those composers who has written in the terms of post-romanticists, but who has been checked in his efforts by the bewildering growth of ultra-modernism. He has stopped to wonder whether he is old-fashioned or the advanced brethren crazy. He feels symptoms of overcoming the self-imposed barrier, and it will be interesting to see in what direction he turns. He has already shown his wit in the variations for piano on *Mary Had a Little Lamb,* in the style of ten composers. He has published a number of songs and piano pieces, and his orchestral pieces have been played by the Boston Symphony, and in Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Cincinnati and New York. *Prelude to the Delectable Forest* was introduced in 1914; *The Eve of St. Agnes* in 1917; and the suite, *From the Garden of Hellas* in 1923.

He has been on the staff of the music faculty at Harvard since 1912, an assistant professor from 1927. He was

born in Ohio in 1886, educated in Springfield, Massachusetts; at Harvard (where he took highest honors in music); and in Berlin with Schnabel, Ganz, and Rüfer.

PHILIP GREELEY CLAPP grew up in what professional biographers would call a musical atmosphere. His father was an amateur musician who sang in choruses and played in orchestras; his mother a singer and pianist. From boyhood he made little tunes of his own. He was born in Boston in 1888, put under the best music teachers in town and then sent to Harvard. Aside from music, he gained three academic degrees from Harvard—A.B. in 1908, A.M. in 1909, and Ph.D. in 1911. He was awarded the Frederick Sheldon fellowship, and went abroad to study composition with Max von Schillings.

He has held many positions. Director of music at Dartmouth College, band leader in the American Expeditionary Forces, and since 1919 professor and director of music at the State University of Iowa. During leaves of absence he has been director of extension for the Juilliard Foundation; guest conductor of the American Orchestral Society in New York, and at concerts of the Cincinnati Orchestra in Birmingham, Alabama, and Knoxville, Tennessee.

Clapp has published only one piece of music, an anthem; but his works have had important performances. He has written six symphonies; four symphonic poems; a piano concerto; a symphonic work for the Saxe-Alloo seven-valve independent trombone; a string quartet; a piano sonata; and several choral works. His earliest symphonic poem, *Norge,* was first performed by the Pierian Sodality of Harvard, in 1908, then by the Boston Symphony in 1909; later by the St. Louis, Chicago, and Minneapolis orchestras. His first two symphonies were performed in 1914 and 1917, by the Boston Symphony with the composer conducting. An orchestral prelude, *In Summer,* has been played in St. Louis, Minneapolis, and Chicago.

CLARENCE LOOMIS, born in 1889, is a native of South Dakota. He was musically educated in Chicago, and in Vienna. He has written a piano concerto, and three operas. One of these, *Yolanda of Cyprus,* was produced in Chicago and New York, and on tour, by the American Opera Company in the season of 1929-30. In this work Loomis makes an obvious attempt to subordinate the music to the text. The voices have little to do musically, and whatever musical delineation there is is given to the orchestra. An interesting experiment; and the future will decide whether this is to be the proper balance for modern opera. In *Yolanda* the music is too obviously derived; from *Pelléas,* and some of it from Wagner, Puccini, and Moussorgsky. As Lawrence Gilman wrote of the New York performances in the *Tribune,* "There was much applause. . . . Almost everyone concerned received his due—except Debussy."

MABEL WOOD HILL was known principally as a song-writer until she became interested in the larger forms. She is a native of Brooklyn, New York, and did most of her studying under Walter Rothwell. Her first score for orchestra was an introduction to Lady Gregory's play, *Grania.* Then she wrote a tone-poem after Yeats' play, *The Land of Heart's Desire,* and a suite, *The Wind in the Willows.* She has scored several Bach works for string orchestra; two preludes and fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavichord,* and the Chorale Prelude, *An Wasserflussen Babylon,* for strings and small wood-wind.

And now our account of contemporary composers, known for their larger works, must become little more than a list, for there are many more who must be accounted for. We take them chronologically from the date of their birth.

SAMUEL BRENTON WHITNEY

Born, Vermont, 1842; died, Vermont, 1914.
Pupil of John K. Paine.
Composed church music, and chamber music.

CLARA KATHLEEN ROGERS

Born, England, 1844; came to U. S., '71; died 1931.

Operatic soprano and composer of a violin sonata, songs and piano pieces.

WILLIAM J. McCOY

Born, Ohio, 1848; died, 1926.

Chamber music, music for plays of the San Francisco Bohemian Club, an opera, a violin concerto, orchestral pieces and chamber music.

WILLIAM HENRY POMMER

Born, 1851.

Director of music at University of Missouri from 1907.

Sonata for violin and piano, quintet for strings.

MAX WILHELM KARL VOGRICH

Born, Austria, 1852; in America from 1878; died, New York, 1916.

Three operas produced abroad; two symphonies; a violin concerto; cantatas and choruses; church music; songs and instrumental pieces.

ALFRED DUDLEY TURNER

Born, Vermont, 1854; died there 1888.

Sonata for 'cello and piano, other chamber music, and piano pieces.

HUMPHREY JOHN STEWART

Born, London, 1856; came to U. S. in '86; died 1932.

Prominent organist on Pacific Coast.

Grand opera; two comic operas; music for three plays of San Francisco Bohemian Club; two orchestral suites—*Montezuma* and *Scenes in California;* choral works; church music; songs and instrumental pieces.

JOHANN HEINRICH BECK

Born, Cleveland, 1856; died 1924.

Orchestral conductor and composer.

Overtures and pieces for orchestra; sextet for strings; string quartet.

BENJAMIN CUTTER

Born, Woburn, Mass., 1857; died, Boston, 1910.

Chamber music, cantatas and church music.

HENRY SCHOENFELD

Born, Milwaukee, 1857.

An Indian opera; two symphonies; two overtures; two *American Rhapsodies* for orchestra; concertos for piano, violin, and 'cello; sonata for violin and piano; piano pieces, songs, choruses.

BRUNO OSCAR KLEIN

Born, Germany, 1858; came to America in 1878; died, New York, 1911.

An overture; incidental pieces for orchestra; sonata for violin and piano; quintet for soprano, violin, 'cello, horn and piano; church music; piano pieces; three volumes of songs, with eighty published separately.

ABRAHAM WOLF LILIENTHAL

Born, New York, 1859.

Violin sonata; trio; two quartets; a quintet; a sextet; songs; sonata for 'cello and piano.

CARL VENTH

Born, Germany, 1860; in America from 1880.

Two operas; several orchestral works; chamber music; choruses and songs.

HERMAN SPIELTER

Born, Germany, 1860; in U. S. from 1880; died 1925.

Cantatas and choruses; sonata for 'cello and piano.

EDMUND SEVERN

Born, England, 1862; brought to America 1866.

Violinist, conductor and composer.

Festival Overture; orchestral tone-poems—*Lancelot and Elaine, Héloïse and Abélard;* suite for orchestra, *From Old New England;* concerto for violin; three string quartets; a trio; sonata for violin and piano; many violin pieces.

ELEANOR EVEREST FREER

Born, Philadelphia, 1864.

Ardent supporter of American composers; founder of the American Opera Society of Chicago.

Ten operas; many songs and piano pieces.

EDWARD BENJAMIN SCHEVE

Born, Germany, 1865; came to America in 1888; died, 1924.

One symphony; piano concerto; violin concerto; violin sonata; organ sonata; oratorios and choral works; songs, anthems and piano pieces.

MAX BENDIX

Born, Detroit, 1866.

Violinist and composer, concert master and assistant conductor for Theodore Thomas.

Violin concerto; theme and variations for 'cello and orchestra; music for the play *Experience;* songs.

LOUIS KOEMMENICH

Born, Germany, 1866; came to U. S. in '90; died 1922.

Choral conductor and composer of choruses and songs.

WILLIAM EDWIN HAESCHE

Born, Connecticut, 1867; died, Virginia, 1929.

Symphony; sinfonietta: tone-poem, *In the South;* two overtures; *Forest-Idylle* for orchestra; chamber music; songs and choruses; violin pieces.

GUSTAV STRUBE

Born, Germany, 1867; came to America in 1890.

Founder and conductor of Baltimore Symphony Orchestra.

Three symphonies; four symphonic poems; three overtures; two rhapsodies and four preludes for orchestra; two violin concertos; symphonic music for chamber orchestra; quintet for wood-wind and horn; trio; string quartet; sonatas for 'cello, for viola, and for violin; an opera, *The Captive;* smaller pieces for violin.

ADOLF WEIDIG

Born, Germany, 1867; came to U. S., '92; died 1931.

Symphony; symphonic suite; tone-poem, *Semiramis;* three overtures; suite for string orchestra; three string quartets; a string-quintet; a trio; and several suites for violin and piano; songs and choruses.

PAUL FRIEDRICH THEODORE MIERSCH

Born, Germany, 1868; came to America in 1892.

'Cello concerto; violin concerto; *Indian Rhapsody* for orchestra; string quartet; variations for string quartet; songs and pieces for violin and for 'cello.

HARRY NEWTON REDMAN

Born, Illinois, 1869.

Two sonatas for violin and piano; two string quartets; songs and piano pieces.

ARNOLD VOLPE

Born, Russia, 1869; came to America in 1898.

Composer and conductor; founder of the Lewisohn Stadium Concerts in New York.

String quartet; songs, violin pieces; mazurka for violin and orchestra.

JOSEPH CARL BREIL

Born, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1870; died, Los Angeles, 1926.

Several operas; *The Legend* produced at Metropolitan, New York, 1919.

WASSILI LEPS

Born, Russia, 1870; came to America, 1894.

Several operas; *Hoshi-San* produced in Philadelphia 1909.

ADOLF GERHARD BRUNE

Born, Germany, 1870; came to U. S., '89; died 1935.

Three symphonies; two symphonic poems; four overtures; two piano concertos; five string quartets; two string quintets; one piano quartet; one trio; cantatas, organ works, and miscellaneous pieces.

ERNEST HUTCHESON

Born, Australia, 1871; came to America, 1900.

Prominent concert pianist and teacher.

Symphonic poem; orchestral suite; piano concerto; violin concerto; concerto for two pianos; piano pieces.

BERTRAM SHAPLEIGH

Born, Boston, 1871.

Specialist in Oriental music.

Orchestral suites, *Ramayana* and *Gur Amir;* tone poem, *Mirage,* for chorus and orchestra; *The Raven* (Poe), for chorus and orchestra; other choral works; two symphonies; symphonic prelude; poem for 'cello and orchestra; string quartet; piano trio; five one-act operas; two grand operas; church music; over one hundred songs, many using Oriental themes.

FRANK EDWIN WARD

Born, Pennsylvania, 1872.

Symphony; *Ocean Rhapsody;* a scherzo, *Peter Pan,* for orchestra; two string quartets (one awarded National Federation Music Clubs prize 1917); trio; two sonatas for violin and piano; two organ sonatas; cantatas, anthems, songs, and instrumental pieces.

WALTER HENRY ROTHWELL

Born, England, 1872; came to America, 1904; died, 1927.

Orchestral conductor and composer.

Piano concerto; two piano sonatas; incidental music for plays; songs.

FREDERICK STOCK (Friedrich Wilhelm August)

Born, Germany, 1872; came to America, 1895.

Since 1905 conductor Chicago Symphony Orchestra (successor to Theodore Thomas).

Two symphonies; symphonic variations; symphonic poem, *Life* (in memory of Theodore Thomas); three overtures; violin concerto (played by Zimbalist at 1915 Norfolk Festival); string quartet; quintet for strings; sextet for strings; songs and instrumental pieces and many orchestral arrangements.

JOHN ADAM HUGO

Born, Connecticut, 1873.

Three operas—*The Temple Dancer* produced Metropolitan, New York, 1919, Chicago, 1922; symphony; piano concerto; piano trio; many songs and instrumental pieces.

CLIFFORD DEMAREST

Born, New Jersey, 1874.

Anthems, songs, and part-songs; fantasie for piano and organ; organ pieces.

HENRY LAWRENCE FREEMAN

Born, Cleveland, 1875.

Negro composer.

Six operas; symphonic poem.

THEODORE STEARNS

Born, Ohio, 1881; died 1935.

Several operas, *The Snowbird* produced at the Chicago Opera, 1923.

WILLIAM CLIFFORD HEILMAN

Born, Pennsylvania, 1877.

Orchestral tone-poem, *By the Porta Catania;* suite for orchestra; trio; suite of dances for 'cello and piano; suite for flute and piano; songs and piano pieces.

FRANZ CARL BORNSCHEIN

Born, Baltimore, 1879.

Violin concerto; string quartet; quintet; sextet for flute and strings; *Three Persian Poems* for orchestra; symphonic scherzo, *The Sea God's Daughter;* orchestral suite, *The Phantom Canoe;* symphonic

ballad, *Louisiana;* two symphonic poems, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and *A Hero's Espousal;* many prize-winning choral works; songs and instrumental pieces.

HENIOT LEVY

Born, Poland, 1879; came to America in 1905.

Chamber music; pieces for piano and for violin.

CHRISTIAAN KRIENS

Born of Dutch parents in Germany, 1881; came to America in 1906; died 1934.

Conductor and composer.

Two symphonies; two orchestral suites, *In Holland* and *In Brittany;* symphonic poem; string quartet; two sonatas for violin and piano; songs and instrumental pieces.

RALPH LYFORD

Born, Massachusetts, 1882; died, Ohio, 1927.

Concerto for piano and orchestra (first prize from National Federation of Music Clubs, 1917); opera *Castle Agrazant* produced 1926, Cincinnati (awarded David Bispham Memorial Medal).

PAUL HASTINGS ALLEN

Born, Massachusetts, 1882.

Pilgrim symphony (Paderewski prize 1908); opera, *The Last of the Mohicans* (produced abroad); suite for strings; trio.

EDWIN GRASSE

Born, New York, 1884.

Blind violinist and composer.

Symphony; orchestral suite; violin concerto; string quartet; sonata for violin and organ; two trios; two sonatas for violin and piano (one published); miscellaneous pieces.

GEORGE FREDERICK BOYLE

Born, Australia, 1886; came to America, 1910.

Symphonic fantasie for orchestra; *Slumber Song* and

Aubade for orchestra; concerto for piano and orchestra; concerto for 'cello and orchestra; sonata for piano; *The Pied Piper of Hamelin,* cantata; songs and pieces.

CESARE SODERO

Born, Italy, 1886; came to America, 1906.

Conductor of various opera companies; since 1924 conductor of operas for National Broadcasting Company.

Two grand operas—*Ombre russe* (*Russian Shadows*) given first over the radio, then at Malibran Theatre, Florence, Italy; three symphonic poems; two orchestral suites; two intermezzos for orchestra; *Prelude Appassionata* for violin and orchestra; string quartet.

FRANCESCO BARTHOLOMEO DE LEONE

Born, Ohio, 1887.

Opera *Alglala* produced Akron and Cleveland, Ohio, 1924 (awarded David Bispham Memorial Medal, and Medal of the National Federation of Music Clubs); operettas; cantatas; songs; piano pieces.

VICTOR KOLAR

Born, Budapest, 1888; came to America, 1904.

Symphonic suite, *Americana;* two symphonic poems, *Hiawatha* and *A Fairy Tale;* one symphony; *Lyric Suite* for orchestra; string quartet.

ALBERT SPALDING

Born, Chicago, 1888.

Noted violinist.

Two violin concertos; sonata for violin and piano; theme and variations for orchestra; suite for violin and piano; shorter pieces.

EFREM ZIMBALIST

Born, Russia, 1889; in America since 1911.

Noted violinist.

Sonata for violin and piano; *Slavonic Dances* for

violin and orchestra; Suite *In Old Style* for violin and piano.

CHALMERS CLIFTON

Born, Mississippi, 1889.

Conductor and composer.

Adagio for orchestra; *The Poppy* for baritone and orchestra; two piano sonatas; two pieces for clarinet and piano.

ALOIS REISER

Born, Prague, 1884; came to America in 1905.

Tone-poems, *Triton* and *Summer Evening; Slavic Rhapsody* for orchestra; two 'cello concertos; two trios; two string quartets; an opera, *Gobi.*

There is much discussion as to whether ERNEST BLOCH should be considered an American composer. Born in Switzerland in 1880, he did not come to America until he was thirty-six. Though he has lived here ever since, become a naturalized citizen, and sought to interpret our nation in his epic rhapsody, *America,* so much of his important music was written before he came here that our claim to him as an American composer is open to question. His case is not that of Loeffler, who has done most of his composing in this country. Yet Bloch did not make a reputation abroad; he achieved no signal recognition there. It was America that first acknowledged his genius, and an American publisher, Schirmer, who first published his orchestral works. Moreover, he is a musician whose gifts rank him with the outstanding contemporary composers of the entire world; and he has made America his home. If for no other motive than hospitality, we may place him here at the end of this chapter, separate from our other composers, and the reader may choose whether or not he will call him an American.

Bloch is a master of his medium, he can handle his instruments with skill, he can make his orchestra do his bidding.

But one rarely thinks of the means he has used to achieve his effects; it is the music itself, the sum total of effect that carries its message, and causes the listener to feel the primal urge that inspired it. Bloch is akin to Moussorgsky in this respect; his music-drama, *Macbeth,* is like *Boris* in the power of its delineation of character. At one stage of his career Bloch was the Hebrew prophet in his music. Not the modern Jew, the intellectual, but rather one of the sons of ancient Judea, moved by what he himself has termed "the vigor and ingenuousness of the Patriarchs, the violence that finds expression in the books of the prophets, the burning love of justice, the desperation of the preachers of Jerusalem, the sorrow and grandeur of the book of Job, the sensuality of the Song of Songs."

This Jewish spirit was not apparent in his earliest works —the symphony; the music-drama *Macbeth;* or the two symphonic poems, *Hiver* and *Printemps.* And it has somehow been tempered in his later music, written in this country. Bloch the Hebrew is met in the *Trois Pòemes Juifs;* the three psalms for single voice and orchestra; in *Schelomo* (Solomon), a rhapsody for 'cello and orchestra; and in the symphony, *Israel.* For when Bloch emerged from his first period, he became possessed of the gift to express himself faithfully and vividly. He has been profoundly moved by his own sufferings and exaltations; he has been given the power to put them into his music. Imbued with the Hebrew tradition, he awoke to find himself able to express it, and he is perhaps the only really Jewish musician in the history of music.

He was born in Geneva in 1880. None of his family was musical. He started to study the violin, and at the age of eleven solemnly vowed that he would devote his life to composing music. He studied in Brussels, Frankfort, Munich, and Paris, and finally returned to Geneva when he was twenty-four. He had little encouragement from orchestra leaders or others who could play his music. His

father's business declined, and Bloch spent some time travelling in Germany taking orders for the cuckoo-clocks his father made. Then in 1910 his opera *Macbeth* was produced in Paris, at the Opéra Comique. Publicly it was a success, but the critics did not like it, and politics commanded that it be dropped.

He conducted some concerts at Lausanne and Neufchâtel, he was professor of composition and æsthetics at the Conservatory of Geneva, until he was once more the victim of intrigue. Then he went back to his composing, and finally landed in America in 1916, unheralded and unknown, as conductor of an orchestra that played for Maud Allan, the dancer. When the tour closed in Ohio he came to New York penniless, without backing or friends. In 1919 his suite for viola and piano won the Coolidge prize at the Berkshire Festival. He was becoming recognized for the greatness of his work. He taught for two years at the David Mannes School in New York. He was appointed organizer and director of the Cleveland Institute of Music, in 1920. Talented pupils flocked to him, and he stayed there four years. In 1925 he went to California, to head the new San Francisco Conservatory. Then in 1930 a wealthy music patron asked him to give all his time to composing, and arranged for an income for ten years, so that the business of making a living would not interfere with his creative work. In 1930 he was one of the four prize winners in the Victor Company's symphonic contest.

Since the intensely Jewish period Bloch has come into a new era. He has achieved a universality of speech that goes beyond racial limits. In his string quartet, the suite for viola and piano (since scored for viola and orchestra), in the violin sonata, the Hebrew spirit is only one of the elements that have gone into the mixture. As Paul Rosenfeld has said, he combines the East and the West, the Orient and the traditions of European music. In the *Concerto Grosso* he bases his modernisms on the classics. And in

America he tries to paint the ideals of our country, "the future credo of all mankind," "the common purpose of widely diversified races ultimately to become one race, strong and great." Whether or not Bloch has achieved an American speech in his score (and that is doubtful), it is his own declaration of allegiance, and his understanding of what America means to civilization.

America ends with an anthem, to be sung by a chorus and the audience, with the orchestra. The whole symphony is built upon its theme. From the first bars it appears, in root, dimly, slowly taking shape, "rising, falling, developing, and finally asserting itself" in the last bars of the final movement. There are three parts. First, *1620. The Soil —The Indians—(England)—The Mayflower—The Landing of the Pilgrims.* Indian themes, the trumpet "Call of America," *Old Hundred,* a sea chanty, all combine to tell of the country before and after the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth. The second movement is *1861-1865—Hours of Joy—Hours of Sorrow.* The drama of the North and South; happiness, war, distress and agony. Negro songs; a bit from Stephen Foster; *Pop Goes the Weasel;* then War songs—*John Brown's Body, The Battle Cry of Freedom, Tramp, Tramp, Tramp.* Intensity paints the strife, yet the America call is heard above the din, and even though it shows a "bleeding America," it is still there. The finale is *1926—The Present—The Future.* Speed, noise, jazz, the pomp of material prosperity. An inevitable collapse, and a gradual rebuilding that comes at last to the anthem—the promise that our ideals will save us.

The score won the *Musical America* $3,000 prize in the 1927-8 season, and shortly afterward was played simultaneously by several of our leading orchestras. The *intelligentsia* have lost some of their interest in Bloch since *America* was published, for he has made a straightforward declaration of idealism that has nothing of cynicism, nothing cryptic; a credo that can be taught with safety to school-

children. His modernism has been used for respectable purposes. In *America* he has probably not succeeded in giving us a national anthem, for the thrill of the choral ending is dependent on the sumptuous orchestration. But the work as a whole is truly thrilling, inspiring music; only the blasé can remain unmoved.

It may be argued that we have no more claim to Bloch's *America* than we have to Dvořák's *New World.* But this is hardly logical, for Dvořák never sought to become an American himself, and Bloch has established himself here, to all intents permanently. The music he has written in this country is the work of a man who wants to be an American.

The Americanism of PERCY ALDRIDGE GRAINGER, as a composer, presents an even more difficult problem than that of Ernest Bloch. When Grainger came to America in 1915, he came as a noted pianist, who had been acclaimed in England and on the Continent. He had been chosen by Grieg to play his piano concerto, when the composer was to conduct the work at the Leeds Festival in 1907; and he had spent the previous Summer with Grieg, just before the Norwegian's death, studying and revising the concerto.

Yet it was not until 1912, three years before he came here, that Grainger appeared before the public as a composer. (The occasion was one of the Balfour Gardiner Concerts at Queen's Hall, London, and he offered his *Mock Morris,* and some of his folk-settings.) Practically all of his important works have been written since he has been in America. He has really made his reputation as a composer since he has been with us.

And it is true that Grainger has become an American; not only a citizen; but in his associations, his sympathies and his understanding. His music is also American; in its idealism, and in the verve with which it translates the Anglo-Saxon, old-English traits of our heritage. He is altogether an individualist; as a pianist and as a composer. Modern

in feeling, with a bit of seasoning in his harmonies, he nevertheless clothes everything he writes with a sumptuous sonority that is warm and rich. He is individual as a contrapuntist, too. Never academic, he nevertheless weaves his instrumental or human voices so that they have a continuous polyphonic overlapping that keeps things constantly moving.

He was born in Australia in 1882. He studied first with his mother, then with Louis Pabst at Melbourne. Later he worked with Kwast and Busoni in Germany, and in 1900 went to London, where he soon became one of the most popular pianists before the English public. He made his American début in New York in 1915, and soon after played the Grieg concerto with the New York Philharmonic. It is generally conceded that he is the most authentic living interpreter of this work. In 1917, when America had entered the World War, Grainger enlisted as a bandsman in the Army, first playing oboe and saxophone. A year later he was an instructor at the Army Music-School. Soon afterwards he became a naturalized citizen.

He is best known as a composer by his charming setting for piano of the *Irish Tune from County Derry* (known in settings by other composers as the *Londonderry Air*), the sparkling *Shepherd's Hey, Mock Morris,* and others. But he has done more important things than these. Settings of folk-songs and original works for chorus. Orchestral works, the latest of them *To a Nordic Princess,* a bridal song for orchestra, written to commemorate his own marriage to a Norwegian, in California. Grainger is one of the most important contemporary composers. The reader may choose whether or not he will call him American. He has many claims to the honor.

2. EXPATRIATES

If we are to consider foreigners who settle here as American composers, the rule should probably work both ways,

and we would eliminate those native Americans who have established long residence abroad. There have been only a few of them; the balance of trade in composers has been overwhelming in favor of importation. Our musicians have gone to Europe for study, and to visit, but in all except a few cases they have come home for their careers.

GEORGE TEMPLETON STRONG (1856-) was one of the first who decided to live permanently in Europe. When MacDowell came home he tried to persuade Strong to live here too, but after trying Boston for a year (1891-2) as a teacher at the New England Conservatory, Strong was so discouraged by the failure of American composers to find recognition in their own country that he went back to Europe for good.

He was born in New York, of musical parents. His father was president of the New York Philharmonic for four years, and an amateur organist. He went to Leipsic in 1879, and studied with Jadassohn. He became a Liszt disciple, and often visited the great musician at Weimar. Then he went to Wiesbaden, where he saw much of the young MacDowell, and finally settled in Vevey, Switzerland.

He has written three symphonies, each with titles: *In the Mountains, Sintram,* and *An der See.* He composed two *American Sketches* for violin and orchestra, and a symphonic poem, *Undine.* The suite for orchestra, *Die Nacht,* is in four movements: *At Sunset; Peasants' Battle March;* the shadowy, atmospheric, *In Deep Woods;* and the spooky *Awakening of the Forest-Spirits.* Most important are his two works for soli, male chorus and orchestra: *Wie ein fahrender Hornist sich ein Land erblies,* and *Die verlassene Mühle.* More recent orchestral works are the symphonic poem, *Le Roi Arthur,* a sombre, gloomy, tragic piece of rich and heavy texture, and the *Elegie* for 'cello and orchestra.

He composed much piano music, running from the style

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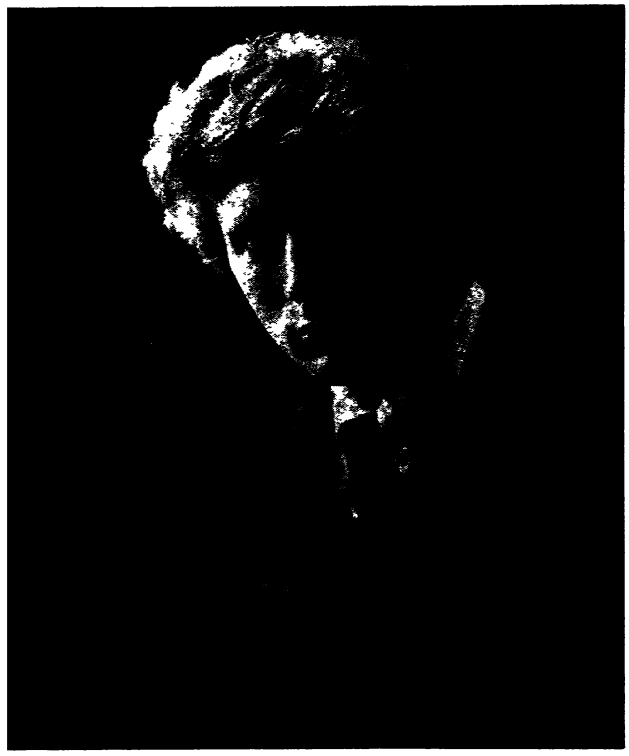
A Page from the Manuscript Orchestra Score of Deems Taylor's *The King's Henchman* (Act III).

(See page 489.)

Ernest Bloch.
(See page 514.)



Percy Grainger.
(See page 518.)

of Debussy and Ravel to the out-door spirit of his artistic return to America, in the suite *Au pays des Peaux-Rouges,* with its *Le Cow-boy humoriste* and *Chant de guerre.* His songs are effective, a number of them written to cynical texts of his own.

ARTHUR BIRD (1856-1923) was born in Cambridge and died in Berlin. His last visit to America was in 1886, and after that he lived in Germany for the rest of his life. He studied composition with Urban and spent a year with Liszt at Weimar. He wrote a symphony which he called *Karnevalszene;* three suites for orchestra; two *Decimettes* for wind instruments, which won the Paderewski prize in 1901; some ballet music and a comic opera; and numerous piano pieces and songs.

BLAIR FAIRCHILD, born in Massachusetts in 1877, started his foreign career as an attaché in the diplomatic service, first at Constantinople and then at Teheran. In 1903 he settled in Paris, and has since lived there first as a music student, and later as a prolific composer. He had his first musical education from Paine and Spalding at Harvard. He studied in Florence, and with Widor in Paris.[1]

He has a long list of works, many of them distinguished. In his style, he has cultivated an individuality based on an evolutionary development of the influences of Debussy, Ravel, and finally the early Stravinsky. For orchestra he has written two symphonic poems in Oriental vein, both based on Persian legends: *Zàl* and *Sháh Feridoun.* His sketch for orchestra, *Tamineh,* is from another Persian legend. He has composed much chamber music, most of it published abroad; two novelettes for string quartet; two sonatas for violin and piano; a quartet for strings; a trio; a rhapsody for piano and string quartet; a quintet for piano and strings; a chamber concerto for violin, piano and strings; and a trio. There are many songs and a few choruses.

LOUIS CAMPBELL-TIPTON (1877-1921) lived in Paris

[1] Fairchild died in 1933.

from 1901. Before he died he wrote that the prospect of getting a production for American works was not as hopeless as it had been, but that he had never been fond enough of work to be ready to sacrifice time and energy for the completion of a large work, when he saw no hope of its ever being made known. Nevertheless he had in manuscript two operas and a number of orchestral works.

His best works were his *Sonata Heroic* for piano and his songs. His style was principally of the German romantic stamp. He was born in Chicago, and before he went to Paris he had been a theory teacher at the Chicago Musical College.

TIMOTHY MATHER SPELMAN was born in Brooklyn in 1891, educated at Harvard, lived for a while in New York, and then established his home in Italy. As a composer he is something of a modernist; his dissonance is biting, his harmonies acid. Yet all he does is based on logic and orderly sequence.

Before he went abroad he had two works produced in his native Brooklyn—a setting of Turgeniev's prose poem, *How Fair, How Fresh Were the Roses;* and a four-act pantomime, *Snowdrop.* His prelude for string orchestra, *In the Princess' Garden,* was performed in Cambridge and Boston, and a wordless fantasy in one act, *The Romance of the Rose,* was given in Boston, and later in St. Paul, Minnesota. He has written two grand operas: *La Magnifica,* to a libretto by his wife, Leolyn Louise Everett, and one to his own libretto, *The Sunken City.* He has written many songs, all to poems by his wife; piano music; a *Poème,* for violin, viola, 'cello, flute and harp; and *Five Whimsical Sketches* for string quartet.

3. THE YOUNGER GROUP

It is from the younger group of composers that we must learn the direction our American music will take next. Or

maybe the directions, for there are many different ideas and varying degrees of modernism. No doubt all of our younger composers could be grouped in a modernist chapter, but the extremists go a bit further than their less venturesome colleagues; so it will be better to save a separate place for the radical wing, and let this chapter include those who are young in years and in vision, but who do not altogether cut the ties with tradition.

HOWARD HANSON is one of the most prominent of them, a young composer of talent who has been able to do much for his fellow composers as director of the Eastman School of Music at Rochester, New York. The school sponsors regular series of American Composers' Concerts, where composers from all over the country may hear their manuscript and published works rehearsed and played in public by a competent orchestra. It provides a composers' laboratory.

In his nationalism, Hanson is something of the militant chauvinist. He believes that every race must write its own music, and that ours must come out of the life of America. Although he has little prejudice regarding the particular idiom in which our future music shall be couched, he thinks that jazz will have its influence; in fact has already had it. Then diverse sources will have their effect, from the cowboy songs of the West, to the Negro spirituals. To his mind American music has already attained nationalistic traits; he feels a spiritual individuality, a definite personality, in the work of many of our young composers.

Hanson was born in Wahoo, Nebraska, in 1896. He was educated at Luther College, Nebraska; Northwestern University in Illinois; at the Institute of Musical Art in New York; and for three years he lived in Europe as a fellow of the American Academy in Rome. When he was twenty he was appointed professor of theory at the College of the Pacific in California, and from 1919 to 1921 he was

dean of its conservatory. In 1924 he became director of the Eastman School.

His orchestral works have had many performances. The first symphony, *Nordic,* was first played by the Augusteo Orchestra in Rome, then by the Boston and a dozen other orchestras at home. *North and West* had its first performance by the New York Symphony Society under Damrosch. The symphonic poem, *Lux Aeterna,* has been played by American orchestras from New York to the coast, and by the London Symphony, the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam, and the Augusteo in Rome. *Pan and the Priest,* a tone-poem for orchestra, has been heard in New York, Chicago, Boston, London and Paris. His latest orchestral work is his second symphony, the *Romantic,* commissioned by Koussevitsky for the fiftieth anniversary of the Boston Symphony. There are four shorter orchestral pieces: *Before the Dawn; Exaltation;* a *Symphonic Rhapsody;* and a *Symphonic Legend.*

His chamber music includes two quintettes, and a string quartet that was commissioned by the Coolidge Commission of the Library of Congress. He has two major choral works: *Lament for Beowulf* and an *Heroic Elegy.* Recently the Metropolitan Opera House announced that it had accepted for performance his opera, *Merry Mount,* composed to a libretto by Richard L. Stokes, music editor of the New York *Evening World.*

Hanson's style is best classified by the much-used term, conservatively modern. He believes in the constant expansion of harmonic, melodic and rhythmic idioms, but his innovations have their roots firmly planted in the soil of the classics. He has proved an able conductor, too. He directs the American Orchestral Concerts at Rochester, and he has appeared as guest conductor with all of our leading orchestras.

LEO SOWERBY is another of the younger composers who is sometimes called a modern, but who certainly is not an

extreme radical. He calls himself a musical Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, for he has written church music and works derived from churchly inspiration; and then has toyed with "classical" jazz and written pieces for Paul Whiteman's noted band. He has the distinction of being the first composer to hold a fellowship in the American Academy at Rome. Most of his education was gained in Chicago, for he was born in Michigan in 1895, and has lived principally in Chicago. Since his years in Italy he has been organist at St. James (Episcopal) Cathedral, and teacher of composition at Chicago's American Conservatory of Music.

He has been prolific, and his works are marked by freshness and vigor. His setting of *The Irish Washerwoman* for piano is delightful in its whimsy and rollicking good spirits. His works had a number of major performances before he went to Rome in 1921. The orchestral suite, *A Set of Four,* was played by the Chicago Orchestra in 1918; the overture, *Comes Autumn Time,* in the same year by the New York Symphony. The *Serenade* for string quartet was written as a birthday gift for Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, and played first by the Berkshire Quartet in 1918. The next year his trio for flute, viola and piano was played at the Berkshire Festival, and in 1921 his suite for violin and piano. Carolyn Beebe, and her New York Chamber Music Society, played his quintet for wind instruments in 1920. He played his piano concerto in 1920, and his symphony was introduced in Chicago in 1922.

While he was abroad his ballad for two pianos and orchestra and his string quartet were introduced in Rome. When he came back to America he presented his sonata for violoncello and piano at the 1924 Berkshire Festival, and his cantata, *The Vision of Sir Launfal,* was sung in 1926. One of his most important works is the *Medieval Poem,* for organ and orchestra. It is dedicated to his fellow pupil in Rome, Howard Hanson, and is based on a hymn from the liturgy of St. James. His other major works are a suite

for orchestra, *From the Northland;* a second symphony; a symphonic poem, *From the Prairie;* a 'cello concerto; and a suite, *Florida.*

DOUGLAS MOORE is another young man who shows the promise of American music. An expert at program music, he has painted a series of scenes dear to the hearts of all Americans in his *Pageant of P. T. Barnum.* Here is music that comes from the dance halls, not of to-day, but of the era of the country fiddle and brass bands, when people were not afraid to be sentimental. To Moore's mind, we Americans come by our sentiment naturally, and this, together with our high spirits, is our greatest hope for the future. There are five episodes in the Barnum suite. First, *Boyhood at Bethel*—country fiddles, bands, early Connecticut hymnology, the sort of musical environment that probably influenced the youthful Barnum. Next comes *Joice Heth,* the 161-year-old Negress who was Barnum's first exhibit, supposedly the first person to put clothes on George Washington. Here we have a Negro spiritual, the less familiar version of *Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen.* The third movement shows *General and Mrs. Tom Thumb,* the midgets. First a flourish in the drums, the report of a cap pistol, and then the flutes and oboes in a military theme with syncopated rhythm. *Jenny Lind* is the fourth to appear. After the arpeggios on the harp, and a melody in the flute, the wood-winds give a suggestion of coloratura—mid-century sentiment that brings back memories. The finale tells of Barnum's greatest and most permanent triumph, his circus. *Circus Parade* brings animals, wagon wheels, calliope, and the great Barnum himself. The only thing missing is the peanuts.

Moore was born on Long Island, New York, in 1893. His father was publisher of one of the early women's magazines, *The Ladies' World.* Douglas had his musical training in Brooklyn, then at boarding school (Hotchkiss), and when he went to Yale he studied first with David Stanley

Smith and later with Horatio Parker. During the War he entered the Navy, then went to Paris for two years with d'Indy, and had further study with Ernest Bloch in Cleveland, and Nadia Boulanger in Paris. For four years he was director of music at the Art Museum in Cleveland; lecturing, giving organ recitals and arranging musical events at the museum. In 1926 he was awarded the Pulitzer Fellowship in music for a year's residence abroad. Afterwards he went to Columbia as an associate, and in 1928 was made Associate Professor there on the Joline Foundation.

His first work of importance was a set of *Four Museum Pieces,* originally written for organ, and later scored for orchestra. The first movement is *Fifteenth Century Armor,* a knightly joust of bygone days. The second, *A Madonna of Botticini,* where a suggestion of plain-chant paints the clear-eyed serenity of the Madonna. *The Chinese Lion and the Unhappy Flutist* shows a flutist who awakens a sleeping lion, and is forever silenced with an horrendous roar; an amiable scherzo indeed. The last piece is *A Statue by Rodin.* A theme emerges from chaos; it becomes clearer, and the stark figure of the man of the bronze age wakes to the consciousness of his superb strength and power.

The *Museum Pieces* had their first performance in Cleveland in 1923. The *Barnum* suite was first played by the Cleveland Orchestra (1924), and has since had a number of performances by other orchestras. In *Moby Dick,* a symphonic poem (1928), Moore goes further in the field of dissonance to depict his turbulent sea. He has also a violin sonata, which was presented by the League of Composers in New York in 1930. He did two scores for the American Laboratory Theatre, incidental music for *Twelfth Night* and for *Much Ado About Nothing.* Failure of the theatre prevented his completing the pantomime, *The Saga of Jesse James,* but some day he may make an opera from his sketches, or complete the score in its original form.

CARL MCKINLEY, born in Maine in 1895, is another of

the conservative modernists, who has no sympathy with the unlimited employment of meaningless dissonance, and who believes that the uses of melody are by no means exhausted. A young man who acknowledges the debt of present day composers to Wagner, and is frank to give due credit to the influences that may have shaped his own idiom. McKinley spent several years in Paris, as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. He is a Harvard graduate, and his high standing in the music courses won him the Naumberg Fellowship, which enabled him to study in New York for the Winter of 1917-18 under Rubin Goldmark, Gaston Dethier and Walter Henry Rothwell. For five years he was a church organist in Hartford, Connecticut, then for four years he played the organ in the Capitol Theatre in New York. When he returned from Paris in 1929 he was appointed to the faculty of the New England Conservatory in Boston.

He is best known for his *Masquerade,* an American Rhapsody for orchestra, introduced in 1930 by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Gabrilowitsch. (It had been played a month before by the New England Conservatory Orchestra.) The piece suggests the Mardi Gras of New Orleans, with waltz tunes of Spanish and French flavor. His first orchestral piece was the *Indian Summer Idyl,* played by the New York Philharmonic in 1919. He has written a number of works for organ that have been widely used. Probably the most popular of them is his charming *Cantilena.* He has published a number of works for chorus, for piano, and several songs.

ALBERT STOESSEL is known principally as a conductor and teacher, but he is also an accomplished composer. In 1923 he became head of the music department at New York University, but resigned in 1930 to give all of his teaching time to the Juilliard Graduate School. He succeeded Walter Damrosch as conductor of the Oratorio Society of New York. Since 1925 he has directed the Worcester

(Massachusetts) Festivals, and from 1926 the annual spring festival in Westchester County, New York. In the summers he is the musical director of the Chautauqua Institution.

He was born in St. Louis in 1894, and had his musical training from local teachers, and at the Royal High School of Music in Berlin. He made his début in Berlin as a violinist, playing three concertos with orchestra. When he came back to America, in 1915, he appeared as soloist with the St. Louis Orchestra, and toured the country with Caruso.

His works include a symphonic portrait, *Cyrano de Bergerac;* an *Hispania Suite* for orchestra (*Seguidilla, La Media Noche, In Old Castile, Jota*), and an orchestral *Suite in Ancient Style.* He has published a sonata for violin and piano, and numerous pieces and songs, as well as a number of choruses.

HAROLD MORRIS showed much promise with his piano sonata and several other works a few years ago. Recently he has not been actively heard from, and it is to be hoped that he will continue to write the kind of music he started with, for he has much talent. He was born in 1890 in San Antonio, Texas.

PHILIP JAMES is a conductor and composer who was born in 1890, in Jersey City. During the War he served for two years in the Infantry, and after the armistice he became commanding officer of the A.E.F. General Headquarters Band, commonly known as General Pershing's Band. He has been an organist in churches in New York and the suburbs, conductor for the productions of Winthrop Ames, and for Victor Herbert operettas, conductor of the New Jersey Orchestra, which he founded, and of the Brooklyn Orchestral Society. He is a special lecturer on music and instructor of conducting at New York University.

For orchestra he has written two overtures: *Bret Harte,* and an *Overture in the Olden Style on French Noëls;* a *Sea Symphony* and a tone-poem, *Judith.* For chamber or-

chestra a *Kammersymphonie* and a suite. He has a string quartet. He has composed a number of works for chorus, most of them published; thirty part songs and anthems; several works for organ; and some twenty secular and sacred songs.

SAMUEL GARDNER, the violinist-composer, was born in Russia (1892), but his parents came to America when he was six. He studied with Franz Kneisel and Percy Goetschius, and then started his career as a concert violinist. He is one of the composers who feels that music is personal, rather than national. He has written a violin concerto; a string quartet which won the Pulitzer prize in 1918; a prelude and fugue for string quartet; an *Hebraic Fantasie* for clarinet and string quartet; a symphonic poem, *New Russia,* awarded the Loeb prize in 1918; variations for string quartet; and a piano quintet, originally planned as a symphony, which was introduced at the 1925 Berkshire Festival.

His *Broadway,* for orchestra, was first played by the Boston Symphony in the 1929-30 season. When he was asked to describe his piece for the program notes he stated that his music was not built on any program, but came out of his emotions. Emotions are purely personal affairs and are not good to discuss publicly. Then again, he remarked, a piece can mean a different thing to each individual. Let the music speak for itself.

Another prize winner is C. HUGO GRIMM, awarded $1,000 by the National Federation of Music Clubs in 1927 for his *Erotic Poem,* and another of similar size for a choral work, *The Song of Songs,* by the MacDowell Club of New York in 1930. He was born in Ohio in 1890, educated in Cincinnati, and living there to-day as an organist, teacher, and composer. He had his music training from his father, and from Van der Stucken, but in orchestration he is largely self-taught. The *Erotic Poem* is one of the three symphonic poems he has composed. It was played by the

Chicago Symphony in 1927, and by the Cincinnati Orchestra in 1928. His choral works include *The Song of Songs,* for soli, chorus and orchestra; *The Feast of the Kol Folk,* a cantata after Whittier, the music based on fourteen Hindu scales; a Christmas cantata, and one for Easter; a *Phrygian Rhapsody* for women's chorus; and two Sabbath Morning Services for the Synagogue. He has written some pieces for piano, and for organ, anthems and songs.

Grimm is sometimes modernistic, but not unlicensed. He generally has a definite melodic line, occasionally exotic through the influence of the underlying harmonic scheme. He has what might be termed a modern conception of modal harmony, a system of exotic cadence forms through which he obtains unity of color and effect. With his father, Carl W. Grimm, he did some research work in harmony. His father was the author of several treatises on the subject.

JAMES G. HELLER is also a resident of Cincinnati. To him music is an avocation, for he is Rabbi of the Plum Street Temple. He writes the program notes of the Cincinnati Orchestra and composes for his own pleasure. Although he has written several works he made no attempt to publish anything until the Society for the Publication of American Music selected his *Three Aquatints* for string quartet in 1929. He is one of the composers who tries to compromise between the old and the new, to use the discoveries of modern music that seem significant and beautiful, without sacrificing the orderliness and purposiveness of the older music. In the future he hopes to have more time for music, so that he may utilize some of the traditional Jewish material—a rich field. He was born in New Orleans in 1892. When he went to Cincinnati to study theology he learned orchestration from Edgar Stillman Kelley, and had some lessons with other Cincinnati music teachers.

Another Kelley pupil who has made a name for himself is JOSEPH WADDELL CLOKEY, born in Indiana in 1890. He is principally known for choral works, though he has written

an orchestral *Ballet Suite,* and a *Symphonic Piece* for piano and organ. As a composer he is skillful in using sharp contrasts, sudden changes of tonality, and cannily planned dissonance. He has written two operas, *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* and *The Nightingale* (Chinese). *The Emperor's Clothes* is an opera comique, and *In Grandmother's Garden* an operetta. He has recently made some effective choral transcriptions of early American songs—an anthem by William Billings, Foster songs, and two choice examples of gutter-balladry, *Cocaine Lil* and *Frankie and Johnnie.*

BERNARD ROGERS was awarded the Pulitzer Travelling Scholarship in 1918, and the Guggenheim Fellowship from 1927-29. For nine years he was on the staff of *Musical America,* and is now a teacher at the Eastman School in Rochester. He thinks that whatever national idiom we may develop in America can never be conscious. It must be based on the hope that is in us. If we develop deep and strong personalities, our music will be deep and strong; universal, as all fine art always is.

His first orchestral work was a tone-poem, *To the Fallen,* composed in memory of those who died in the Great War, and first played by the New York Philharmonic. *The Faithful* was written next, and then *Fuji in the Sunset Glow.* His *Soliloquy* is for flute and string quartet, and his *Pastorale* for eleven instruments. His symphony, *Adonais,* has been played by the Rochester Philharmonic, and at Chautauqua, New York. His string quartet was introduced at one of the concerts of the League of Composers in New York, and his *Prelude to Hamlet* by the Rochester Philharmonic. Rogers was born in New York in 1893. He studied in America with Ernest Bloch and Percy Goetschius, and abroad with Frank Bridge and Nadia Boulanger.

WERNER JOSTEN is a member of the music faculty at Smith College. He has composed a number of orchestral works, his latest a tone-poem, *The Jungle,* played by the Boston Symphony in the 1929-30 season. The score calls

for an orchestra of huge proportions. It is a noisy piece, but effective in painting wildness and dangers. The primitive effects are not altogether dependent on dissonance. Josten was born in Germany in 1888.

EDWIN J. STRINGHAM, born in 1890, is a native of Wisconsin who has spent many years in Colorado. Recently he came to New York to be associated with the music faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University, and to do some editing for publishers. At one time he was a bit radical in his style, but he has since tempered his idiom with less extreme methods. He is a firm believer in rhythmic counterpoint, with three or four rhythmic designs going on at the same time. He likes masses of orchestral color, so much that one wonders if he would not sometimes do better to use fewer instruments and get more contrast from them. He uses jazz idioms frequently, in a manner to admit thematic development. His principal works are three symphonic poems; a symphony; two orchestral suites; a *Set of Three Pastels;* a concert overture; and shorter pieces and songs. Most of his works have been performed; by the Chicago Symphony, the Manhattan in New York, and others.

ABRAM CHASINS is a keen young man who first came into favor when Josef Hofmann, Benno Moiseiwitsch, Josef Lhevinne, and a half dozen other famous pianists played his little Chinese pieces. Then he wrote twenty-four preludes for piano, and finally a piano concerto which he played with the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra in 1930. I have always felt that Chasins is something of a genius. Clever, yes; but it takes more than cleverness to produce the sparkling music that he has written.

He was born in New York in 1903. Musical from babyhood, he was put to work as a little boy with Mrs. Thomas Tapper, the friend of all true talent who first discovered Leo Ornstein. Then he came to the attention of Ernest Hutcheson. Josef Hofmann took him to Eu-

rope, and Rubin Goldmark gave him lessons in composition. To-day he is a concert pianist and a teacher at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia.

In his music he has a modern concept of tone relationships, but he pays homage to his musical idols: Bach, Brahms, Wagner, Chopin, and Rimsky-Korsakoff. He dislikes all that seems affected in modern music, and he is such a skillful workman himself that he has little patience with badly made music, where technique is missing.

LEOPOLD DAMROSCH MANNES has a distinguished musical ancestry. His mother is the daughter of Leopold Damrosch, herself a talented pianist. His father is David Mannes, the noted violinist and teacher. He was born in New York in 1899, studied with Goetschius and Rosario Scalero, and won several scholarships: one from the Walter Scott Foundation in 1924, which enabled him to study in Paris with Alfred Cortot; the Pulitzer prize for composition in 1925; and the Guggenheim Fellowship to study abroad in 1926. He is a teacher of composition at the David Mannes School and the Institute of Musical Art in New York.

His compositions include a set of variations for piano (1920); a suite for two pianos (1922), played by Bauer and Gabrilowitsch, and by Cortot and the composer; a suite for orchestra (1924); a string quartet (1927), played by the Flonzaley and Lenox Quartets; incidental music for Shakespeare's *Tempest;* and a number of songs and choral works.

RICHARD HAMMOND is the musical son of the noted mining engineer John Hays Hammond, and a brother of the inventor, John Hays Hammond, jr. He was born in England when his parents were living there (1896), educated at Yale University, and after service in the Navy during the War, had further musical training with Emerson Whithorne, Mortimer Wilson and Nadia Boulanger. His works include *Six Chinese Fairy Tales* for orchestra; *Voyage*

to the East, for voice and orchestra; a ballad, *Fiesta;* a sonata for oboe and piano; a group of a cappella choruses for women's voices; and numerous songs and piano pieces.

BERNARD WAGENAAR is a faculty member of the Master Institute of the Roerich Museum in New York. His *Sinfonietta* was performed in 1930 by the New York Philharmonic, and was chosen as the work to represent America at the 1930 festival of the International Society of Contemporary Music in Liege, Belgium. His sonata for violin and piano was published in 1928 by the Society for the Publication of American Music, and he has recently completed his second symphony. He was born in Holland in 1894.

ROBERT BRAINE has an interesting habit of taking the works he wrote a number of years ago and rewriting them in more modern idiom, thus producing a curious blend of melodic conservatism and modernism that is not without a degree of charm. He has tried jazz, but he has found its field too limited; as soon as he develops it, it ceases to be jazz. He was born in Ohio in 1896, and studied at the College of Music in Cincinnati. He has been an accompanist for singers, an organist, editor for a publishing house, and recently staff pianist for the National Broadcasting Company in New York.

His works include three operas: *The Eternal Light* (its ballet suite was played in a radio concert conducted by Walter Damrosch); *Virginia;* and *Diane.* He wrote a musical comedy, *Top Hole,* which was produced in New York in 1924 and then taken on tour. Damrosch has given two radio performances to the orchestral episode, *S.O.S.;* he also played the prelude to the third act of *Virginia.* Other orchestral works are an overture, and a suite, *The Song of Hiawatha. The Raven* was written for piano, violin, viola, 'cello, clarinet and bassoon, and first performed by Fraser Gange with the New York Chamber Music Society in 1928. Braine has written a sonata for viola and piano; a string quartet; a suite for violin and piano; a

Barbaric Sonata for piano; and numerous published songs and piano pieces.

There are others among the newcomers. ELIOT GRIFFIS, who published a delightfully atmospheric piano sonata in 1919. PARKER BAILEY, whose sonata for flute and piano was issued by the Society for the Publication of American Music in 1929. ALEXANDER STEINERT, scion of the eminent New England family of music patrons and merchants; fellow of the American Academy in Rome. AURELIO GIORNI, pianist of the Elshuco Trio, born in Italy in 1895, and since 1914 a resident of the United States. His sonata for piano and 'cello (or viola) was chosen by the Society for the Publication of American Music in 1924. He has written much excellent music besides.[1] HOMER SIMMONS with his *Phantasmania* for piano and orchestra. MARY HOWE, whose *Mists* was played by the Barrère Little Symphony in New York in 1930, and her *Habanera* for two pianos by Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Hughes at the New York MacDowell Club in the same year. QUINTO MAGANINI, composer of a suite for flute and piano; a *Sylvan* sonata for piano; a *Cuban Rhapsody* for string quartet; and several songs and piano pieces. WERNER JANSSEN, son of the famous manager of the New York Hofbrau House (who coined the advertising slogan, "Janssen wants to see you"). His *New Year's Eve in New York* had its first performances bv the Cleveland Symphony in 1929-30.

HERBERT INCH, with a travelling music fellowship from the University of Rochester. ROBERT L. SANDERS, Horatio Parker Fellow at the American Academy in Rome. HERBERT ELWELL, another American Academy in Rome Fellow; composer of *The Happy Hypocrite,* an orchestral suite; first played in Rome and later in Rochester, and recently published under the provisions of the Eastman fund. THOMAS GRISELLE, whose *Two American Sketches* won the $10,000 prize in the Victor Talking Machine Company's

[1] Giorni died in 1938.

popular music contest in 1928; and RUSSELL BENNETT, who had two prize-winning works in the 1930 Victor contest for symphonic works: *Sights and Sounds,* and *Abraham Lincoln.*

Eight composers were awarded Guggenheim fellowships for 1930-31: CARL BRICKEN, RUTH CRAWFORD, ROBERT DELANEY, ETHEL G. HIER, OTTO LUENING, QUINCY PORTER, RANDALL THOMPSON, and MARK WESSEL. BRICKEN was born in Kentucky in 1898, educated at Yale and later studied with Rosario Scalero. He won the Pulitzer prize in 1929 with a string quartet. He has written a set of variations for two pianos, a sonata for violin and piano, for 'cello and piano, and some songs for children. He does not believe in modernism as a musical by-path; it must be something intensified, added to the classical spirit. MISS CRAWFORD, born in Ohio in 1901, has already enjoyed a Juilliard Scholarship. She has written a suite for strings and piano; a suite for five winds and piano; a sonata for violin and piano; songs and piano pieces. MISS HIER'S works include a sextet for flute, oboe, violin, 'cello, viola and piano, and a *Choreographic Poem.* LEUNING has a long list of works, chamber music and several works for orchestra. He was born in Milwaukee, the son of a prominent musician and conductor. He is a conductor himself, and was one of the founders and conductors of the American Grand Opera Company in Chicago in 1920. THOMPSON'S symphony was performed at one of the 1930 American Composers' Concerts in Rochester. WESSEL was born in Michigan in 1894; a young man of extraordinary talent. He studied with Schoenberg in Vienna, and has written a *Russian Fantasy* for piano and orchestra; a *Scherzo Burlesque* for piano and orchestra; a concertino for violin (or flute) and chamber orchestra; and a *Symphony Concertante* for horn, piano and large orchestra, performed over the radio by Walter Damrosch, and at the American concerts in Rochester. PORTER, a descendant of Jonathan Edwards, is

the son of a minister, professor at the Yale Divinity School. He was born in New Haven in 1897, and studied under Horatio Parker at Yale. He did some further work with Ernest Bloch, and succeeded him as head of the theory department at the Cleveland Institute of Music. He has been in Paris since 1928. He has written two sonatas for violin and piano; two string quartets; a quintet; a *Ukranian Suite* for string quartet; a suite for flute, violin and viola; a piano sonata; and a suite for orchestra.

4. COMPOSERS BEST KNOWN BY THEIR SMALLER WORKS

The dozens and scores become hundreds. Hundreds of prolific composers who are writing music; some of it successful, and some of it excellent but lost in the crowd. In the field of the art song, the lyric ballad, incidental pieces for piano and for violin, American musicians have achieved distinction. Quantity production has of course produced its proportion of manufactured music, but there is much that can be ranked as fine art. Many of the composers discussed in this chapter have written in the larger forms, but they are best known to the public and to music lovers for their shorter works.

In art songs there have been a number who have written music that is individual and distinguished; who have really interpreted the texts they have chosen for their settings. Carpenter and Griffes have already been discussed; many of our symphonists have been happy in their song composing. Yet there are a number who are known chiefly for their songs. ALICE BARNETT brings a delicately feminine touch to her graceful writing. She first attracted serious attention with her setting of Clinton Scollard's *Serenade* in 1916. Several songs followed, most important a cycle of eight poems from Browning—*In a Gondola.* Here she added dramatic power to her lyric gifts. Then came settings of verses by Sara Teasdale, John Vance Cheney, and

others, and in 1924 Cale Young Rice's *Chanson of the Bells of Osenèy*. In this song each bell has its own carillon-like motive; an air of mysticism pervades the whole work. Her setting of Le Gallienne's *A Caravan from China Comes* is one of the best of the many that have been made by our composers.

WINTTER WATTS is another. He is less subjective than Miss Barnett, rarely as subtle; but his directness, his sincerity, and above all his independence, raise him above the crowd. Possibly his best known songs are *The Poet Sings, Wings of Night* (both to poems by Sara Teasdale); and *The Little Page's Song* (thirteenth century), but there are many others that show his genuine lyricism. The death of EDWARD HORSMAN (1873-1918) was a sad loss to American song literature, for he showed a rare talent in the few songs he left us.

A. WALTER KRAMER is a prolific composer who has been one of the active factors in our musical life. Born in New York in 1890, he is known as a composer and editor; since 1929 editor-in-chief of *Musical America*. He has written in many forms, but he has achieved the widest distinction in his songs. He is versatile in his style—from the quiet, subjective contemplation of his sonnet cycle—*Beauty of Earth* (C. H. Towne), Sara Teasdale's *Swans,* or *Green* (D. H. Lawrence), to the directness and simplicity of the *lied*-like *Bitte* of Hermann Hesse, or Christina Rossetti's *Christmas Carol*. He shows dramatic powers in setting Louis Untermeyer's *The Faltering Dusk,* and *The Last Hour* (Jessie C. Brown). He can even pull the strings of sentimentality in writing music for Gordon Johnstone's *The Great Awakening*.

He has written a number of piano pieces. His *Symphonic Rhapsody* for violin and orchestra was performed at the Stadium Concerts in New York; and Kathleen Parlow played it in recital to piano accompaniment. His *Elizabethan Days* is a favorite with small orchestras. The *Eklog*

for violin and piano (originally for 'cello), and the *Chant Nègre* are featured by violinists.

BAINBRIDGE CRIST has experimented with Oriental texts, and has been particularly happy in his *Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes, Drolleries from an Oriental Doll's House,* and *Coloured Stars* (four songs to translations from the Oriental by E. Powys Mathers). Possibly his best songs are the exquisite *Into a Ship Dreaming* (de la Mare), and the joyous *April Rain.* In *Queer Yarns* he matches the whimsy of Walter de la Mare. Crist was born in Indiana in 1883, educated in Cincinnati and Boston, and now lives on Cape Cod, Massachusetts. He has written a number of instrumental works, available as piano solos and in many cases for various orchestral combinations: *Egyptian Impressions; Oriental Dances;* a Javanese ballet, *Pregiwa's Marriage,* and others.

MARY TURNER SALTER is the wife of Sumner Salter, the composer of church and choral music. Born in Illinois in 1856 she has been composing songs for many years, and has a long list of published works. *The Pine Tree, The Cry of Rachel* are fine specimens of her gift of melody.[1] MABEL W. DANIELS is another of the women who have composed music. Her song, *Villa of Dreams,* and two part-songs were awarded prizes in 1911 by the National Federation of Music Clubs. *Glory and Endless Years, The Waterfall, Lady of Dreams, Daybreak,* and *Beyond* are among her best known songs. She has written a number of choruses. She was born in Swampscott, Massachusetts, the daughter of George F. Daniels, at one time president of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society.

JESSIE L. GAYNOR (1863-1921) was a specialist in children's songs. Her *Slumber Boat,* to Alice C. D. Riley's verses, has been sung so much that it is almost a folk-song. Her collections of *Songs to Little Folks, Songs and Scissors, Mother Goose Songs,* and her operettas and entertainments have amused the children of two generations.

[1] Mrs. Salter died in 1918.

She wrote songs for adults, too. She was born in St. Louis, and though she was educated in Boston she spent most of her life in the Middle West. Her daughter, DOROTHY GAYNOR BLAKE, is also a composer.

MARGARET RUTHVEN LANG is the daughter of Benjamin J. Lang, the eminent Boston conductor and teacher of the latter nineteenth century. She was born in Boston in 1867; as a child a pupil of her father and later of Chadwick and MacDowell. She has written many songs, some piano pieces, choral music, and a few works for orchestra.

GENA BRANSCOMBE was born in Ontario, Canada, in 1881, but she was educated in the United States, and has lived here for many years. Her principal music teachers were Felix Borowski in Chicago, and Engelbert Humperdinck abroad. As a song writer she is known for her cycles: *A Lute of Jade,* and *Songs of the Unafraid;* and recently for her delightful *Unimproving Songs for Enthusiastic Children.* She has written a number of piano pieces and some for violin. Her *Festival Prelude* for orchestra has been played at Peterboro, and in New York and San Francisco. The symphonic suite, *Quebec,* was first played in Chicago, by the Women's Symphony Orchestra, with the composer conducting. *Pilgrims of Destiny,* for soli, chorus and orchestra, was awarded a prize in 1928 by the National League of American Pen Women.

MANA-ZUCCA is one of the best known of the contemporary women composers. She was born in New York in 1891, and studied under Alexander Lambert, Godowsky, Busoni and Max Vogrich. Her songs are widely sung: *Rachem, If Flowers Could Speak, The Big Brown Bear,* and over a hundred others. She has published a piano concerto which she played with orchestras in New York and Chicago. Her piano pieces are used for recitals and for teaching.

LILY STRICKLAND may be famous for her *Lindy Lou,* but she has written much else besides; the *Bayou Songs,* the

song cycles—*From a Sufi's Tent, Songs of Ind, A Beggar at Love's Gate*—and others. She was born in the South and came to New York in 1910. She has lived in many parts of the world, recently India, and her music is a travelog, for she has always been successful in catching the spirit of native melodies, and carrying their idiom into tunes of her own. She has written instrumental music: piano pieces; a symphonic suite, *Carolina;* and a piano concerto.

FAY FOSTER made her reputation during the World War, when she published in 1918 *The Americans Come.* It was precisely what concert singers needed for a timely number on their programs, and besides it was really dramatic, and thrilling when well sung. Her best song is probably her least known work—*Dusk in June,* a languorous bit of music that is contemplative and beautiful. She was born in Kansas, and was musically talented from childhood. *My Menagerie, One Golden Day, Your Kiss,* are others of her songs.

Others among the women composers are PEARL CURRAN, whose *Rain* is possibly her best known song; HARRIET WARE with a setting of Edwin Markham's *The Cross;* a *Hindu Slumber Song;* a *Boat Song;* the cycle, *A Day in Arcady;* and other songs and pieces; KATHLEEN LOCKHART MANNING, who has won distinction with her *Sketches of Paris,* a cycle of six songs; MARIA GREVER, a Mexican who has made her home in New York. CLARA EDWARDS is a comparative newcomer. She was born in Minnesota, and though for several years she was active as an accompanist, she has been composing only in recent years. Her songs are already on the programs of many singers, among them *By the Bend of the River, I Bring You Lilies from my Garden,* and *Morning Serenade.*

ADOLPH M. FOERSTER was a member of the older group (1854-1927). He was born in Pittsburgh and lived there most of his life. His songs seem to have been influenced chiefly by Robert Franz, and possibly his own German

ancestry. *The Daisy, At Night, Love Seemeth Terrible, The Robin's Lullaby,* are among the best of them. He also wrote for orchestra; some chamber music, and shorter instrumental pieces.

HALLETT GILBERTE is another of the elder song writers. He has had much success with his songs, and his setting of Browning's *Ah, Love but a Day* has rivalled Mrs. Beach's in popularity.

FREDERICK FIELD BULLARD (1864-1904) published some forty songs; the best known *A June Lullaby, From Dreams of Thee,* and the rousing *Stein Song.*

SIDNEY HOMER has a nice gift of melody; one that has caught the popular fancy. His *Banjo Song, The Song of the Shirt, Sing to me, Sing,* and the *Songs from Mother Goose* are but a few of the many songs that are known to singers and their audiences all over the country. Homer was born in Boston (1864); studied with Chadwick, and with Rheinberger in Munich. His wife is Louise Homer, the eminent contralto. Besides his songs he has published a sonata and an introduction and fugue for organ, and a set of *Twenty Little Piano Pieces.*

WILLIAM ARMS FISHER is one of the Dvořák pupils. He studied with both Dvořák and Horatio Parker at the National Conservatory in New York. He was born in San Francisco in 1861, and since 1897 has lived in Boston. From that date he has been associated with the Oliver Ditson Company, since 1926 its vice-president. His editorial work has been significant, and in addition to bringing out the work of many composers, he has developed several editions of classics—*The Musician's Library,* the *Music Student's Library* and others. He has been a student of American music from the early days to the present, and is now publishing the results of his research in this field.

As a composer, Fisher has been concerned chiefly with song writing. He has made many settings of Negro spirituals, and his famous *Goin' Home* is a vocal adapta-

tion of the *largo* melody from the slow movement of Dvořák's *New World* Symphony. He has written many original songs.

There are other editors who have been composers themselves, but whose work in other fields has overshadowed their own music. OSCAR G. SONNECK (1873-1928) will no doubt always be known first as a musicologist, to date the foremost research worker in early American music. He was born in Jersey City, educated in Germany. From 1902 to 1917 he was in charge of the Music Division of the Library of Congress. He developed one of the great music libraries of the world from what had been a mere accumulation of music in the copyright division of the government. From 1917 until his death he was musical editor for the publishing house of G. Schirmer in New York. He founded the *Musical Quarterly* in 1915, a significant magazine of cosmopolitan scope.

Sonneck wrote a number of songs, highly original, thoughtful and scholarly. *To Helen* is probably the most grateful of them. *Studies in Song,* Opus 19, were frankly experiments in the use of flexible rhythms in setting poems.

CARL ENGEL, Sonneck's successor as librarian in Washington, as editor of the *Musical Quarterly,* and at Schirmer's, is also known chiefly as an editor, but he is a skilled song composer. A specialist in setting free verse; notably three poems of Amy Lowell: *Opal, A Decade,* and *A Sprig of Rosemary.* He was born in Paris in 1883 and came to America in 1905. Before he went to Washington he was publication editor for the Boston Music Company.

Before RUPERT HUGHES became a novelist he was a musician, composer, and writer on musical subjects. His first songs were published in 1892: *Tears, Idle Tears,* and *In a Gondola.* Lately he has been something of a modernist, showing investigation of dissonance in his dramatic monologue, *Cain,* and in his *Free Verse Songs.* He was born in Missouri in 1872, and though he had some lessons

with Edgar Stillman Kelley, he was largely self-taught in music. His writings include a volume devoted to *Contemporary American Composers; Love Affairs of Great Musicians; The Music Lover's Cyclopedia* and others.

And now more song writers. GRANT-SCHAEFFER was born in Canada in 1872; from 1896 to 1921 he was a teacher and organist in Chicago. Recently he has been living in Williamstown, Massachusetts. His *Cuckoo Clock* has been a favorite encore song. CHARLES GILBERT SPROSS is an accompanist whose experience on the concert platform has stood him in good stead in writing songs that are effective, and grateful to the singer. He was born in Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1874.

FRANK LA FORGE is another accompanist who writes songs, some of them stunning: *Song of the Open, Hills, I Came with a Song,* and others. He was born in Illinois in 1879, studied in Chicago, and with Leschetizky in Vienna, and is now resident in New York as accompanist and coach to singers. For ten years he was accompanist to Sembrich, and he has toured with Schumann-Heink, Matzenauer, Frances Alda, and others. WALTER GOLDE is much in demand as an accompanist, and his songs have found favor with a number of singers. His setting of Rossetti's *Sudden Light* is one of his best art songs, and *To an Invalid* and *A Lad Went a-Wooing* are typical of his lyricism. Golde was born in Brooklyn in 1887.

RICHARD HAGEMANN, a Hollander born in 1882, in America since 1907, has been prominent both as an opera conductor and as an accompanist for singers. He has written a number of striking songs, *At the Well* one of the best known.

HORACE JOHNSON is a comparatively young man who has enjoyed considerable success with his songs and with his instrumental works. He was born in Massachusetts in 1893, and was a pupil of Bainbridge Crist. *The Pirate, When Pierrot Sings, The Three Cherry Trees, Thy Dark*

Hair show that he likes bizarre effects when there is genuine reason for them. He has written for piano—*In the American Manner,* and *Trees at Night.* He has a symphonic poem, and two suites for orchestra—*Imagery* and *Streets of Florence. Imagery* was first played in England; later in New York, and then under Goosens at the Hollywood Bowl.

LOUIS EDGAR JOHNS, born in Pittsburgh, 1886, has written in many forms, and has had success with songs in the style of the German romanticists. His *Lyrics from the German,* in five volumes, show that he is at home in painting various emotions. He has written some piano pieces, orchestral works, and some chamber music.

CLAUDE WARFORD is a singing teacher who was born in New Jersey in 1877. He has published more than forty songs, among them *Pietà, Earth is Enough, Dream Song, Three Ghosts.* He has composed a number of choruses. BRUNO HUHN is famous for his setting of Henley's *Invictus,* but he has published many other songs that have achieved success. He was born in England in 1871, and came to New York when he was twenty years old.

Nor should we omit HEINRICH GEBHARD (1878-), a German who came to America when a boy and was educated first in Boston. A talented pianist whose songs as well as his chamber music show distinction. Nor HENRY PURMONT EAMES (Chicago, 1875-), a valiant musical missionary and lecturer who has lately become professor of Musical Art and Æsthetics at Scripps College in California. He has written many charming songs, some choruses, a few works for orchestra, and a light opera that won the David Bispham Medal in 1925. ROBERT HUNTINGTON TERRY is another of our song composers. RALPH COX, a native of Ohio, has a long list to his credit—*To a Hilltop* one of the best of them.

HOWARD MCKINNEY is known for his whimsical *Crumbs from Peacock Pie.* JOHN PRINDLE SCOTT has had success

with sacred songs. ARTHUR BERGH, specialist in conducting orchestras for making phonograph records, has written songs and song cycles, piano pieces, and operettas. CHARLES FONTEYN MANNEY, for years an associate of William Arms Fisher at the Ditson Company, has written songs and made many choral arrangements. JOHN DENSMORE has been successful with songs of the ballad type, *Roadways* and others, and with his setting of Masefield's *I Must Down to the Seas Again.* FLORENCE PARR-GERE is a Leschetizky pupil who has written well-balanced songs, piano pieces, and some chamber music.

And then the composers of lyric ballads, writers of songs with a distinctly popular appeal, but destined to longer life than ordinary popular music. CARRIE JACOBS-BOND heads the list. *A Perfect Day,* her "best seller," rivals Nevin's *Rosary* in popularity. Some of her songs have a true folk-song quality in their simplicity—*Just a-Wearyin' for You, I Love You Truly, A Little Bit o' Honey,* and others.

OLEY SPEAKS is of a different type. Most of his songs are best sung by men—*On the Road to Mandalay;* the war song *When the Boys Come Home;* the tender *Sylvia;* or the effective *Morning.* He has published over two hundred songs. He was born in Ohio in 1876, and is himself an able singer. GEOFFREY O'HARA's songs are sometimes more elaborate than those of Speaks, but they have the same popular appeal. The French Canadian songs, *Leetle Bateese* and *The Wreck of the Julie Plante* are dramatic narratives that singers can use with telling effect. *Give a Man a Horse He Can Ride* may, as Sigmund Spaeth says, be akin to the opening phrase of *Yip I Yaddy,* made famous by Blanche Ring some years back, but it improves the original. O'Hara's songs have become so well known by their first lines that he has found it necessary to print a catalog listing the misnamed titles opposite the correct ones. He was born in Canada in 1882. He has had an active life, as instructor of native Indian music for the government, song

leader in the army camps, and as an entertainer. *There is No Death* is perhaps the best known of his more recent songs.

FREDERICK VANDERPOOL, born in New York in 1877, has written many lyric ballads: *If, Values, I Did Not Know, Ma Little Sunflower,* and others of their type. ARTHUR PENN (1880–1941) was an Englishman who came to America in 1903. He wrote *Smilin' Through,* a song that inspired Jane Cowl to write a play of that name. Others of his ballads, *The Lamplit Hour, Sunrise and You, When the Sun Goes Down,* have had wide circulation.

JAMES G. MCDERMID has repeated the success of his *Charity* on several occasions. He used to live in Chicago, but for a number of years has been in New York. FRANK H. GREY, born in 1883 and educated at Harvard, has had a long list of song successes, most of them of the sentimental ballad type. He has been a musical comedy conductor, and has written several comic operas which have been produced. JOSEPHINE MCGILL, one of the first collectors of Appalachian Mountain ballads, has written several original songs. *Duna* was made famous by Reinald Werrenrath, and by hundreds of other singers.

Our composers have proved able writers of instrumental pieces, for concert and for teaching. CECIL BURLEIGH is one of the best known. A violinist himself, he has written principally for his own instrument. He was born in New York State in 1885. His family moved to Omaha when he was nine years old, and he had his early music lessons there, and later in Bloomington, Illinois. Then he went abroad and studied violin with Anton Witek and Max Grunberg, and composition with Leichtentritt. After that in Chicago, with Emil Sauret and Felix Borowski. Since his student days he has been active as a violinist and teacher, since 1921 teacher of violin at the University of Wisconsin.

His teaching pieces have been much used, for they are distinguished by the combination of their practical useful-

ness and their real musical interest. His concert pieces are well known too; his three violin concertos are published, as well as his two violin sonatas—*The Ascension,* and *From the Life of St. Paul.* He has written a number of piano pieces and many songs.

EASTWOOD LANE is an intense individualist, a man who prides himself on his lack of musical training and is content to let his natural talent find its own outlet. He is truly creative; some of his short pieces have enough ideas for a symphony. In some cases he would have done better to have fewer ideas, and to give them some development. Yet there is an Americanism about Lane's music that makes it important, and maybe formal training would have stifled his natural exuberance.

He has written several sets of piano pieces—*Sleepy Hollow, Five American Dances, Adirondack Sketches,* and others. Ferde Grofé scored some of them for Paul Whiteman's Orchestra—among them *Sea Burial* and *Persimmon Pucker.* He was born in the early eighties in a small town near Syracuse, New York. He is largely self-educated, academically and musically. His own reading has meant more to him than the few months he spent at Syracuse University.

FANNIE CHARLES DILLON is a composer whose piano music has been featured on recital programs. When Josef Hofmann played an American program on his concert tours a few years ago, one of the pieces was Miss Dillon's *Birds at Dawn,* in which she wove together the notes of the vireo, the wren-tit, and the chickadee. She again went to nature for her suite, *Melodic Poems of the Mountains—Heights Sublime, Birds at Dusk, Harp of the Pines,* and *Brooklets and Quiet Pools.* She was born in Denver, in 1881, and has written orchestral and chamber music as well as piano pieces and songs. In 1918 she gave a concert of her own music in New York, at the invitation of the Beethoven Society. Since 1906 she has lived in Los Angeles.

Hofmann's American program had as its *pièce de résistance* a sonata by ALEXANDER MACFADYEN, a composer who was born in Milwaukee in 1879. He was trained principally at the Chicago Musical College, and has been active as a teacher in New York and Milwaukee. He has published about a hundred works, piano pieces and songs. The *Cradle Song* and *Inter Nos* have been widely sung.[1]

The *Introduction and Fugue* of CLAYTON JOHNS was another of the pieces on the Hofmann program. Johns is one of the older composers; he was born in Delaware in 1857. He studied in Boston with John K. Paine, then went to Berlin to work with Rummel and Kiel. He came back to Boston as a recitalist, teacher and composer in 1884, and in 1912 joined the staff of the New England Conservatory. He has many piano pieces, and some for violin, among them a *Melody, Berceuse, Intermezzo, Romance* and *Scherzino*. He has written some books on music, and has recently published his *Reminiscences of a Musician*.[2]

There are a number of the older group who can be considered as contemporaries—some of them living and some recently passed away. JOHN ORTH (1850-), born in Bavaria and brought to America as an infant. From 1875 he has been prominent in Boston as a teacher, and as an authority on Liszt, with whom he studied. He has written many piano pieces, and has done considerable editorial work.[3] CONSTANTIN VON STERNBERG (1852-1924) was a Russian who came here in 1880 and became a citizen in 1886. From 1890 he lived in Philadelphia and founded the Sternberg School of Music there. He wrote over a hundred works for piano, many of them played by Hofmann, Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler, Godowsky, and others. RICHARD BURMEISTER 1860-) was younger. He was born in Germany and settled in America when he was twenty-five. In 1903 he returned to Europe. During his eighteen years in America he taught at the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore, and was

[1] MacFadyen died in 1936. [2] Johns died in 1932. [3] Orth died in 1932.

director of the Scharwenka Conservatory in New York. Probably the best known of his many pieces was the *Persian Song* for piano.

CAMILLE ZECKWER (1875-1924) was a native of Philadelphia, the son of Richard Zeckwer, a musician who came to America in 1869. The son was educated at the Philadelphia Musical Academy, studied with Dvořák in New York, then with Scharwenka in Berlin. He later returned to Philadelphia to teach at the Academy; for many years he was its co-director with Frederick E. Hahn. Zeckwer was a prolific composer, of songs and pieces and many works in larger forms—a symphonic poem, a piano concerto, cantatas, an opera, and some chamber music.

FELIX BOROWSKI is famous for his *Adoration,* if for nothing else in his long list of achievements. Its melodic sweep is Wagnerian in its continued impulse, and yet it is unlike Wagner. The piece is best known as a violin solo, but it is also available for piano, and has been played in various instrumental combinations. Borowski was born in England in 1872, the son of a Polish nobleman who had settled in England after the Polish Revolution in the 1860's. He made quite a reputation abroad as a composer, and in 1897 he was invited to America to be the head of the theory and composition department of the Chicago Musical College. He has been an eminent music-critic for newspapers, and since 1907 has written the program notes of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. He has written much in the larger forms: a piano concerto, tone-poems, overtures, rhapsodies, ballets and pantomimes for orchestra. Three organ sonatas, a piano sonata, and many pieces in smaller forms.

GUSTAV SAENGER is one of the musical editors who is a composer himself. Born in New York in 1865 he was for many years a violinist, then a conductor at the Empire Theatre in New York. In 1897 he became associated with the firm of Carl Fischer, first as arranger, then as editor of publications, and from 1904 to 1929 he was the editor

of the *Musical Observer.* He has arranged standard works for the violin, but he has written many original pieces as well; a concertino for violin and many smaller pieces.[1]

GIUSEPPE FERRATA (1865-1928) was born in Italy, and came to America when he was twenty-seven. He was active as a teacher and music director in a number of schools and colleges; one of them the Newcomb College at New Orleans. He wrote many piano pieces, works for violin and piano, songs, organ pieces, a string quartet, a piano concerto, a symphony for orchestra and chorus, and some Catholic church music—a *Messa Solennelle,* a *Missa* in G major and others.

FRANCES MCCOLLIN is a younger composer who has achieved distinction in spite of the terrific handicap of blindness. Her works have won altogether nine prizes, from various organizations. She was born in Philadelphia in 1892; studied with William Wallace Gilchrist and H. Alexander Matthews. She is active as a teacher and lecturer. She has been most successful in her writing of part-songs and choral works, but she has written instrumental music as well; a string quartet, and a piano quintet; an *Adagio* and a *Scherzo* for string orchestra; a trio for organ (or piano), violin and 'cello.

ANNA PRISCILLA RISHER was born in Pennsylvania in 1875. She was educated principally at the New England Conservatory, where she studied with Goetschius and Chadwick. Aside from composing, her principal activities have been teaching and organ playing. In recent years she has been in California. Altogether she has published some three hundred compositions, piano pieces, trios for piano, violin and 'cello, and songs. Much of her work is for teaching; she has three books on piano technique. Her *Indian Lament* for piano won one of the Presser prizes.

FRANCES TERRY writes principally for the piano. A number of her works are often on recital programs—among them the *Impromptu Appassionato;* the *Three Impromptus;*

[1] Saenger died in 1935.

the suite *Idyls of an Inland Sea;* the *Six Recital Études;* the *Ballade Hongroise,* and others. She also has a sonata for violin and piano, and a theme and variations for string quartet. She is a native of Connecticut, and now lives in Massachusetts. Her music teachers were Scharwenka, Louis Victor Saar, and Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Severn.

CECIL COWLES is another of the younger composers. She was born in San Francisco in 1905. She was a child prodigy and made her début as a pianist when she was six years old. Her works for piano include an *Arabesque, In a Ricksha, Song of Persia, Lotus Flower, The Ocean,* and others. Her song, *Hey Nonny, Oh,* has been popular. She has slightly modern tendencies, but never forgets her melodic line. Another of the young women, HELEN DALLAM, is a native of Illinois; educated in Chicago and now teaching there. The bulk of her work is for instructive purposes—violin and piano pieces. She has also written for orchestra; notably her *Sea Pictures.*

There have been excellent pieces by other composers—the witty *Outlandish Suite* for violin and piano by the late SUSAN DYER; the *St. Lawrence Sketches* for organ by ALEXANDER RUSSELL. Russell deserves mention not only for his work as a composer but for his many activities—first as a pianist, then for his lectures and choral conducting at Princeton University, and finally for his work as director of concerts at the Wanamaker stores in New York and Philadelphia. He was born in Tennessee in 1881, and in addition to his organ pieces and works for chorus he has written a number of charming songs. CHARLES BOCHAU, since 1912 a teacher at the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore, has written many violin pieces, some anthems, and songs. He was born in Germany in 1870, but was brought to this country in his youth.[1] JAMES FRANCIS COOKE, known chiefly as editor of *The Étude,* and in charge of the publications of the Presser firm in Philadelphia, has a number of compositions—many of them for piano. *Sea Gardens* is

[1] Bochau died in 1932.

his most recent success. Cooke was born in Michigan in 1875. THORVALD OTTERSTRÖM, the Chicago professor of composition and theory, has been an active composer himself. His piano pieces have been played by such pianists as Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler and Rudolph Ganz, and his orchestral works by the Chicago Symphony. He was born in Denmark in 1868, and came to America when he was twenty-four. LEE PATTISON, the pianist, has recently been turning more attention to composition, and has published some effective piano pieces.

Many composers have specialized in piano-teaching pieces. Among them: ERNST R. KROEGER (1862-1934), CHARLES DENNÉE (1863-), WILLIAM HENRY BERWALD (1864-), FREDERICK A. WILLIAMS (1869-), LOUIS ADOLPHE COERNE (1870-1922), CARL WILHELM KERN (1874-), BERT R. ANTHONY (1876-1923), STANLEY R. AVERY (1879-), J. FRANK FRYSINGER (1878-), CEDRIC W. LEMONT (1879-), ROY S. STOUGHTON (1884-), CHARLES HUERTER (1885-), ERNEST HARRY ADAMS (1886-), L. LESLIE LOTH (1888-). And among the women: FLORENCE NEWELL BARBOUR, THEODORA DUTTON, CARRIE WILLIAMS KROGMAN, and MATHILDE BILBRO.

Recent developments in class piano instruction have led many composers and editors to devise methods and to write attractive pieces adapted to the new ways of teaching: HELEN CURTIS, ANGELA DILLER, MARTIN HAAKE, LEON ILTIS, HAZEL GERTRUDE KINSCELLA, GUY MAIER, OSBOURNE MCCONATHY, OTTO MIESSNER, JOHN A. WILLIAMS, and others. OTTO MIESSNER has also written many choral works, a piano sonata and songs. He was a pupil of Edgar Stillman Kelley; born in Indiana in 1880.

One group of our composers has specialized in choral writing. ELMER SAMUEL HOSMER, born in Massachusetts in 1862, a pupil of J. C. D. Parker and Percy Goetschius, has written many anthems, solos and duets for church use,

and three cantatas—*The Man Without a Country, Columbus,* and *Pilgrims of 1620.* He is teacher of music at the Rhode Island College of Education in Providence.

NATHANIEL CLIFFORD PAGE (San Francisco, 1866-) has made hundreds of arrangements of other composers' music for chorus, and for orchestra, but he has also been a composer on his own account. His first ventures were light operas. He has composed several of them, as well as cantatas, incidental music for plays, orchestral music, songs and pieces. As a member of the editorial staff of the Oliver Ditson Company in Boston, Carl Fischer in New York, and then Ditson again, he has revised and edited many editions of songs.

DANIEL PROTHEROE was born in Wales in 1866, and came to America in 1886. He is a talented chorus conductor, and has led many of our choral organizations. He has written many pieces for chorus, cantatas, a symphonic poem and two string quartets. He compiled the *Hymnal* for the Welsh Presbyterian Church, and four books of ritual music for the Scottish Rite.[1]

WILLIAM RHYS-HERBERT (1868-1921) was also born in Wales, but was identified with music in this country for many years. His specialty was operettas for schools. He also published part-songs and cantatas, and a number of songs. MARK ANDREWS is an Englishman who has been identified with choral and church music. His setting for male voices of the hunting song *John Peel* has probably been used by every glee club in the country. For many years he has been an organist in Montclair, New Jersey, and he is the conductor of several glee clubs in surrounding towns, as well as of one or two mixed choral societies.

SAMUEL RICHARDS GAINES is of Welsh parentage, but he was born in Michigan in 1869. His *Salutation* for chorus is probably his best known work. In 1928 he conducted the first performance of his oratorio, *The Vision,* in Texas. His *Fantasy on Russian Folk-Songs* won him a prize, and

[1] Protheroe died in 1934.

he was invited to conduct its performance at the Maine Festival in 1930. He has been a choral conductor in several cities, among them Detroit and Columbus, Ohio. At present he is organist and choirmaster of the Old Shawmut Church in Boston.

HENRY CLOUGH-LEIGHTER (Washington, D. C., 1874-) has been active as a composer for chorus, and as an editor. He has edited and prepared for publication approximately four thousand compositions and literary works on music, by American and foreign composers and authors. From 1901 to 1908 he was with Ditson; from 1908 to 1921 with the Boston Music Company; and since 1921 editor-in-chief of the E. C. Schirmer Music Company in Boston. His own works include the cantatas *The Righteous Branch,* and *Christ Triumphant;* a symphonic ode, *Christ of the Andes,* for double chorus, soli, and orchestra; several songs and song cycles for solo voice and orchestra, some hundred shorter choral works, and an equal number of songs.

F. FLAXINGTON HARKER (Scotland, 1876-) came to this country when he was twenty-five, and since 1914 has been a choral conductor and organist in Richmond, Virginia. He has written two cantatas, anthems, choruses, sacred and secular songs, and organ pieces.[1]

HARVEY BARTLETT GAUL (New York, 1881-) has written cantatas, organ pieces, anthems, choruses and songs. Since 1910 he has been resident in Pittsburgh, as organist, teacher of music at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, and music-critic for the *Post* and *Sun.*

KURT SCHINDLER (Germany, 1882-) came to New York in 1905, to be an assistant conductor at the Metropolitan. He founded the MacDowell Chorus in 1909, which became the Schola Cantorum in 1912. He has been a specialist in choral arrangements of folk-songs—Russian, Spanish and Finnish, and he has composed many original choruses and songs.[2]

WILLIAM LESTER (England, 1889-) was brought to

[1] Harker died in 1936. [2] Schindler died in 1935.

America when he was thirteen. He was educated in Chicago, chiefly by Adolf Brune and has since been active there as a teacher, choral conductor and organist. His oratorios include *Everyman, The Manger Babe, The Coming of the King,* and *The Golden Legend.* Recently his grand opera, *Manabozo,* was scheduled for performance at the Covent Garden in London. This is the first of a trilogy of operas on the tribal legends of the Iroquois Indians, the libretto by Francis Neilson. In addition to his cantatas, part-songs, and songs, he has written suites for piano, for organ, and for chamber music combinations; a string quartet; and a violin sonata.

5. THE MODERNISTS

A few years hence the reader will smile as he passes the heading of this chapter. For the modernists will be modernists no longer. When Rupert Hughes wrote his book on contemporary composers, thirty years ago, he classed as innovators MacDowell, Edgar Stillman Kelley, Harvey Worthington Loomis, Ethelbert Nevin, John Philip Sousa, and some whose work is forgotten to-day. And so it will be with our modernists—in another thirty years some of them will be thought old-fashioned; the others will be known no more.

A friend of mine was once dining with a group of younger composers. He was telling them of his musical son; he said he was urging the youngster to be a composer. "Has he talent?" some one asked. "I don't know," said the father; "if he hasn't, he can be a modernist composer." Yet it is never quite safe to laugh the modernists off so casually. Mozart was a radical; Wagner almost an outcast for his revolutionary ideas. What is noise to our ears to-day may be music to-morrow. No doubt some of the young radicals are sensation mongers, devoid of enough talent to attract attention in accepted paths. But many of them are sincere artists, who try to express in music the things that nature

and their surroundings do to them. If the modern age is noisy, the music of the time must be noisy to interpret it faithfully.

It is difficult to appraise these modernists. To distinguish between the inventors and the composers; to select the true artists from the mathematical architects; the subjectively creative tone-painters from those who are self-conscious. The student who wants help in understanding the American modernists should read *An Hour with American Music* by Paul Rosenfeld. Mr. Rosenfeld, more than any other critic, has penetrated to the forces behind these composers; he has analyzed the methods they use, and he discusses the results they attain. Whether or not he is right in concluding that our younger modernists are speaking the real America, that it is to them we must look for a nationalistic school, is another question. Maybe he is correct even in this assumption; perhaps this is after all the music we have been looking for—"rooted in the American soil; exploiting the material of sound in characteristic ways, and releasing a typical pathos." And, to quote Rosenfeld[1] further, "adding a new interest and excitement to life, filling it with the vibrance of gathering powers."

JOHN PARSONS BEACH is one of the oldest of the present-day modernists; one of the first to branch into radical paths. He was born in Gloversville, New York, in 1877; trained at the New England Conservatory in Boston. Then for five years he taught piano in the Northwestern Conservatory at Minneapolis, and theoretical subjects at the University of Minnesota. After that he lived for a time in New Orleans. Then he spent seven years in Paris, studying fugue and composition with Gédalge. Now he lives in New York.

His orchestral works include *Asolani,* a series of three pieces; *New Orleans Street Cries;* and the ballets, *Phantom Satyr,* and *Mardi Gras.* For chamber music combinations

[1] *An Hour with American Music,* by Paul Rosenfeld: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

he has written *Naïve Landscapes,* for flute, oboe, clarinet and piano; a *Poem* for string quartet; *Angela's Letter,* for tenor or baritone and chamber orchestra; and a *Concert for Six Instruments,* flute, oboe, clarinet, violin, viola and 'cello. He has published a number of piano pieces and songs, and has written two short works for the stage; *Pippa's Holiday,* a theater-scene for soprano and orchestra, from the Introduction to Browning's *Pippa Passes;* and *Jornida and Jornidel,* a short opera in two scenes from Grimm's fairy-tale.

EMERSON WHITHORNE is a modernist, but in some degree less radical than the others. He uses polytonality at times, and never hesitates to employ acrid dissonance to gain his effects. Yet he often seems more of the romanticist than the realist; his impressionism calculated to produce atmosphere rather than to speak for itself alone. In this he is a wise and practical person. If he is not one of the boldest leaders in the modernist movement, he at least remains intelligible to the average concert-goer; and his music is welcome in the concert halls.

He was born in Cleveland in 1884; studied there with James H. Rogers, and later with Leschetizky and Robert Fuchs in Vienna. He lived in London for eight years, from 1907 to 1915; composed, taught piano and theory, and wrote musical criticisms for the *Pall Mall Gazette.* After his return to America he was music editor for publishing houses, until in 1922 he retired so that he might give all of his time to composition.

He wrote his first serious music in London: piano music, songs and song cycles, and the string quartet, *Greek Impressions. New York Days and Nights* were composed later, in America. These pieces form a suite for piano, later scored for orchestra and performed by symphony societies, in movie houses, and in special arrangements for jazz band. In 1923 the suite was chosen to represent America at the Salzburg Chamber Music Festival.

It consists of four pieces. *On the Ferry,* with its moaning horns, shrieking whistles, rhythmic chugging of paddle wheels and mendicant musicians; *Pell Street* shows Chinatown; *A Greenwich Village Tragedy* tells of the district where an episode becomes an epic, from trysting comes tragedy; *Times Square* paints flashing colors, swirling crowds, ribaldry and mirth, snatches of popular tunes through the nightly revels.

The *Poem* for piano and orchestra had its first performance in 1927. Walter Gieseking was the soloist with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Later in the same year Gieseking played it again, with the New York Symphony under Fritz Busch. It is striking music, severe and granitic, with a determined shattering of its melodic line and persistently syncopated rhythms. *Fata Morgana,* a symphonic poem, was played by the New York Philharmonic in 1928. Again there is constant recurrence of patterns interrupted by unusual changes of rhythm. The quintet for piano and strings was played at the Coolidge Festival at the Library of Congress in 1929; before that it had been played in New York at one of the League of Composers' concerts. It shows a thoroughly mature Whithorne using his modernisms with restraint and judgment.

Sooner and Later was a ballet composed in 1925 for the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York. The scenario, by Irene Lewisohn, dealt fantastically with three states of existence: a primitive tribal life, a mechanized city routine, and a resultant crystallized era where there are no primal passions; feeding is conducted by scientific apparatus, and relaxation is provided by a synthetic mood or instrumental, vocal and color prelude. Whithorne wrote incidental music for the New York Theatre Guild production of *Marco Millions.* He used authentic Chinese themes, and attempted to imitate native instruments with wood-winds, a violin with wire strings, 'cello, guitar, mandolin, celesta, muted trumpet, gongs, tam-tams, and drums.

Saturday's Child, a setting of assembled poems by Countee Cullen, the Negro poet, is scored for tenor and soprano with chamber orchestra. The verses show the Negro somewhat on the defensive, yet with pride in his race. In his music Whithorne paints racial traditions, the love of the dance, the intense rhythmic instinct. *The Grim Troubadour,* for medium voice and string quartet, is a setting of three more Cullen poems. In this, more than in *Saturday's Child,* he shows that he has not abandoned melody, and that he practices what he once preached in an article in *Modern Music* (November-December, 1926):

> During the last decade we have so glorified the machine that it has almost enslaved us. Now we should cease to be its puppet and become its master. . . . There has been a sort of fetish worship of ugliness *per se.* It would be wise to neglect this idol somewhat and make obeisance to more propitious gods. There remains melody, whose crown was forfeited in the maelstrom. Why should our allegiance be withheld from one so radiant?

Some fifteen years ago LEO ORNSTEIN astonished us all as the bad boy of American music. An impish youngster who was out to punish our ears as much as we would let him. Clusters of notes took the place of single tones, and in printing his music the engraver had to invent new stems at crazy angles to show what notes should be struck together. Incredible, exciting, and altogether naughty. Today he has plenty of company, but he stood almost alone when he started to write in his advanced style.

He was born in Southwest Russia in 1895. A musical prodigy, he had an excellent education that finally led to work with Alexander Glazounov at the Petrograd Conservatory. Then there were revolutions and counter pogroms of the terrorists. Russia was unsafe for Jews, and the Ornstein family fled to America in 1907. They lived on New York's lower East Side, and Leo kept up his music. He went to the Institute of Musical Art, and became a favorite pupil of Mrs. Thomas Tapper. Then there were

some years in Europe, and finally he made his New York début as a concert pianist in 1911.

He had already done some composing. First he had written some pieces in conventional mould, harmless and undistinguished. Then of a sudden he burst forth as a radical who had thrown aside all formalism and restraint, who had turned his back on every convention. He had found that the major-minor system was inadequate for the deeper, intimate feelings inside of him. He must write as he feels; give voice to his emotions as they are, naked and unashamed. So here was a youngster who knew all the rules, even though he had chafed at learning them, throwing them all out of the window and writing just what he wanted to write. The principle of emotional logic was to be his only law, the supreme and only reason for resolving certain chords into others. His note clusters were to represent a logical anticipation of overtones; he would have a language of his own.

There were many who said he was a *poseur*. Failing to attract attention with his earlier pieces, he must gain notoriety with his shockers, and thus deliberately plan his method of attack. This I do not believe. I think that Ornstein is an unaffected young man who is a sincere artist; and that right or wrong, he really tries to put on paper his impressions of the world about him. And sometimes he goes back to the major-minor system, if he thinks it better suited to his mood. There are two distinct sides to his nature anyway: one the barbaric urge of the *Wild Men's Dance,* the steely, stony feeling for the strings of the piano, and the other an extreme sentimentalism, most often shown when as a pianist he plays Chopin or Liszt. When he plays the Chopin Nocturnes or Liszt's *Liebestraum,* the syrup almost drips from them. His exaggerated accents, his weepingly slow tempi are almost excruciating. Then again he becomes brilliant and plays with authority.

Of course, when he first appeared, the intelligentsia rallied to his defense, the thoughtful reserved their opinions,

and others laughed. To-day he is not quite so radical, at least not in comparison with his fellow modernists, and the intelligentsia have new loves. For Ornstein has softened his music a bit; as Rosenfeld has said, "His colors are not so piping hot." Whether he has compromised with the public and tempered his extremities, or whether he has decided that his early music went too far anyway, he alone can say. But in any event, he was the first of the present modernist generation to get himself talked about.

He has a long list of works; in 1930 they reached Opus 99. Those that first represented his radical style were *The Wild Men's Dance, À la Chinoise,* the *Arabesques,* and the *Poems of 1917* for piano; the two sonatas (Opus 26 and 31) for violin and piano; the sonata for 'cello and piano, and the Oriental songs. A few years ago he introduced his concerto for piano, first as a sonata for two pianos. In this form he played it with Ethel Leginska at one of the concerts of the League of Composers in New York. Later he scored the second piano part for full orchestra and played it with the Philadelphia Orchestra. His latest work (1930) is a string quartet, Opus 99, played by the Philadelphia Musical Fund String Quartet in Philadelphia, and in New York.

In 1930 he won first prize in a contest for a national hymn, conducted by the National Anthem Society. Ornstein's hymn, *America,* was a setting of verses by Frederick H. Martens.

Louis Gruenberg is no Ornstein, in some ways he is no radical, though he is intensely the modernist. He has written colorful music, representative of modern times and recent musical developments, but always built on a basis of organized and often pleasurable sound. His specialty has been symphonic treatment of jazz; seeking to develop its medium so that its rigidity will be overcome, and that it may become something more than mere entertainment. So we have his *Jazzettes* for violin and piano; the *Four In-*

discretions for string quartet; *The Daniel Jazz,* for high voice and eight solo instruments; *The Creation,* a Negro sermon for high voice and eight solo instruments; and finally the recent *Jazz Suite* for orchestra. When the *Jazz Suite* was played in New York by the Boston Symphony in 1930, Lawrence Gilman wrote in the *Tribune:*

> . . . The thrice familiar patterns are filled with an ingenuity and richness of fancy, are ordered by a civilized musical consciousness, which makes the issue engaging and profitable for other than merely primitive minds.
>
> Yet perhaps Mr. Gruenberg is, after all, an incurable romanticist, for one caught him in the act of glancing a bit longingly over his shoulder at the love-making of Pelleas and Melisande and the gallantries of the Rosenkavalier as he went through the motions of his Boston Waltz and his Slow Drag and One Step.

Gruenberg was born in 1883 in Russia, and now lives in Brooklyn, New York. At one time he was a pupil of Busoni. He first came into prominence a few years ago when his symphonic poem, *Hill of Dreams,* won the Flagler prize and a resultant performance by the New York Symphony Orchestra. In 1929 another symphonic poem, *The Enchanted Isle,* was selected by the Juilliard Foundation as its annual American work for publication. He won another prize in 1930: $5,000 for a symphonic work, from the Victor Company. Others of his works are a suite for violin and piano; two sonatas for violin and piano; and a *Poème* for 'cello and piano.

Consideration of LAZARE SAMINSKY as an American composer presents the same problem as the case of Ernest Bloch. Saminsky was born in Russia in 1882, and had an active career as a scholar and musician before he came to America in 1920. Yet he has adopted our country as his home, married an American novelist, Lillian Morgan, and states emphatically that America has contributed to his musical emotion and thought the directness, the rhythm, the western clarity which every creative artist of Oriental ex-

traction needs. He, too, is a modernist, though not a radical. He is a keen adherent of modern art, but he thinks that it is the communion with the spirit and rhythm of our time that makes a modern composer; not the liberal use of this or that method, or harmonies called modernisms. He believes in the eternal youth of the racial element in art; he thinks that when it is allied with a sensitiveness to modern life and thought it is the best creative stimulus. So he has turned to Hebrew melodies and Russian song, and tempered their influence by his contact with fellow composers and musicians.

He was born near Odessa, and though he was musical from childhood, he was first trained in languages, higher mathematics and political economy. He did not study music formally until he was fifteen. When he was twenty, his family met financial ruin, and he became a private tutor in mathematics and Latin. Then he received a scholarship in the Moscow Conservatory, but was expelled in 1906 for joining a revolutionary group and taking part in political demonstrations. He moved to the Conservatory at Petrograd, and continued his studies. He began to compose, and gradually acquired a reputation as his pieces were performed. He left Russia after the Armistice, went to Paris and then to London, and finally came to America in 1920. He was welcomed as a lecturer, and as a conductor of his own works. In 1924 he was appointed music director of Temple Emanu-El in New York City.

Saminsky's works include five symphonies; an overture; *Vigiliae,* a triad of preludes for orchestra; a suite for orchestra, *Orientale; The Vows,* a religious fantasy for piano and orchestra; *Venice,* a poem-serenade for small orchestra; *Ausonia,* a set of Italian impressions for small orchestra; three ballets—*The Vision of Ariel, The Gagliarda of a Merry Plague,* and *The Daughter of Jephtha;* many songs, choral works, and instrumental pieces.

MARION BAUER is one of the women who are aligned with

the modernists, chiefly because she tries to make her music a reflection of the actual world she lives in. Yet she never denies tradition; she walks toward the future with a full knowledge of the past. She was born in Walla Walla, Washington, in 1887. When the family moved to Portland, Oregon, she studied music with her sister, Emilie Frances Bauer, musical journalist, and then came to New York for work with Henry Holden Huss, Eugene Heffley, and Walter Henry Rothwell. Later she studied in Paris with Raoul Pugno, Nadia Boulanger, Campbell-Tipton, and André Gédalge. At present she is one of the faculty of the music department at New York University.

Her works include some thirty songs, twenty piano pieces, a violin sonata, a *Fantasia quasi una sonata* for violin and piano, a string quartet, and incidental music for *Prometheus Bound,* which she intends to revise as an orchestral work. She has written many magazine articles on music, and with Ethel R. Peyser recently issued an attractive history of music—*How Music Grew.*

CHARLES HAUBIEL is another of the composers who are on the music faculty of New York University. His style of writing has been a synthesis of romantic-classic-impressionist elements, a sort of combination of Brahms and Debussy. He came into prominence when his symphonic work, *Karma,* won the first prize in the Schubert Centennial Contest, and consequently became one of the few American symphonic works recorded on the phonograph. He was born in Ohio in 1894, and studied music in New York—composition with Rosario Scalero, and piano with Rudolph Ganz and the Lhevinnes. For eight years he was a piano teacher at the Institute of Musical Art in New York. Besides *Karma,* his works include a suite for strings and wood-wind, and a number of songs.

AARON COPLAND is one of the composers whose idiom derives directly or indirectly from our popular music—from present-day jazz. He is one of the few who makes of

it something flexible, who uses it subjectively and becomes its master rather than its servant. It is possible to believe that the connection between Copland's music and jazz has been subconscious, for its development was gradual. The jazz touches made their appearance subtly, unobtrusively in his early works, until in his *Ukulele Serenade* they burst forth in their full, exciting vigor. Then, too, he has the power to sustain his rhythmic interest, and to continue his polyrhythms to the point of actual development. Most of the jazzists are episodic, content with momentary ejaculations of their odd rhythms and monotony of their regular pulsations. Copland builds a large structure; he brings to mind skyscrapers, steel bridges.

He was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1900, of Russian-Jewish parents. The family name is generally spelt Kaplan, but according to tradition his father on landing from Russia was supplied by the immigration officials with an impromptu spelling of the name as it sounded when he pronounced it. So Copland it has been ever since. The boy started the study of harmony and composition with Rubin Goldmark in 1917. After four years he went to Paris, to the American school at Fontainebleau, and finally studied with Nadia Boulanger, the Frenchwoman who has trained so many of our younger composers. He came home in 1924, and has since been active as a composer, lecturer, and he has helped to discover new composers through the concerts he inaugurated with Roger Sessions—the Copland-Sessions Concerts, with programs devoted largely to the works of young and as yet unrecognized American composers.

His first work of distinction had its initial performance at Fontainebleau, a Scherzo-Humoristique for piano, *The Cat and the Mouse.* Next came the *Old Poem,* from the Chinese, for voice and piano. *Grohg,* a one-act ballet, was written abroad, but had its first performance in Rochester under Howard Hanson, in 1925. This "Cortege Macabre"

concerns a magician who has the power to make corpses dance. The next important work was the symphony for organ and orchestra, played by Nadia Boulanger with the New York Symphony under Damrosch in 1925. Its finale is one of his finest works, even though immature orchestration marred the work as a whole. Copland is rescoring this symphony for orchestra without organ. *Music for the Theatre,* a suite for small orchestra, was written at the Peterboro Colony in the Summer of 1925. It had its first performance in December of the same year, by Koussevitsky and the Boston Symphony at one of the League of Composers' concerts.

The piano concerto is to date his most important work. He wrote it in 1926, and played it the following year with the Boston Symphony. He shows greater skill in handling his orchestra than he had in the symphony, and the piano part is eloquent. He has taken jazz formulæ and developed them so that they are formulæ no longer. Some complained that it had no spiritual value, only animal excitement; but what else is jazz?

After the concerto there have been the *Two Blues,* for piano; the *Lento-Molto* string quartet; *Vitebsk,* a study on a Jewish melody for violin, 'cello, and piano; and a recent *Symphonic Ode* for large orchestra. Copland was one of the prize winners in the 1930 symphonic contest of the Victor Company.

It is not easy to take GEORGE ANTHEIL seriously after the production in New York of his *Ballet Mécanique* in 1927, with its score calling for several player pianos and all sorts of mechanical contraptions, all calculated to produce what to uninitiated ears was nothing but rhythmic noise and din. It was written in 1922, when Antheil was twenty-two; and he says frankly himself that its New York performance scared every American conductor so tremendously that probably never a one of them will even open his music

all the rest of his life. He says he has reformed; that he considers all the music he wrote before 1926 too radical and immature. He has signed the pledge, and while he believes that there is a new world to interpret, he feels that it must be expressed so clearly that everyone can understand it. He says he believes in modernism, but not in snobbistic cliques, or what he terms ultra-hypothetical-psychological-experimental music. He doesn't want to write a music that will not be played.

Antheil is one of the expatriates at present. He was born in Trenton, New Jersey, in 1900, and studied under von Sternberg in Philadelphia, and later with George Boyle at the Curtis Music Settlement School. His work has been played abroad, though it is pretty much unknown in this country. His *Symphonie en fa* was played twice in 1926 at the Concerts Golschmann in Paris. His piano concerto had a performance under the same auspices the following year. His incidental music to Sophocles' *Œdipus* was performed in 1928, first at the *Stadtstheater* in Berlin, and then in other cities of Germany. *Fighting the Waves,* a ballet to text by W. B. Yeats, was produced in 1929 at the Abbey Theater in Dublin, Ireland.

His latest venture is an opera which was produced in 1930 at the State Opera in Frankfort—*Transatlantic,* purporting to be a picture of American life, a cross-section of big business, prohibition, Salvation Army, murder, movies and megaphones. The composer has been consorting with such radicals as Ernst Krenek, composer of the jazz opera *Jonny Spielt Auf;* and Kurt Weill, who wrote *Dreigroschenoper.* Antheil has come to the conclusion that the operatic stage is the most direct medium of musical expression towards the future of modern music, helping out the ear with the eye and the musical emotions with the theatrical.

Naturally the composer turns to jazz for his music to the opera. But not the latest jazz, with some harmonic

richness; rather the old jazz, as first we heard it from Ted Lewis and others before it became respectable, with brutal percussions and shrieking clarinets and saxophones. Antheil has been clever in welding together the music that accompanies the rapidly shifting scenes, but his score is ejaculatory and episodic in consequence. The plot has to do with a beautiful woman of doubtful origin named Helen, who tries to decoy Hector, the hero, candidate for the presidency. There is a feverish struggle for power and for love; scenes at dances, booze parties, political meetings, attempts at murder, until finally Hector rescues Helen from suicide on the Brooklyn Bridge, and is elected president. At the première the composer had the satisfaction of both applause and hisses—a regular continental demonstration. And squabbles among the critics.

ROGER SESSIONS was born in Brooklyn in 1896, of a long New England ancestry, and thereby refutes the argument that our modernists must be derived from a mixture of Russian-Jewish elements transplanted to American soil. Artistically he derives from Stravinsky, both spiritually and technically. Spiritually because he seems to prefer everyday emotions to romanticisms and exaltations; technically because he is primarily a contrapuntist and a weaver of intricate rhythmic patterns.

Rosenfeld finds in him a robustness, a reticence, which he terms a "sitting on the notes." This, he feels, might produce an "American Brahms," if properly developed. He writes of Sessions' Symphony:[2]

> One doesn't feel the temple dome over it. It seems to live in the atmosphere of week-days, serious, sober, but never ritualistic. There are no hot clashing colours, no heavy emphasis, no Wagnerian intensifications and ardours and exaltations in this symphony. The material is stark and the outline strong. Sessions' polytonality and polyphony are uncompromising, and sometimes harsh; his whole manner is abrupt and somewhat uncouth.

[2] *An Hour with American Music*, by Paul Rosenfeld: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

And again:

. . . it is not only the sturdiest, most forceful and intricate of his compositions, it is rounder, more inevitable and texturally continuous than any other symphony written by an American, the brilliant one by Aaron Copland not excepted.

His principal works are three choral preludes for organ; a piano sonata; music for Andreyev's *The Black Maskers,* scored for small orchestra; and the symphony.

ADOLPH WEISS is another member of the modernist group. He has recently spent some time abroad to strengthen the bond of association between European and American composers. He sought and gained many continental performances for the works of his fellow Americans. He was a pupil of Schoenberg in Vienna, and is in many ways a Schoenberg apostle, although Rosenfeld tells how the teacher is reported to question his right to call Weiss his disciple, because of the pupil's independence and ideas of his own. Weiss himself does not like to be classified; he says that "modernism," "conservatism," are relative terms of vague categorical significance which mean nothing to the composers who write as they must write. Maybe it would be better to term him advanced, employing acid dissonance to set forth his lyricism, and his music, to quote Rosenfeld again, "fuller of crabs than Chesapeake Bay."

Weiss was born in Baltimore in 1891. He studied with Adolf Weidig in Chicago; Lilienthal and Rybner in New York; and Schoenberg in Vienna. His father was a pianist, pupil of Busoni. Weiss is himself by profession a bassoonist, associated at various times with the New York Symphony Society, the New York Philharmonic, the Chicago Symphony, the Rochester Symphony, and several orchestras for broadcasting. He has been one of the organizers of the Conductorless Orchestra in New York; a coach for

singers, and a teacher of harmony, counterpoint and composition.

His works for orchestra include a *Ballade,* and a scherzo *—American Life;* for chamber orchestra a *Kammersymphonie,* in three movements. He has three string quartets; a cantata, *Libation Bearers;* some piano pieces and songs.

In some respects ROY HARRIS is the white hope of the nationalists, for this raw-boned Oklahoman has the Southwest in his blood. And he puts it into his music. The scherzo of his piano sonata is so closely akin to the *Arkansas Traveller-Turkey in the Straw* type of tune that it is hard to believe he has not taken actual folk-songs. But he hasn't; he is merely using the kind of material he has heard all his life. He seems like a greater Eastwood Lane, for his is a genuinely native talent. But in Harris we have a trained musician, who has his reasons for writing as he does.

He was born in Oklahoma in 1898, and when he was five the family moved to California. He studied piano with his mother when he was eight, but dropped his music when he went to high school. At eighteen he became an independent farmer, and learned to play the clarinet as an avocation. He entered the War as a private and when it was over he worked for a year as a truck driver and studied music at night. In 1921 he entered the University of California as a special student, studying philosophy, economics and sociology.

He began to write music, and in two years he had saved enough money to go to New York. Then back to California, to study with Arthur Farwell. He wrote two sets of choral variations for mixed chorus, with violin, 'cello and piano. They were performed by the Pasadena Community Chorus. The next year he wrote three pieces and a suite for string quartet. He was appointed harmony teacher at the Hollywood Conservatory. And he composed his *Andante* for orchestra—music of lofty mood, deep-breathed.

In 1926 he went to France, to Nadia Boulanger in Paris. Then for two years he had a Guggenheim Fellowship, and stayed abroad until 1929. Since his study with Boulanger he has written a sextet, for string quartet, piano and clarinet; a suite for women's voices and two pianos; a piano sonata; a symphony in four movements; and a string quartet. Harris tries to bring modernism to classic conceptions; not the strict forms of tradition, but the subtler spirit of classicism. And then his own background; prairies, cowboys, bronchos, California valleys, all combine to make his music something that no one but himself could have written.

CARL RUGGLES is older than most of our modernists; he was born in Massachusetts in 1876. At first his music was traditional enough. He studied at Harvard with Spalding and then went out West and founded a symphony orchestra in Winona, Minnesota. He wrote a number of songs, and an opera, *The Sunken Bell.*

But in late years Ruggles has tried new paths. A natural mystic, he has gone in for blaring trumpets and trombones, and massed sonorities of the strings. He has achieved something of an individuality, and the effects he gains in expressing his rhapsodic thoughts may generally be taken seriously. His recent orchestral works include *Men and Angels; Men and Mountains* (inspired by a line from Blake —"Great things are done when men and mountains meet"); and *Portals,* a symphonic ensemble suggested by Whitman's lines:

> What are they of the known
> But to ascend and enter the Unknown?

VIRGIL THOMSON is our musical satirist, our Erik Satie. Author of a *Symphony on an American Hymn Tune;* and four variations and fugues for organ on such a motley variety as *Come, ye disconsolate; There's not a friend like the lowly Jesus; Will there be any stars in my crown?;* and *Shall we gather at the river?* He was born in Kansas City

in 1896, but has lived much in Paris. He has a long list of music, none of it published as yet. For piano there are two sonatas; a set of *Synthetic Waltzes* (four hands); five inventions, and a set of seven *Portraits*. *Two Sentimental Tangos* for piano have also been written for orchestra. He has made some settings of the poetry of Gertrude Stein; *Capital Capitals,* for four men's voices and piano; and a three-act opera, *Four Saints*. He has a sonata for violin and piano; six *Portraits* for violin alone; a *Sonata da Chiesa* for trombone, horn, viola, trumpet and clarinet; five *Portraits* for two clarinets, one basset horn and a bass clarinet; a set of *Five Phases from the Songs of Solomon* for soprano and percussion. He has written a number of songs and some unaccompanied choruses.

WALLINGFORD RIEGGER'S early pieces were conservative, but of late he has gone in for complete atonality. He believes that for composers of to-day still to use the idiom of Brahms or Wagner is to ignore the lessons of history and to imply a condemnation of such innovators as Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, Debussy, and others who violated tradition when it hampered the full expression of a musical idea. His *Study in Sonority* for ten violins "or any multiple thereof" shows that he is indeed an atonalist. Viewed on paper, with its constant minor seconds and close-lying intervals, it splits the ears. Yet with the strings its dissonance is not so harsh as it would be if percussion instruments were producing the noise. The work has had several performances: first, in 1928, in Rochester under Howard Hanson; then in New York by Leopold Stokowski and forty violins of the Philadelphia Orchestra; and the third at a *Pro Musica* concert in New York in 1930.

Riegger was born in Georgia in 1885. He was brought up in Indianapolis, and he had a thorough musical education. He later studied with Goetschius in New York, in Berlin with Edgar Stillman Kelley and Anton Hekking. Besides the *Study in Sonority* his works include a trio in

B minor; a string quartet; an *American Polonaise* for orchestra; *La Belle Dame sans Merci,* for eight instruments and four singers; a rhapsody for orchestra; a suite for flute alone; and four canons for wood-winds. The trio was awarded the Paderewski prize in 1921, and *La Belle Dame* the Coolidge prize in 1921.

Where other composers had astonished us by using their fists on the piano keys, HENRY COWELL came along and used his whole forearm. Only in this way could he strike all the keys he wanted to include in single chords. He has definite notions about harmonic and rhythmic combinations, and has lately presented his ideas in a book, *New Musical Resources.* He is concerned with overtones, normal and abnormal. Instead of letting a single tone produce its overtones unaided, the performer must sound the actual notes of these overtones as he plays.

He was born in California in 1897. When he was five he studied the violin, but when he was eight he gave his instrument away. Then he decided to become a composer, and deliberately developed his mind, and practised on it, as he says, to acquire more perfect mental hearing. He claims that he did not break the rules of music, for he didn't know them; he rather composed without reference to them. He used simple concords to express simple thoughts; and dissonance to tell of anger or the passions of modern life. Then he came to study music at the University of California and later in New York, and was shocked to find that the rules of music played favorites, and were partial to concords. This was obviously unfair. So Cowell decided he would give both a chance; but if anyone can find the concords in his music he is welcome to them.

For full orchestra he has written a symphony and three tone-poems—*Vestiges; Some Music and Some More Music;* and *Communication.* He has a concerto for orchestra and piano; and a concerto "for piano strings." For chamber orchestra a *Symphonietta;* a *Polyphonica;* and a chamber

ballet, *Atlantis.* He has several compositions for string quartet; the *Quartet Pedantic; Movement; Quartet Romantic;* and *Quartet Euphometric. The Building of Banba* is a two-act opera.

The titles of some of his piano pieces are illuminating: *Six Ings—Floating, Frisking, Fleeting, Scooting, Wafting,* and *Seething; Advertisement; Amiable Conversation; Antimony; Dynamic Motion; Fabric;* and *What's This?* He has also written some songs, and has established a quarterly magazine for publishing modern compositions—*New Music.*

CHARLES IVES may not ask the pianist to use his forearm, but it is almost necessary to take a ruler to the keyboard for playing his music. Yet there is a philosophy behind his work that deserves attention. He believes that the "old" and "new" are either parts of the same substance or they are non-existent. That the apostles of each are usually taken up with abusing each other or getting in their own way. And he points out, truly enough, that while each examines and appreciates the other to some extent, the radicals fight in a bigger way than their opponents. They generally pay homage to the "old"; while many of the conservatives ignore the "new" and deride it. And as for the manner of speech, he writes:

> If idioms are more to be born than to be selected, then the things of life and human nature that a man has grown up with—(not that one man's experience is better than another's, but that it is *his*)—may give him something better in his substance and manner than an overlong period of super-imposed idiomatic education which quite likely doesn't fit his constitution. My father used to say, "If a poet knows more about a horse than he does about heaven, he might better stick to the horse, and some day the horse may carry him into heaven."

Ives was born in Connecticut in 1874. His father was a musician, teacher of the violin, piano, and theory, who played in the town brass band at Danbury, led the village choir, the music at camp meetings and the local choral

society. He also was a student of acoustics, and made many experiments in the character of musical instruments, tonal combinations and tone divisions. The son was his pupil, and after his father's death he studied with Dudley Buck and Harry Rowe Shelley, and Horatio Parker at Yale.

He has been an organist, at Danbury, New Haven, and New York; but in 1898 he entered business, and has since kept his music as an avocation. His modernism developed while he was still in Yale, and in spite of the frowns he probably had from Parker, he tried his experiments on the orchestra of a local theatre at rehearsal time. His first work to be published was his second sonata, *Concord, Massachusetts, 1840-60,* with its four movements named *Emerson, Hawthorne, The Alcotts,* and *Thoreau.* It was accompanied by an essay, printed in a separate volume. The composer said that his sonata was an attempt "to present one person's impression of the spirit of transcendentalism that is associated with the minds of Concord over half a century ago. This is undertaken in impressionistic pictures of Emerson and Thoreau, a sketch of the Alcotts, and a scherzo supposed to reflect a lighter quality often found in the fantastic side of Hawthorne."

When the sonata was first distributed most musicians were astonished by its appalling technical difficulties, bizarre beyond serious consideration. Part of it was played at the 1928 Salzburg Festival, but to my knowledge it has never been publicly performed in this country.

Sometime later a printed volume of one hundred and fourteen songs appeared. They were fully as puzzling as the sonata. Some were simple *lieder* and others were based on a polytonality that makes almost inhuman demands of the singer. He has written four symphonies, the first two in conventional forms. A movement from the fourth has been published by *New Music,* Cowell's quarterly magazine. Ives describes it as a "comedy in which the easy and worldly progress through life is contrasted with the trials of the

Pilgrims in their journey through swamp and rough country." As one reviewer said, "The score looks as though chickenpox had struck it." It is scored for everything possible, the usual resources of the modern orchestra, with high bells and low bells, Indian drum, snare and bass drums, cymbals and gongs, a solo piano, and an orchestral piano with two players, all thrown in to keep the music from sounding thin. If anything were needed to show the machine age gone wrong, this should take several prizes, for the double bass and 'cello glissandos look for all the world like falling elevators.

He has written four violin sonatas; three of them have been played in New York. There are also a string quartet, and three orchestral suites, one of them a group of three *New England Scenes*. Recently he has been interested in quarter tones, and has provided HANS BARTH with some quarter-tone pieces for his programs.

The quarter-tone piano that Barth has had made for recitals of his own and others' music, is really two pianos made into one, with a double keyboard. The two sets of strings are tuned a quarter-tone apart. Whether this produces actual quarter tones, or whether the real thing would need a new tempering, different from that of the diatonic scale on which our present tuning is based, is a question for experts in acoustics and tone intervals. Nevertheless, Barth has travelled through the country with his instrument, and has introduced some novel music. In 1930 he played his quarter-tone concerto for piano and orchestra with the Philadelphia Symphony. It was an interesting experiment, but to ears unused to the smaller intervals it sounded like two pianos not in tune with each other, being played at once. Barth was born in Leipsic in 1896, and was brought to America at the age of six. He has also written a quintet for strings and quarter-tone piano, and a suite for quarter-tone strings, with brass and kettledrums.

And there are other modernists: DAVID BARNETT, a

young pianist who is somewhat mild in his experiments. CARLOS CHAVEZ, a Mexican visitor who may be truly American in the primitivism of his Pan-American background. DANE RUDHYAR, a Frenchman who has been with us for a dozen years, and who writes what he calls "syntonistic" music. TADEUZ IARECKI, whose string quartet won the Berkshire chamber music prize. CARLOS SALZEDO, the harpist; and of course the French EDGAR VARÈSE, whom some think the greatest of all. His *Hyperprism, Octandre,* and the *Amèriques* are thrilling interpretations of riveting machines, police whistles, motor horns, fire bells, drills and blasting. Maybe these things are, after all, the music of the future.

So these are our impressionist composers—a goodly company. Go hear their music, and see how you like it. But don't laugh until you have heard each piece several times. Remember that once when a Mozart symphony was played for the first time, several musicians rushed up to look at the score. "Why," they all exclaimed, "the wrong notes are written in the music!"

Chapter XVII

OUR LIGHTER MUSICAL MOMENTS

I. YESTERDAY

MOST of the popular music of the day has been transitory; here to-day, and gone to-morrow, with something new to take its place. And not always so new, either. Often the latest songs are old ideas rehashed and modernized. Yet with each generation the type of popular music changes; as people become sophisticated their songs do likewise. Of course much of the music discussed in our early chapters has been popular music, especially the early balladry and minstrel songs. Stephen Foster's songs were, and still are, songs that people everywhere sing. The only difference has been that Foster's songs have been the real thing, and have endured. They have passed from the category of popular music into that of true folk-songs.

If you really understand the popular songs of America, from their beginnings to the present day, you will understand Americans. For Americans, like all other peoples, must have songs to tell what they are thinking about and to extol their heroes. When we are at war, we sing about our boys at the front; when Lindy crosses the Atlantic the lyric writers get busy to tell what a fine fellow he is; when Caruso dies we learn that *They Needed a Song-Bird in Heaven, So God Took Caruso Away*. When the transcontinental telephone is opened, we sing *Hello, San Francisco*.

In the middle of the century Foster started to produce his songs, and the minstrel shows were entering their prime.

During the years of the Civil War, *The Battle Cry of Freedom, Tramp, Tramp, Tramp,* and other war songs were popular. Temperance agitation brought forth songs that painted the horrors of drink—Work's *Come Home, Father,* appeared in 1864. There were many comic songs: *Champagne Charlie* in 1867, *Shew Fly, Don't Bother Me* in 1869. Harrigan and Hart, the minstrel team, brought forth a number of songs satirizing the foibles of their time. *The Mulligan Guard* poked fun at the military organizations that had sprung up after the Civil War, and which were really a menace politically. The song ridiculed them so effectively that the majority of them disappeared.

Then of course there were the songs of sentiment. They are always with us. As Sigmund Spaeth says in the title of his recent book, *They Still Sing of Love;* and they probably always will. It was in the nineties that the story-telling song came into its greatest vogue. CHARLES K. HARRIS gave it a tremendous boost with *After the Ball.* Harris was born in the late sixties, and lived in Milwaukee in his earlier years. His autobiography is one of the best accounts of the song-writing business in existence. It tells how a natural melodist thinks of his songs and then has an arranger write them down for him; and of how songs were promoted and made popular in the days before the radio and the sound pictures. Harris was smart enough to realize that the vogue of his songs depended on the popularity of the actors and singers who sang them in public, and he wrote songs to fit various situations in the plays they acted in. Among his best known lyrics were *Break the News to Mother; Hello, Central, Give Me Heaven* (one of the first telephone songs); *Can You Pay for a Broken Heart?; Kiss and Let's Make Up; Why Don't They Play with Me?; No One to Kiss You Good-night; My Mother's Kiss* (*The Sweetest Kiss of All*), and many others. He was also influential in having the copyright bill of 1909 passed. This enabled song writers and composers to collect royalties from

the sale of phonograph records and other reproducing devices.[1]

PAUL DRESSER was an older man than Harris, he lived from 1857 to 1911, but his songs were of the same type. He was best known for a song that has been almost a folk-song—*On the Banks of the Wabash, Far Away;* but he wrote many of the story songs too: *The Letter That Never Came; Just Tell Them That You Saw Me; She Went to the City;* and others. *The Blue and the Gray* was first copyrighted in 1890, but it became popular in the days of the Spanish War, with a line changed (or added) to the chorus, telling that one of the sons was laid away at Santiago. The others lay at Appomattox and Chickamauga.

These years produced many songs by contemporaries of Dresser and Harris. Among the comics—*Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly?; Tammany.* From the Spanish War songs, *A Hot Time in the Old Town To-Night; Good-by, Dolly Gray.* And among the sentimental songs such gems as *The Little Lost Child* (which Spaeth claims was the first to be illustrated with lantern slides); *My Mother Was a Lady,* or *If Jack Were Only Here,* and others equally effective in drawing tears. The song writer of the nineties was somewhat in the position of the minister who must find ideas for his sermons from daily occurrences. The lyricist developed song stories from characters he met on the streets, or homely incidents of everyday life.

We discussed many of the ballad writers in our chapter on song composers, but ERNEST R. BALL (1878-1927) really belongs here, because his sentimental songs achieved a popularity equal to any of the songs of the day. For several years *Love Me and the World is Mine* decorated the music desks of pianos in parlors all over the country, and was sung in all kinds of places. Ball wrote it in 1906 and then in 1910 followed its success with *Mother Machree,* which he wrote with Chauncey Olcott to words by Rida

[1] Harris died December 22, 1930.

Johnson Young. He tried to follow its success a few years later with *She's the Daughter of Mother Machree,* but it never took hold of the public fancy the way the first one had. He also wrote *Till the Sands of the Desert Grow Cold; Let the Rest of the World Go By; West of the Great Divide,* and others. He was born in Cleveland, and in addition to being a song writer he was a professional entertainer. His songs were highly sentimental, and not of great lasting value, but they nevertheless had something of an individuality.

PATRICK SARSFIELD GILMORE (1829-1892) has already made his appearance in our book. We heard of his Peace Jubilees when we discussed Matthias Keller's National Hymn.[2]

He was something of a composer too, and claimed the authorship of *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* (1863), a song that was popular for years after the Civil War. Gilmore was best known as a bandmaster. His was the crack band of his day; it was really the first of our concert bands. He was born in Ireland in 1829, came first to Canada and then to Massachusetts, where he organized and conducted a band of his own. During the Civil War he was bandmaster of the Union Army. After the Jubilee Festivals he moved to New York, got together another band, and made tours all over the country.

JOHN PHILIP SOUSA has been Gilmore's successor, and he has carried the concert band to heights it had never achieved before. He has devised an instrumentation that allows of effects as soft as those of a symphony orchestra. Moreover, his marches have earned him the title of "March King," for he has been to the march what Johann Strauss was to the waltz. *The Stars and Stripes Forever; The Washington Post; The High School Cadets; The Gladiator,* are only a few of the many that bear the indelible Sousa trade-mark. He has written ten comic operas—the

[2] Pp. 313-314.

most successful *The Bride Elect; El Capitán;* and *The Free Lance.* There are many other compositions of a miscellaneous variety; and as a writer he has not only written the lyrics and librettos of some of his operas, he has published three novels, and written an autobiography, *Marching Along,* one of the most readable books of memoirs in American literature.

He has had a remarkable career, bringing recognition from all over the world. He was born in 1854 in Washington, the son of a Portuguese father and a Bavarian mother. When he was ten he had violin lessons with a local teacher named John Esputa, and later studied theory and composition with G. F. Benkert. He learned to play band instruments, and his father had him enlist in the Marine Band when he was thirteen. He also played in civilian orchestras. Later he got a discharge from the Marine Band, and in 1872, at eighteen, became the director of the orchestra at Washington's Theatre Comique, a variety house. Later he led the orchestra in a comedy company, and for Morgan's Living Pictures. This was in the days when undraped ladies were rarer on the stage than they are to-day, and there were several encounters with the authorities in various cities.

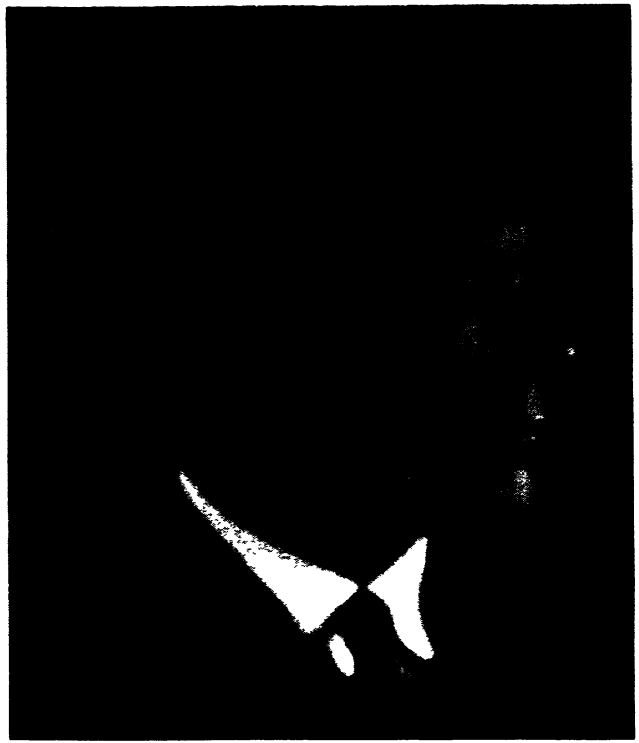
In 1876 he went to Philadelphia, played under Offenbach, and at several of the theatres. In 1880 he was appointed director of the Marine Band in Washington, and in the twelve years he held the position he served under five presidents—Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison. He made a new band of what had been a mere routine organization; built up its library, changed its instrumentation, and raised its morale. In 1892 he formed his own band, which gave its first concert in Plainfield, New Jersey, September 26th. The first season was not too successful financially, owing to the manager's poor judgment in selecting the towns the band was to visit. Sousa had more courage than his manager, and he insisted that they keep

Emerson Whithorne.
(See page 559.)

Courtesy of Musical America.

Louis Gruenberg.
(See page 563.)

Aaron Copland.
(See page 566.)



Roy Harris.
(See page 572.)

on; with the result that after the first season the band became an immense success. There were annual tours through the United States and Canada, four to Europe, and one around the world. The band has been engaged for almost all of our important expositions, starting with the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. In 1917, when America had entered the World War, Sousa became a lieutenant in the Naval Reserve. He has been decorated by crowned heads and by various academies and societies.

Another of our composers who was a splendid musician, but who will always be best known for his lighter music, was VICTOR HERBERT (1859-1924), a native of Ireland who came to this country when he was twenty-seven. He was the grandson of Samuel Lover, the famous Irish novelist, playwright, and composer—author and composer of *Rory O'More* and *The Low Backed Car.* Herbert was trained in Germany, at the Stuttgart Conservatory, and became an able 'cellist. In 1886 he married a Viennese opera singer, Therese Foerster. She had been engaged for the Metropolitan in New York, and Herbert came to America with her and became first 'cellist in the orchestra at the opera house. He was soon engaged for several appearances with the Thomas and Seidl orchestras, and in 1887 introduced his own concerto and suite for 'cello. He produced a second 'cello concerto in 1894, and dedicated it to the New York Philharmonic. From 1894 to 1898 he was bandmaster of the twenty-second regiment of the New York National Guard. Then he went to Pittsburgh, where he was conductor of the symphony orchestra until 1904. After that he came back to New York and devoted most of his time to composition.

He made two attempts at grand opera. In 1911 *Natoma,* based on an Indian theme; and in 1914 *Madeleine.* Both were produced. *Natoma* by the Philadelphia-Chicago Opera Company in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and on tour (35 performances); and in 1914 by the Aborn

Company at New York's Century Theatre. *Madeleine* was produced at the Metropolitan in New York, and had four performances. But Herbert was never happy in his choice of librettos for his grand operas; he lacked the literary and dramatic judgment and taste necessary to selecting a work suited to serious treatment on the opera stage.

So it is always as a composer of light operas that we will know and love him, and without doubt hear his music for many years to come. There is a sparkle and a freshness about his tunes that is all too rare in light music. He had few failures, most of his operettas enjoyed long runs wherever they were produced, and they are being constantly revived to-day. He wrote almost forty, among them *The Fortune Teller* (1898); *Babes in Toyland* (1903); *It Happened in Nordland* (1904); *Mlle. Modiste* (1905); *The Red Mill* (1906); *The Rose of Algeria* (1908); *Little Nemo* (1908); *Naughty Marietta* (1910); *The Lady of the Slipper* (1912); *The Madcap Duchess* (1913); *Eileen* (1917).

And the songs from these operettas are still whistled by those who remember the plays, and by those who have heard them sung and played since they were first produced. *Kiss Me Again,* from *Mlle. Modiste; Because You're You,* from *The Red Mill; Italian Street Song* from *Naughty Marietta; Toyland* from *Babes in Toyland;* and dozens of others. It may be that in the change of musical fashions and the coming of jazz we are growing away from the music of Victor Herbert; yet it seems to be holding its own, for there are certainly millions of people who still like to hear it. He was a musician who knew his medium, and while he undoubtedly had ambitions for his works in more pretentious forms, he was never ashamed to be known for what he could do best. For in that field he was very great.

Another composer known for light opera was REGINALD DE KOVEN (1859-1920), whose *Robin Hood* has become a standard work. De Koven, like Herbert, was a serious

musician, and wrote two grand operas: *The Canterbury Pilgrims,* produced at the New York Metropolitan in 1917; and *Rip Van Winkle,* presented by the Chicago company in Chicago and in New York in 1920.

He was born in Middletown, Connecticut, the son of a clergyman who moved to England when his son was thirteen. Consequently De Koven had his university training at Oxford, and graduated from St. John's College when he was twenty. Then he went to the Continent to study music. Piano with Speidel and Leibert, and harmony with Pruckner at Stuttgart. Composition with Hauff at Frankfort; singing with Vannuccini at Florence; and finally composition with Genée and Delibes in Vienna and Paris. Then he came back to America and was active as a music critic and as a composer. For the season of 1889-90 he wrote musical reviews for the Chicago *Evening Post.* The next year he came to New York and was music critic for the *World* for seven years; then for two years for the *Journal.* From 1902 to 1905 he was conductor of a Philharmonic Orchestra in Washington, which he organized. Then he came back to New York and from 1907 to 1912 he wrote for the *World* again. In his last years he had resumed the rôle of critic, and was music editor of the New York *Herald.*

He had an agreeable flow of melody, and a facile gift for scoring, which give him a place somewhat akin to the English Sullivan. He published over four hundred songs, many piano pieces, an orchestral suite, and ballets. But his fame rests chiefly on his operettas. *Robin Hood* (1890) was one of the earliest, and by all odds the best of them. Of the almost twenty he wrote and produced, the best known are *The Knickerbockers* (1893); *The Algerian* (1893); *The Highwayman* (1897); *Red Feather* (1903); *The Golden Butterfly* (1907); *The Beauty Spot* (1909); and *Her Little Highness* (1913).

It is impossible to predict at this early date whether or not the World War produced any songs by Americans that

will have the immortality of a few from the Civil War. Some of the popular songs of the soldiers and their friends at home are still sung. ZO ELLIOTT's *Long, Long Trail* is still winding at sing-fests of all sorts. GEOFFREY O'HARA's *K-K-K-Katy* still makes many of us stammer willingly, and the *Smiles* of LEE ROBERTS have not come off yet. But the song that was the biggest hit of the war days, *Over There,* seems to be losing its hold. It was written by GEORGE M. COHAN, one of the most versatile of our stage comedians, a man who has shown considerable talent as a writer of popular songs.

Of course we sang many songs of the allies in the war days—*Tipperary* and *Keep the Home Fires Burning* from England; and our soldiers made ardent love to the French *Madelon.* Most of the American songs were in a light, adventurous strain. There was nothing of hate in them, they were all cheerful and philosophic. Even when they told the Kaiser what they would do to him they joked about it.

To get closest to the life of the soldier in camp, it is best to study the songs he actually sang on his way to the front—the innumerable parodies on published versions. These are presented in several anthologies—Dolph's *Sound Off;* Niles' *Singing Soldiers,* and *Songs My Mother Never Taught Me,* and others.

Nor have serious composers appeared to make a more lasting contribution to music than their popular colleagues through their songs of the war period. Horatio Parker's *Commemorative Ode* is among his best writing, but it is not often heard. There were dozens of settings of John McRae's poem, *In Flanders Fields;* few of them seem destined to long life. Fay Foster's *The Americans Come,* Oley Speaks' *When the Boys Come Home,* had their vogue when people were thinking in terms of war, and their sons at the front.

The World War songs are not the historical documents

that those of the Civil War have proved to be, probably because of the state of mind of the American soldier—his adventurous attitude in going over, and the ability of his humor to save him from bitterness and rancor. Judged from its songs, the World War would seem a joyous pilgrimage; which perhaps was just as well, for the singing of the soldiers was one of the things that kept them going.

Aside from the music of Herbert, DeKoven, Sousa and a few others who were real musicians, the popular songs of yesterday were extremely simple in their harmonic dress. Tonic, dominant, and sub-dominant, with a few obvious modulations and an occasional diminished seventh, were all that were required of the arrangers. The songs depended either on their melodies, or in the case of comic songs, on the humor of their words. In some ways this is as it should be, for a song to be really practical as a popular song should have enough interest in its melody to make people want to sing it or whistle it even when they can have no accompaniment. If it depends on a rich harmonization to make it attractive, people will soon forget it.

Always think of popular songs in terms of the period in which they were written and sung. For example, the songs of the nineties as coming from the latter Victorian era, when rococo decorations were rampant, and couples went cycling of a holiday. Only when you think of them in their proper setting will they mean to you all that they should mean; for in many respects songs are history.

2. TO-DAY

The popular music of to-day brings to mind one word—*Jazz;* in capital letters. Yet this is not altogether correct. Many people use the term to cover all of our current popular music; but all of it is by no means jazz. Irving Berlin's songs, with one or two exceptions, are reversions to the sentimental ballads of the nineties; and so are many of the

movie theme songs. Real jazz music is a distinct thing in itself.

To discuss jazz intelligently we must go back a few years, to the days when we called its parent *rag-time*. Jazz is quite different and more elaborate than rag-time, but it is its child nevertheless. Rag-time was a form of syncopation that became popular about 1895. Kerry Mills' *The Georgia Camp Meeting* (1897) was one of the first well-known rag-time pieces, and after that almost all of the so-called coon songs were in ragged rhythm. Learned scholars are still arguing as to whether the syncopated elements of rag-time were originally of African origin, and found their way to our present-day jazz through the Negro spirituals; or whether they just happened. Of course, syncopation is common to all music, and was used by classic masters over a century ago. Yet the way it has been developed in this country is at least novel, even if it did originate somewhere else.

The early rag-time was very simple. It consisted of a regular accompaniment, and a melody whose rhythmic accent fell on a weak rather than a strong beat. And that is the basis of jazz, for jazz is primarily a matter of rhythm. To some it means a music that is lively, pepped up; and colored by a bizarre instrumentation of its own peculiar orchestra. To others it means a contrapuntal weaving of irregular rhythmic patterns.

Jazz as we know it to-day was developed by extemporizing musicians, who would improvise counter melodies on the clarinet (if the first of them could be called melodies), while a pianist or cornetist played the tune. Then when such noises became a favorite indoor sport of expensive cafés, musicians started to write on paper what each player should do, and jazz became what it is at present—a highly sophisticated form of light music, developed to such a point that it has attracted the attention of serious musicians the world over.

Paul Rosenfeld opens his book on *American Music* with the statement that American music is not jazz, and he is probably correct. But jazz is American, probably the most American thing we have yet produced. Its Americanism is found both in its sources and in its character. Some of it comes from the Negro; from the blues and the spirituals; from the shouts of the revival meetings. Take these to Broadway and you get jazz. The result is something that reflects the feverish pace of modern life, our jauntiness and our frivolity, and in between, our sentimentality. Its limitations are found in the rigidity of its accompaniment; the monotonous four-four beat of the banjo, the piano and the other instruments that grind out the basic rhythm. When this is overcome, and Aaron Copland thinks it can be, jazz may be capable of true symphonic development.

The student of jazz will find several treatises available to him. Paul Whiteman's book, *Jazz,* which is largely an autobiographical set of memoirs, and *So This Is Jazz,* by the late Henry O. Osgood. The latter is the better of the two; it is fully as entertaining as Whiteman's book, and thoroughly scholarly in its analysis of the jazz phenomenon and in its historical data. Osgood examines the various legends on the origin of the word itself, as verb, noun and adjective and, with the true instinct of the scholar, comes to no conclusion. He traces the careers of the earliest known jazz bands, and tells the story of *Razz's Band* in New Orleans; the doings of *Chas.* ("Chaz") *Washington* in Vicksburg; and how Joseph K. Gorham started the jazz craze in the country by bringing one of the bands to a café in Chicago in the Winter of 1915-16.

The vogue of jazz really dates from that season. It spread through the country from coast to coast in an incredibly short time, and became a favorite topic of discussion—pro and con. At first the cons had everything on their side, for most of the jazz was pretty crude stuff. Then when the skilled arrangers got busy, and really created

a new sonority with muted brass and saxophones, they won many converts to the new music.

TED LEWIS was one of the first. He came from Circleville, Ohio, where his name was Theodore Lewis Friedman. He learned to play the clarinet and was promptly ousted from the boys' band of the city when he improvised a genuine rag-time break in a performance of the *Poet and Peasant Overture*. He ultimately landed at Coney Island as a clarinetist of Earl Fuller's band, and because he was so agile with his clarinet, the whole band was engaged for Rector's in New York, with Lewis as the star performer. He started his own band in 1917, and after that his way has been prosperous, even though it has been hard on the ears of some of his listeners.

For Lewis is jazz in all its primitive urge. There were only a few men in his band at first. He played his clarinet; and had for his helpers a piano player, a cornetist, a trombonist, and a drummer who included in his battery frying pans, rattles, tin cans, cow bells and whistles. The cornetist and pianist were principally concerned with playing the tune. The trombonist added color with glissandos and all sorts of amazing outbursts. The drummer was always busy, throwing his traps in the air, pounding his bass drum with his feet, and holding his whistle in his teeth. Ted was comedian. He stood, or rather pranced, in front of his men, battered top hat on one side of his head, as he made his faithful clarinet squeal like a pig, and do other things that seemed to have little to do with the music.

This was the original jazz, a far cry from the more stereotyped forms we know to-day. Yet much of this exuberance has been carried into the various refinements of modern arrangers. PAUL WHITEMAN was the first to make jazz respectable. In some ways he has done for the jazz band what Gilmore and later Sousa did for the military band—he made a concert organization out of it. Whiteman was born in Denver in 1891. His father was super-

visor of music in the public schools, and one of the pioneers in high school orchestras. Paul was drafted as a violinist, and later became first viola player in the Denver Symphony Orchestra. When he was twenty-two he left Denver and went to San Francisco. He played there in the World's Fair Orchestra in 1915, and later he became a member of the San Francisco Symphony under Alfred Hertz. This was the time when jazz came to the coast, and Whiteman was interested. He left the symphony and got a job in Tait's orchestra, from which he was fired after one night because he couldn't play jazz. So he decided to learn, and gradually gathered around him a group of six or seven who wanted to learn too.

Then the War came along, and Whiteman's little band fell apart. Paul weighed three hundred pounds at the time, so he couldn't get into the Army as a soldier, but enlisted as a band leader instead. When the War was over, he became leader of the orchestra at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco. Later he organized a band of his own, which had several ups and downs; from being regularly hired, to playing in a dance hall at a Southern California Beach where a tin can was hung in front of the orchestra to catch the silver dollars of those who were naturally generous.

Then he was engaged for the Hotel Alexandria at Los Angeles, and his real career dates from that time. The next engagement was at the Hotel Ambassador in Atlantic City; thence to the Palais Royal in New York; to England; and back home to a glory that has not yet dimmed. For all the while he had been having ideas, and either putting them into effect himself, or entrusting them to such adept arrangers as Ferde Grofé, the pianist who was with him in Los Angeles. The first shock the musical world had from Whiteman was the colorful jazzing of such bits of musical literature as Rimsky-Korsakoff's *Song of India.* When he jazzed some of the classics in England one of the

critics publicly asked him to stick to jazz and keep his "dirty hands off his musical betters." Which wasn't altogether nice, even though it did crystallize the opinions of some musicians. For no matter what they thought of the ethics of the proceeding, it must be admitted that the result was voluptuously beautiful, that it introduced a new instrumental coloring, and that a lot of people heard fine tunes who might not have heard them otherwise.

It was in 1924 that Whiteman made his first gesture in the grand manner, when he took jazz to the concert halls, and, as Osgood says, made an honest woman of her. All this was done in a concert at Æolian Hall, in New York, on the afternoon of February 12th. The affair was called "An Experiment in Modern Music," and the full program should be printed here, for the occasion made musical history.

TRUE FORM OF JAZZ

a. Ten Years Ago—Livery Stable Blues ..... La Rocca
b. With Modern Embellishment—
Mama Loves Papa ..... Baer

COMEDY SELECTIONS

a. Origin of Yes, We Have No Bananas ..... Silver
b. Instrumental Comedy—
So This is Venice ..... Thomas
Adapted from the Carnival of Venice

CONTRAST—LEGITIMATE vs. JAZZING

a. Selection in True Form—
Whispering ..... Schonberger
b. Same Selection with Jazz Treatment

RECENT COMPOSITIONS WITH MODERN SCORE

a. Limehouse Blues ..... Braham
b. I Love You ..... Archer
c. Raggedy Ann ..... Kern

FLAVORING A SELECTION WITH BORROWED TUNES

Russian Rose ....Grofé
Based on the Song of the Volga Boatmen

SEMI-SYMPHONIC ARRANGEMENT OF POPULAR MELODIES
Consisting of
Alexander's Ragtime Band
A Pretty Girl is Like a Melody } ..... Berlin
Orange Blossoms in California

A SUITE OF SERENADES ..... Herbert
a. Spanish; b. Chinese; c. Cuban; d. Oriental

ADAPTATION OF STANDARD SELECTIONS TO DANCE RHYTHM
a. Pale Moon ..... Logan
b. To a Wild Rose ..... MacDowell
c. Chansonette ..... Friml

GEORGE GERSHWIN—Piano—
A Rhapsody in Blue ..... Gershwin
Accompanied by the Orchestra

IN THE FIELD OF CLASSICS
Pomp and Circumstance ..... Elgar

So there was the story in a nutshell. It showed what jazz could do to conventional melodies, and what symphonic treatment could do for popular tunes. But most important of all was the introduction of GEORGE GERSHWIN as a serious composer, a lad who had previously been known as a writer of gay tunes for musical comedies. Gershwin was born in Brooklyn in 1898, had some musical training with Charles Hambitzer and Edward Kelenyi from the time he was thirteen, and at sixteen became a song-plugger for J. H. Remick & Company in New York. He also had some lessons with Rubin Goldmark.

He began to write songs of his own, songs with a spontaneity, an unexpected twist of rhythm, tune or harmony that attracted immediate attention and soon had everybody whistling. His first song was *When You Want 'Em, You Can't Get 'Em; When You Got 'Em, You Don't Want 'Em.* His first success was *I Was So Young, You Were So*

Beautiful, interpolated in a musical comedy called *Good Morning, Judge!,* produced in 1919. His first show was produced that year—*La, La, Lucille.*

Swanee was the song that first brought Gershwin real fame, after it was interpolated by Al Jolson in *Sinbad.* Since then he has had many hits and made a fortune. Such songs as *The Man I Love, I'm Feeling I'm Falling,* and *Fascinating Rhythm* have a very real distinction and a high degree of originality.

But it is as a serious composer for the concert halls that Gershwin has ambitions, and as such he has attracted considerable attention. In fact the English-Russian conductor Albert Coates, when asked in 1930 to make a list of the fifty best musical compositions of all time, chose Gershwin's piano concerto as the only work by an American to take a place with the other forty-nine world masterpieces. In announcing his choice, Mr. Coates was careful to add that his list had an unavoidable personal bias, for there is no such thing, he said, as absolute objectivity or complete detachment in art. His selection of fifty works was based on their universal appeal, their survival of the test of time, or in the case of modern pieces, on their significance as an expression of the present day.

Maybe Gershwin does deserve this place, but Mr. Coates will have to work hard to convince many musicians and critics that the piano concerto in F should take such high rank. For when he wrote it in response to an invitation of Walter Damrosch as conductor of the New York Symphony Society, Gershwin was a little too mindful of his musical manners; his desire to hold his knife and fork correctly took away much of the natural charm that had been found in his previous *Rhapsody in Blue,* where he had been less polite but more effective.

But to return for a moment to Whiteman. When he was planning the program for his 1924 "experiment," he was faced with quite a problem. It was all right to ask music

critics to come around and listen to his arrangements of pretty little tunes and his jazzing of the classics, but there had to be some *pièce de résistance* to use as a climax, and as a reason for the band's being in the concert hall at all; something new, written especially for the party. So he turned to George Gershwin, who had always been obliging, and had shown on many occasions that he could write to order. George hit upon the idea of writing a piano piece which he himself could play with the orchestra, a sort of concerto. In ten days he completed the *Rhapsody in Blue,* and the trusty arranger Ferde Grofé, confronted with a task for which there was no precedent in musical history, orchestrated the piece for Whiteman's band, and thereby taught a few things to musical theorists in the way of tone coloring.

I remember the dress rehearsal of the concert. It was held in the Palais Royal; mid-afternoon when the heavy drapes looked gloomy and the tables bare. There was quite an audience, standing around or sitting here and there in groups on the scattered chairs. Victor Herbert was there to conduct the *Serenades* he had written for the program. Carl Van Vechten and Gilbert Seldes drifted in to see what it was all about. The music critics came for an advance hearing, and of course many Broadway friends of the composer. Things were interesting right along through the afternoon, but the climax came when Ross Gorman's clarinet started to laugh in the opening bars of the *Rhapsody.* And how it did chuckle. Here was something new; the conventional and not so conventional syncopations of the jazz artists given development and symphonic treatment. Real Broadway-like tunes, blues and all, woven together. Then the middle section, with a more Tschaikowskian theme; warm and compelling.

That was six years ago, and they say that people are still buying lots of phonograph records of the *Rhapsody in Blue.* It was a feature of Whiteman's 1930 sound picture, *The*

King of Jazz, and it looks as though the piece had considerable staying quality. Anyway, it put Gershwin on the map musically, and Whiteman too; for, as Osgood wrote, it was the first work that allowed jazz to stick its head outside the cabaret door.

So Gershwin was recognized as a serious composer, and though he has continued to pile up his material wealth by his musical comedies, he has worked hard to develop himself as a musician. The Damrosch commission came in 1925, and this time Gershwin decided he would do his own scoring. Anyway the piece was to be for symphony orchestra, not the jazz band instrumentation of which Grofé was a master. So when he had finished his score, to make sure that it would sound as he had written it, Gershwin hired the Globe Theatre and an orchestra of sixty musicians to play the piece over for a few hours to see what it sounded like. Then when he had made a few changes in the string parts, he took the score to Damrosch.

Mr. Damrosch presented Gershwin and the concerto with these remarks:

> Various composers have been walking around jazz like a cat around a plate of hot soup, waiting for it to cool off, so that they could enjoy it without burning their tongues, hitherto accustomed only to the more tepid liquid distilled by cooks of the classical school. Lady Jazz, adorned with her intriguing rhythms, has danced her way around the world, even as far as the Eskimos of the North and the Polynesians of the South Sea Isles. But for all her travels and her sweeping popularity, she has encountered no knight who could lift her to a level that would enable her to be received as a respectable member in musical circles.
>
> George Gershwin seems to have accomplished this miracle. He has done it boldly by dressing this extremely independent and up-to-date young lady in the classic garb of a concerto. Yet he has not detracted one whit from her fascinating personality. He is the Prince who has taken Cinderella by the hand and openly proclaimed her a princess to the astonished world, no doubt to the fury of her envious sisters.

After that George played his best, which is a very good best; but nevertheless the piece was not another *Rhapsody*

in Blue. Technically it was better, but there were repressions that seemed to have gotten hold of him when he knew he had been invited to play in the best of music society. His next important work was *An American in Paris,* written a few years later. He seems to have overcome some difficulties in this, but still it does not equal the *Rhapsody.*

Gershwin has one decided limitation. He is so much of jazz and the popular songs of the musical comedies, that one may speculate on whether he can ever become its master, as Aaron Copland may some day become. Gershwin writes the real thing, nothing synthetic about it. Yet just because it is so much the real thing, can he rise above his subjective feeling for it and make it something bigger? A wholly academic question, but interesting to ponder.[1]

The fact that it is the real thing is highly important. Many foreigners have tried their hands at idealizing jazz, with doubtful results. It looks as though only Americans can catch the true jazz spirit. Stravinsky tried it in his *Rag-time;* Krenek in his opera, *Jonny Spielt Auf;* Ravel in his piano and violin sonata; Poulenc in a ballet. But none of them have really written jazz. And some of our serious American composers have failed in the same way. As Osgood pointed out, their thoughts are not rowdy enough. We have already learned that John Alden Carpenter used jazz-effects in his *Krazy-Kat* and *Skyscrapers.* He wrote another piece especially for Whiteman—*A Little Bit of Jazz.* Deems Taylor tried his hand at *Circus Day* and had the specialist Grofé make the score for the jazz band. But it was more in the vein of Victor Herbert than the jazzists. Leo Sowerby wrote a piece for Whiteman that he called *Monotony,* and another called *Synconata.* But none of them touches the jazz bottom.

It is probably the job of the present historian of American music to appraise jazz, and to prophesy as to its future. But like many a good politician, this writer proposes to

[1] Gershwin died July 11, 1937. See supplementary chapters for the closing years of his career.

straddle the issue and to let others do the appraising and the prophesying, for there are plenty who are more than willing. There are only a few facts that are facts as yet. Jazz is characteristic of the age; in fact we have called our time the jazz age, referring to many customs other than music. Jazz has some things about it that seem to be unmistakably American. It has developed new uses for counter rhythms, and new tricks of orchestral coloring. It has found a place for the saxophone, an instrument which from the middle of the nineteenth century has had no permanent home. And maybe most important of all, jazz has made our popular music ingenious and musically something to be reckoned with. Surely some permanent good must come from all this. Maybe the next great composer, whatever nation he comes from, will take a little from the experiments of the modernists, something from the idiom of jazz, and with his own genius weld them together into a style all his own, which will later become common property. But his genius will be devastating; he will influence all that comes after him, just as Wagner produced the post-Wagnerians. Yet it will be worth its price when it comes.

There are other jazzists to discuss. FERDE GROFÉ especially, the arranger who has done as much as any other individual to develop a jazz instrumentation. Grofé was almost born a musician; in New York in 1892. His mother's father, Bernhardt Bierlich, was a 'cellist; shared first desk with Victor Herbert at the Metropolitan, and was after that solo 'cellist of the Los Angeles Symphony. His son, Grofé's uncle, was concert master of the Los Angeles Orchestra, and when he was old enough Grofé himself played viola in the same band. His father had been a singer with the original Bostonians. So it was agreed that young Ferde should *not* be a professional musician. But the jobs he tried as bank clerk, bookbinder, printer, were not so interesting, and he drifted back to music. To

playing for dances, either violin, viola or piano; travelling with a patent medicine vendor; playing in a saloon at a mining camp. Finally he got back to Los Angeles and eventually got a job in Whiteman's band at the Hotel Alexandria, in 1920. Whiteman was interested in developing new instrumental effects, and Grofé was interested too. So they talked things over, and started to make their own arrangements. Before that dance orchestras had borrowed the huddle system idea from foot-ball games, and had everything and everybody playing all the time. Just like the advertiser who hired a band for his radio program and came around to rehearsal one day. He noticed that in one passage the trombone player sat holding his instrument in his lap. "Why isn't that man playing?" he demanded. "There is no part for him here," said the leader; "he is supposed to rest during the second chorus." "Then write a part for him," thundered the man who was paying the bills, "I'll have no loafers in my orchestra."

Grofé conceived the idea of instrumental contrast, especially the "harmony chorus," where some solo instrument, often a saxophone, croons the melody softly and the brass gives it a subdued chord accompaniment. This was one of the first departures from noisy jazz, and it was not only an immediate relief, it paved the way for what jazz was ultimately to become: something that people would want to listen to. After a while Grofé retired as pianist of the orchestra, and devoted himself principally to making arrangements. Whiteman has left such matters largely in his hands. It was of course with the *Rhapsody in Blue* of Gershwin that Grofé made his reputation, and Gershwin's too, for that matter. For if the scoring had not been right, the piece itself would have fallen flat and Gershwin might not have had his day as a serious composer.

Grofé has done some composing of his own, mostly in the jazz manner. *Broadway at Night,* a tone-poem;

Mississippi Suite, in four movements; a piano suite, *Three Shades of Blue;* and a fantasy based on two Broadway themes, *Metropolis.*

Whiteman's appearances in the concert halls spurred another jazz conductor, VINCENT LOPEZ, to ask the critics and the intelligentsia to take him seriously. So where Whiteman had appeared in Æolian and later Carnegie Halls, Lopez engaged the Metropolitan Opera House for his concert in the Fall of 1924. He had a magnificent band, a brass section that could and still can play a pianissimo with a tone that would make many a symphonic conductor envious. He had several arrangers, among them the talented JOSEPH NUSSBAUM. The program of the concert was interesting. *A Biblical Suite,* by Vladimir Heifetz; a jazz band arrangement of Whithorne's *Pell Street;* and most important, *The Evolution of the Blues,* a symphonic potpourri by Nussbaum on the best of W. C. Handy's blues.

This man Handy (WILLIAM CHRISTOPHER HANDY is his full name) has already been introduced in our chapter on Negro music, for it was he who popularized the blues. He was born in Alabama in 1873, the son of a colored preacher. He had some musical education and travelled for many years as the bandmaster of a minstrel show. When he lived in Memphis he became steeped in the blues that the Negroes sang, put them on paper and published them. The *Memphis Blues* was the first, in 1912. Later the *St. Louis Blues,* and the *Beale Street.* Ultimately he settled in New York, where he founded a publishing firm, which survived post-war difficulties and is to-day prosperous.

ZEZ CONFREY is the young man who helped develop piano jazz. His *Kitten on the Keys* is something of a classic. Moreover he wrote and published an honest-to-goodness instruction book on "Novelty Piano Playing," in other words jazz piano playing. It told all the tricks of the trade, and one hundred and fifty thousand copies were sold in the first two months it came from the press. Confrey

was born in Illinois in 1895. That he might be a concert pianist he went to study at the Chicago Musical College, but he found that jazz was easier for him, and more profitable. He was soon engaged to make player-piano rolls for one of the leading companies.

Among the musical comedy composers who are writing songs in the modern vein, and with originality, RICHARD RODGERS takes a high place. Especially for *The Connecticut Yankee,* with its hauntingly melodious song, *My Heart Stood Still.* Rodgers is still in his twenties; he was born in New York in 1902. When he was a student at Columbia he wrote music for the 'Varsity shows, but before that he had had a Broadway production, for a show he had written when he was sixteen—*The Poor Little Ritz Girl.* He has written all of his musical comedies with the same lyricist, Lorenz Hart: *Dearest Enemy; The Girl Friend; Peggy Ann; Present Arms; The Connecticut Yankee; Chee-Chee; Spring is Here; Heads Up;* and *Simple Simon.* VINCENT YOUMANS is another; and LOU HIRSCH, who deserves fame for the ingenious rhythm of his song, *The Love Nest,* if for nothing else in his long list.

IRVING BERLIN has already been mentioned as a reversion to the spirit of the nineties; and this is literally true, even though his first big hit, *Alexander's Rag-Time Band* (1912), was a forerunner of the modern jazz song. Though the high-brows may frown on the Berlin vogue, the man really has an individuality all his own, a gift for conceiving luscious intervals, and wedding words and music so that they are inseparable.

His maiden name was Izzy Baline. Born in Russia in 1888, he was brought to America by his family when he was little more than a baby, and he has on his forehead to-day a scar that was caused by a knife, dropped by some one in a higher bunk of the steerage when he crossed on the steamer. He grew up on the lower East Side and the Bowery in New York, and started singing as a "busker."

Alexander Woollcott, in *The Story of Irving Berlin,* explains that the buskers are the American relatives of the comedians who sing in the Paris cafés, or on the sidewalks outside the London theatres. Little Izzy Baline was one of the buskers who haunted the Bowery saloons. Later he had a job as singing waiter at Nigger Mike's in Chinatown, reputed to be the gathering place of gangsters, thieves and gunmen, but more likely a show place for slumming parties from up-town.

Berlin wrote his first song while he was at Nigger Mike's—*Marie from Sunny Italy,* words by I. Berlin, music by N. Nicholson. Nicholson was the pianist at Nigger Mike's. At first Berlin wrote only the words of songs, his gift of melody was not apparent until later. He played the piano a little himself, enough to piece together the tunes he wrote, and then an arranger took them down and fixed up their harmonies for him. When he was fired from Nigger Mike's, because the boss found him asleep one morning when he was supposed to be watching the cash register, and found it short a few dollars which he, the boss, had himself borrowed from it the previous evening, Berlin went up-town and got to know the song publishers. His subsequent history is well known. He owns a publishing house, he is a theatrical producer, and has a fortune well into the millions.

Just look at a partial list of his songs and recognize your old friends. *That Mesmerizing Mendelssohn Tune; My Wife's Gone to the Country; Call Me Up Some Rainy Afternoon; Alexander's Rag-Time Band; Everybody's Doin' it Now; Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning; What'll I Do; All Alone.*

There are a number of composers who are writing operettas worthy to rank with Victor Herbert and DeKoven. RUDOLF FRIML, a Bohemian, born in 1884, who came to America as accompanist to Kubelik in 1906. Friml's light operas date from 1912, among the best of them *Firefly,*

Katinka, and *High Jinks.* He is also a prolific composer of teaching pieces, for piano, for violin, and for 'cello.

SIGMUND ROMBERG is an Hungarian, born in 1887. Until he came to America in 1909 music was his avocation, for he had been trained as an engineer to build bridges. On his arrival in this country he switched to music for a livelihood. After playing the piano in several light orchestras he wrote the music for his first show in 1913—a New York Winter Garden production, *Whirl of the World.* From then on he kept writing; first the popular *revue* type of music, and from 1919 operettas.

He has a warm melodic gift, which he uses with taste and discretion. He brought out *Blossom Time* in 1924, an adaptation of Schubert melodies which caused much discussion, especially for the waltz treatment of a theme from the *Unfinished* Symphony. He followed this with *The Student Prince;* then *My Maryland,* the *Desert Song,* and *The New Moon,* which presented that lusciously crooning song, *Lover, Come Back to Me,* whispered nightly over the radio by Vaughn De Leath and her countless disciples. Romberg has lately turned to the sound pictures as a medium for his talents. His first operetta for the Vitaphone is *Viennese Nights.* He has definite ideas about the necessity of internationalism in music for pictures. He feels that the composers of these new sound picture operettas must be composers with a knowledge of international music; for these movies play in every dark corner of the world, and though the audiences in America must be considered, the music must be an international language that will be understood in every hamlet of the world.

JEROME KERN is one of the prolific operetta composers, and one of the best. His recent *Show Boat,* from Edna Ferber's novel, made light opera history. He was born in New York in 1885, studied with Paolo Gallico and Alexander Lambert at home, and later in Germany. Although he started composing in 1903, he first became known to

Broadway in 1911 when he wrote the music for *The Red Petticoat. The Girl from Utah* came in 1914, with Julia Sanderson singing her way to fame with *They Didn't Believe Me.* Then followed the series of Princess Theatre operettas—*Oh, Boy!; Very Good Eddie; Oh, Lady, Lady,* and others; *Stepping Stones,* for Fred Stone and his family at the Globe; *Sally* at the New Amsterdam in 1920; and *Sunny* at the same theatre in 1925. *Show Boat* was produced in 1929, and it marked the peak of his career to date, for its score utilized many American elements. *Old Man River,* one of its songs, was as Negroid as a folk-song.

The motion pictures brought another talented musician into prominence, ERNO RAPEE, an Hungarian. Rapee has been one of our best movie conductors, in New York's Capitol Theatre and then at Roxy's. Recently he has gone to California as musical director for Warner Brothers. In his songs, *Charmaine,* and others, Rapee is thoroughly Viennese—delightfully so.

EDWIN FRANKO GOLDMAN is carrying on the concert band tradition of Sousa, and others of our band directors. His band is one of the best in the country. In the Summer it plays on the Mall in New York's Central Park, and in the Winter it goes on tour and plays for the radio. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky, nephew of the late Nahan Franko, violinist and conductor of light orchestras. Goldman has written a number of attractive pieces for band, *On the Mall,* and others; and it was recently announced that he is preparing an operetta in collaboration with Mayhew Lake.

These are some of the composers of our current light music. More should be included, but then, our popular music and its writers should have a volume by themselves. Many think that the most individual contribution that America has made to music has been in our lighter musical moments; that in this field we have displayed true originality. This is a partial truth, for the denizens of Tin Pan

Alley have been ingenious. Even when they have plagiarized. And Europe has been readier to acknowledge our place in light music than she has in our more serious moods. Jazz has found a ready welcome, and before that our ragtime had a flourishing export market.

In many ways the lasting music of a nation derives from its popular song. The current dances of all periods have produced their own music. The street songs are close to the people; they are their own speech, even if only momentary. If American permanent music is to be American, it must take something from the daily music of its heterogeneous folk. And refine it; without polishing it beyond recognition.

Chapter XVIII

CONCLUSION

WE are at the end of our story. In the year 1930, with more than three hundred years of our American music behind us. And much of it still with us. At a place where maybe we can have a bit of perspective, and take stock of what we have amassed in our musical inventory. Three hundred years—not a very long time as the world looks at things; but ages in terms of American history.

The three periods of our musical growth have been suggested by the divisions of our book. The first, from 1620 to 1800, produced very little that has lived to our day—Holden's *Coronation; Yankee Doodle;* and *Hail Columbia* are about the only bits of music that have preserved themselves, for Hopkinson's songs were discovered and revived. Yet these formative years produced the seeds of things that would bear fruit later.

The second period, 1800 to 1860, gave us Lowell Mason and the hymn writers, as well as Gottschalk, and Stephen Foster, but it is only since 1860 that we have had our important serious composers, starting with John K. Paine and Dudley Buck. Yet the two hundred and forty years before their productive years must be known and understood if we are to know our present day composers, even if it is only to appreciate them by contrast with what went before them. For composers rarely happen; they are generally produced by environment or heredity. Or in some cases by tradition.

Especially interesting have been our foreign relations. In art we were not able to sign a declaration of independence and to pursue a policy of isolation. It is doubtful if

it would have been desirable anyway. We had to depend on Europe for culture, until we had been here long enough to develop an art of our own. And that was not as easy as planting corn and watching it sprout in the same season. We have had to import, before we could manufacture and export.

There have been three distinct periods of intensive immigration. The 1780's and '90's, following our independence, and the French Revolution abroad; the influx of 1848, when there was unrest in Central Europe; and that of our own time, during and following the World War, the disturbances in Russia, and the general unsettlement of the Continent. The first two periods of immigration had a profound effect on our few native composers. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the foreigners took the center of the stage, and Billings and his colleagues paled into insignificance. After the turn of the century the native composer returned with Lowell Mason, but again in 1848 the foreigners, principally Germans, took matters into their own hands. There were few musicians here who could compare in ability with those from abroad. So most of the natives took a rear place. Some were a bit sensitive about foreign domination, and we met Fry and Bristow as early champions of the American composer. We started to grow self-conscious in the middle of the nineteenth century.

While the onrush of 1914 and the years following brought hundreds of musicians, many of them composers, some with world fame, the effect was principally on our performing musicians, rather than on American composers. Native concert artists have had tremendous competition from abroad, disastrous to many of them. But our composers were by this time too firmly entrenched to be discouraged or dislodged by famous names from abroad. For they had a coterie of friends who were thinking of their interests, and mightily concerned with their existence. The coming of foreigners merely spurred them on to work harder.

In point of quantity, our composers have written a vast amount of music. We have produced no world master, no Beethoven or Wagner; but neither has Europe during the past fifty years. Before that we were not equipped to produce a great composer. What we are likely to give to the world during the next fifty years is an interesting question to ponder. Can we, a nation whose greatest contribution has been in the field of science, in commerce, and in mechanical devices, give birth to a creative genius in music, the most subjective and elusive of all the arts? Can the making of great and original music flourish in a land where leisure is not encouraged? Where everyone is in a hurry, and everything must have a useful purpose?

I think it can eventually. Some day we may cease to be in a hurry. We shall learn to use the leisure that the machine age is bringing us, and then we may want to listen to the music that our own composers have written for us to hear. But it will have to be good music, as good as that which is sent from abroad. And it will be, when we are ready to listen to it.

There are many movements on foot to help our creative artists. Americans are trying hard to buy tradition. A number of philanthropists have realized that artists to be creative must have time in which they are free to paint, to write, or to compose, and they are giving them that time. Just as the princes of a past day supported artists and musicians in Europe. For great art rarely pays for itself, and if the artist must make his daily product produce his daily bread as he goes along, he may have to sell himself at a price too dear to save his best creative efforts.

The American composer has had to overcome the American worship of a foreign label, and he hasn't altogether won his battle yet. For the demand for a foreign trademark is a national trait, by no means confined to music. Often the foreign goods are better, but not always. And as long as we hire European conductors to lead our sym-

phony orchestras, European music will have precedence on their programs, even as far as novelties and new music are concerned.

It is difficult to say whether the American composer has had a fair show in his own country or not. There are many who think that he has not had equal opportunity with foreigners for a hearing. We have already learned that agitation for his rights began early in the nineteenth century. The Bohemian Heinrich felt himself entitled to recognition because he was an American, and a naturalized one at that. Fry and Bristow bewailed the plight of their fellows and themselves. With the turn of the century many more took up the cudgels, and by the time of the War, when patriotism became a favorite sport, the thing became an organized propaganda with all sorts of slogans—The American Composer First, and others.

All of this is splendid. If we do not support our own composers, who will? What practical helps have been given to the American composer? Can he get his works published? Are they played by our orchestras, sung by our opera companies, and performed by our concert artists?

As far as publishing is concerned, look at the list in the appendix. This includes purely instrumental works in the larger forms requiring more than one instrument for performance. No vocal works are included. Now figure that plates for orchestral scores cost about $8.00 to engrave, string quartet scores $5.00 to $6.00 per plate; remember that not until recently did composers, with few exceptions (not to mention the publishers), receive any fees for performance of their works, and then see if you feel more kindly toward the American publisher. For it has been largely if not wholly a labor of love. The commercial publisher is in business to make a living, not for philanthropy. Even if he does regard his business as a profession, and music as an art, he must show a profit at the end of each year if he is to remain in business. To publish or-

chestral and chamber music he has had to divert some of the profits from his better-selling publications to pay the costs. Maybe he has considered it good advertising, calculated to increase the prestige and artistic standing of his firm; but why inquire too closely into motives when real good has been accomplished?

But even if the American publisher has done as much and more than could have been expected of him, he has not been able to print all that should be published. Many of the excellent scores that have been composed, and performed, have had to remain in manuscript form, simply because there has been a limit to what our publishers can handle.

Back in 1901 Arthur Farwell sensed this problem. He felt that publishers were interested only in works in conventional mould; that they were afraid of anything that seemed too new, especially if written by Americans who had not yet established their reputations. He felt that the only way to remedy the evil was to start a new publishing venture, and he founded the Wa-Wan Press, which was the first to introduce several talented composers to the music lovers of their own country. To secure regular distribution subscribers were solicited, who would receive in periodical form the publications of the Press, as they were issued quarterly each year.

The Society for the Publication of American Music adopted a similar method of distribution, when it was founded by Burnet Corwin Tuthill in 1919. In this case the object was to issue chamber music, not only to publish it as a philanthropic gesture, but to see also that it got into the hands of musicians and music lovers, who would play it at home and in public. Subscriptions were solicited, and sold. The membership fee entitles the subscriber to copies of the works issued each year by the society. By this method the buyer agrees in advance to take what is published, and the society in turn is assured of a certain

sale for the works it brings out. Lately the organization has extended its scope and has issued several orchestral works. The society is accomplishing its purpose, and seems to be permanent. Its success has been due to the care of its committee of judges in selecting the music to be published; for at the very beginning the prospectus stated distinctly that the object of the society was not to produce any stimulation to composition, nor to make access to the public easy for the American composer of music that is barren of inspiration and wanting in artistic ideals.

Lately several philanthropists have taken an interest in the publication of orchestral works, relying on eminent authorities for the selection. George Eastman, of Kodak fame, who founded and endowed the Eastman School of Music at Rochester, has established a fund for the annual publication of orchestral scores by American composers. The works to be published are selected from those performed at the American Composers' Concerts at the Eastman School. They are issued by a commercial publishing house and distributed through regular trade channels, but all costs of publication are paid by the Eastman fund, and the commercial publisher takes no risk.

The Juilliard Musical Foundation subsidizes publication of orchestral works by Americans in a similar manner. The printing and distribution is attended to by a regular publishing house, but the Juilliard Foundation pays all the bills and gets no return. Of the gross returns from the sale of printed copies and from performance fees the composer gets sixty per cent and the publisher forty. The selection of the works to be published is made by a committee of judges who have so far consisted of Rubin Goldmark, Albert Stoessel, Philip Greeley Clapp, and others.

Yet publication is not all of the problem. If printed music is never performed it remains just so much paper and ink. In the case of the Eastman publications, they have already had performance at Rochester before they are

selected for publication, and the Juilliard Foundation undertakes to secure major performances for the works issued under its subsidy. As far as our regular symphony orchestras are concerned, we still hear echoes of Fry's complaint against the New York Philharmonic almost eighty years ago. The situation has changed, however. Fifty years ago few American compositions were played by orchestras because there were few American compositions. To-day there are so many that it would be impossible for our orchestras to give all the worthy ones an adequate hearing even if all the conductors wanted to—a vicious circle.

Howard Hanson analyzed conditions in an address before the Music Teachers' National Association in 1925. He called his talk, *A Forward Look in American Composition,* and it has since been issued in pamphlet form by the Eastman School. He found that in a period of six and a half years, from the Fall of 1919 to the Fall of 1925, the thirteen most important orchestras of the country gave something over 450 performances of works by ninety-five native-born American composers. This number did not include repetitions of any work by the same orchestra during the same season. The Boston Symphony, first under Monteux and then under Koussevitsky, performed the largest number; next came the Chicago Orchestra under Stock; then, in order, Minneapolis, Cleveland, and St. Louis. Minneapolis led the others in the number of repetitions it gave to American compositions, and the Los Angeles Philharmonic came next.

This is not an altogether creditable showing—an average of about four and a half American works a season by each orchestra. There were evidently just enough composers to go around, for if you divide the ninety-five musicians by the number of orchestras, thirteen, and then by the number of seasons, five and a half, you will get just one and one-tenth of a composer.

Some of the neglect of the American composer may be

laid at the door of the foreign conductor. This was especially true twenty-five years ago, if not to-day. His presence here meant that the scores most likely to be accepted for performance were those that conformed most closely to the conductor's European standards and training. Some excellent works with individuality of style and originality of conception were passed aside. Now, with all Europe seeking modernism, courage and daring are in themselves no drawback to an American composer seeking an audition from a foreign conductor. Yet many of them have a flagrant disregard for the American composer's existence, and the novelties on their programs are in the majority new pieces from abroad, many of them mediocrities. If an orchestra announces that it will confine its programs to world masterpieces whose merit has been proved by time, that is one thing. But as long as it is going to play a certain amount of new music each season, some of that music should be American. To state that an American orchestra should play some American music sounds so obvious that it is almost silly. Yet the programs of the New York Philharmonic under Arturo Toscanini have been so lacking in American works that the condition has almost become a public scandal.

But, after all, the conductor is going to play what he thinks his public wants to hear. Not many of them are like Mr. Stokowski, who tells them what they ought to hear and then plays it. Even Theodore Thomas had to consider what people would listen to. If the public is going to be apathetic towards the American composer, the conductor is not going to force his music down its throat. If audiences demand the tried and true war horses, and complain when they have to listen to new works, hundreds of patriotic conductors and all the societies for the advancement of our composer's interests cannot gain him a fair hearing.

And then the opera houses. I have no doubt that the

reason why we have so few American operas is that our composers have so little chance to gain experience in writing for the stage. If there were more opera companies in the country, resident in the small cities, we would have more good operas by native composers. But when it is possible to count our major opera companies on the fingers of one hand, how many new operas by American composers can they produce each season? Unless a composer has a chance to become acquainted at first hand with the requirements of the stage, and the psychology of opera audiences, his chances of writing a music-drama of the first water are slim indeed.

There have been a number of movements to help the American composer to a hearing, and to provide an incentive for him to compose. Of course the man who must write music will probably do it anyway. But generally the great genius appears only in places where there is a rank and file of lesser composers; where there is some music-making to supply the proper atmosphere. And unless there is a stimulus there will be no rank and file—and probably no genius.

Way back in 1856 Edward Jerome Hopkins started an American Music Association to promote works by American composers. There were several sporadic attempts after that to form organizations that would help our writers, for some people were beginning to realize that if we were to have serious composers, they must have their day in the concert hall. The Manuscript Society of New York was organized in 1889, to meet once a month for hearing compositions written by its members. In 1899 it was reorganized as the Society of American Musicians and Composers. The meetings have introduced many interesting works, but the society was never successful in its ambition to interest the general public in its activities. A Manuscript Society was organized in Philadelphia in 1892, with William Wallace Gilchrist as its first president. Like the New

Photo by Underwood & Underwood.

John Philip Sousa.

(See page 583.)

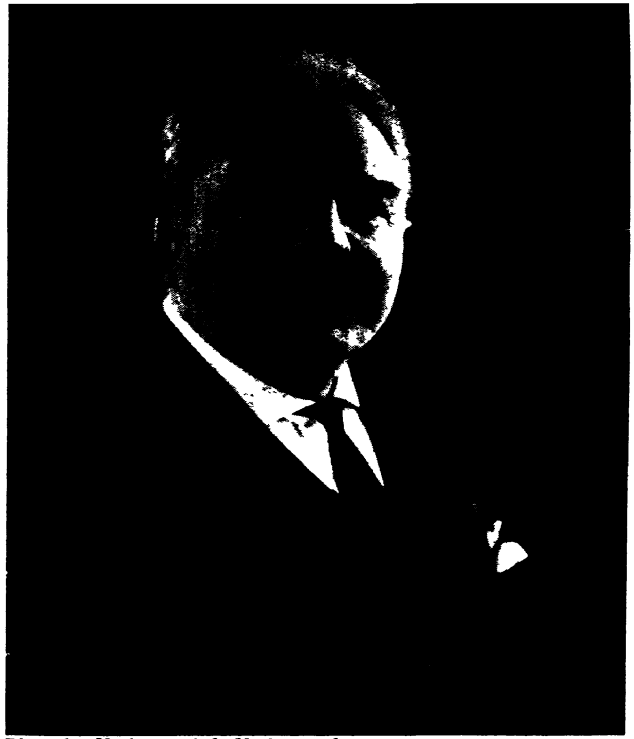


Photo by Underwood & Underwood.

Victor Herbert.

(See page 585.)

Photo by Underwood & Underwood.

George Gershwin.

(See page 595.)

Photo by Underwood & Underwood.

Irving Berlin.

(See page 603.)

York society, the Philadelphia group has held monthly meetings for performances of original works by its members, and it has also arranged public concerts with the Philadelphia Orchestra and the choral societies of the city. It has held a number of prize contests for new works. In 1896 a Manuscript Society was organized in Chicago, and Frederick Grant Gleason was the first president. There have been similar organizations in other cities.

Arthur Farwell was interested in performances of American works as well as in their publication. He was one of the organizers of the American Music Society, and its moving spirit. The society was formed first in Boston, and by the time Farwell joined the staff of *Musical America* in New York (1910) and had to give up the travelling that the organization entailed, there were chapters, or centers as they were called, in twenty cities. The objects of the society were the study and performance of the works of American composers; the study of all folk-music touching the development of music in the United States; and the publication of articles, discussions or any significant matter relative to American music. It disclaimed any intention of urging acceptance of American music simply because it is American; it must be good music. The organizers felt that the highest service the society could render the development of a creative musical art was to provide a means for broadly and persistently testing the art under the most favorable conditions.

The young American composer needs a laboratory for his experiments. The major symphony orchestras can play only his finished works, when he has acquired something of a mastery of his medium. Before that he needs to hear what he has written so that he will know what his ideas for instrumental combinations sound like. The growth of orchestras in our smaller cities, conservatory orchestras, and amateur groups will help to provide a workshop for our composers. When the short-lived State Symphony

Orchestra was established in New York (1923), one of its functions was to hold special rehearsals to which composers could bring their manuscripts and hear them performed. This was valuable, but of course a finished performance was not possible, as the works were merely read through by conductor and players.

The American Composers' Concerts that have been established in Rochester obviate this difficulty. They provide carefully rehearsed performances of works that have for the most part never before been played in public. The composer, wherever he may live, is invited to come to Rochester as the guest of the Eastman School, to hear the rehearsals and the performances.

It has often been an expensive matter for a composer to have an unpublished work performed. When his works have been accepted for performance, he has had to provide not only a copy of the score, but copies of the individual parts for the players, generally at his own expense. The Juilliard Foundation is now offering assistance to composers whose manuscript works have been accepted for major performance, by supplying the services of a copyist to prepare the parts.

The League of Composers, established in New York in 1923, is concerned chiefly with the modernists of America and the world. Whereas the average symphony orchestra devotes its smallest percentage of performances to American works, the League of Composers reversed this process in the first six years of its career. At its concerts it presented in all one hundred and ten works. Of these thirty-five were American, eighteen Russian, seventeen Italian, fourteen German, eight English, five Hungarian, three Polish, two Czechoslovakian, four Spanish, two Dutch, one Mexican, and one Swedish.

A number of our festival organizations have had their part in stimulating American composition. For many years one of the features of the Norfolk (Connecticut) Festival

of the Litchfield County Choral Union was the first performance of an American work, commissioned by the festival. The composer was invited to conduct all rehearsals and the performance. And, what is most important, he was given a substantial payment for his services. The Summer festivals of the MacDowell Colony at Peterboro have been devoted almost exclusively to new American works, and to repetitions of compositions that have proved their value. In California, the annual "High Jinks" of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco brings forth each year a music drama written by its members.

Then there are the prize contests. There have been many of them, some productive of fine works. A number of years ago Paderewski established a fund to award from time to time two prizes: one of $1,000 for an orchestral work; and the other of $500 for a piece of chamber music. The Hollywood Bowl Association (California) offers $1,000 yearly for a symphonic poem. Columbia University offers two prizes annually under the will of Lillia M. Bearns; $1,200 for a composition in large form, and $900 for a smaller work. The Victor Talking Machine Company has offered a number of prizes for compositions. There are many others, national and local.

One of the organizations that has most consistently had the good of the American composer at heart has been the National Federation of Music Clubs, not only by offering prizes for compositions, but also by urging its members (now 300,000 from 4,867 local clubs) to give intelligent support to American music. The Federation had its first national meeting in 1899, and since that time has had a national gathering every two years, in various centers of the country. Since 1909 it has fostered prize contests open to American composers, and the prizes have ranged from $100 to the $10,000 that was awarded to Horatio Parker's opera *Fairyland,* in 1915.

A number of prize awards have been devoted to providing composers with the leisure necessary for devoting their attention to composition, to let them have a few years respite from the necessity of earning a living. The American Academy in Rome has for several years awarded fellowships in music. There are three of them; one provided by the Frederick A. Juilliard Fund, another by the Walter Damrosch Fund, and the third by the Horatio Parker Fund. Each allows an annual payment of $1,500 a year for three years, and a travelling allowance of $500 a year. The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowships for Advanced Study Abroad include music. Each fellowship allows $2,500 a year, and carries no restrictions. Under the will of the late Joseph Pulitzer an annual scholarship of $1,500 is awarded to the student of music "who is deemed to be the most talented and deserving, in order that he may continue his studies with the advantage of European instruction." The student is expected to devote a sufficient amount of his time to composition, during the year he holds the scholarship, to produce a serious work in one of the larger forms.

The MacDowell Colony at Peterboro has already been mentioned in the chapter on Edward MacDowell. Creative artists, in all fields of art and literature as well as music, are invited to spend all or part of their summers at the colony, to work undisturbed in peaceful surroundings. The colony has been successful because it has never been the plaything of faddists. The artists are not on display for tourists to look at; they go to Peterboro for an opportunity to work, and they get it. The fulfillment of Peterboro's promise is best shown by the high character of the works that have been produced there.

This is but a brief review of some of the things that have been done to help the American composer; to stimulate him, and to help him to an audience when he has appeared. It is all very fine, and most of it intelligent. We may argue

with the judges of prize contests, and tell them that they have often been pedantic in their choice of winning compositions, but nevertheless they have brought forth a number of excellent works, and we may be thankful.

There are of course pitfalls for the zealous who urge the cause of the American composer unwisely. Our interest in his behalf must avoid the dangers that lie in all propaganda. For one thing, our duty to the American composer must not be emphasized too strongly. He has written good music, a great deal of it beautiful to hear. If people hear too much of their duty to American music, they will wonder what is the matter with it, and think of it as medicine which should be taken, but can be avoided. There is a little too much of what the psychologists call negative conditioning in the way we set the stage for our composers.

Although snobbishness toward American music dare not openly speak its mind to-day, we know that it still exists. To some critics and music-lovers America spells immaturity and mediocrity. Approbation is too often accompanied by a patronizing condescension that irritates both the composer and his rapidly increasing number of friends. These friends of the American composer have valiantly fought the hostile attitude, and during the World War the reaction had its culmination. At that time recognition of native art became a question of patriotism. The propaganda activities of the war period gave the American music enthusiasts their cue, for well-organized publicity campaigns had brought astonishing results. They sold Liberty Bonds, and they raised funds for the Red Cross and other war activities. Some fields, however, will not allow of too much artificial cultivation. Art is like a flower—if its growth is forced, it becomes delicate, and consequently short-lived.

Too much ill-advised though well-intentioned propaganda may make the word *American,* when applied to music, a millstone about its neck. A few years ago a man would have been apt to stifle a yawn when told he was to hear an

American composition. Soon he may stifle a yawn because he is surfeited with hearing of his duty to native composers. It is far easier to combat snobbishness than *ennui.*

Ill-directed efforts to gain recognition for our composers have sometimes classed mediocrity with genius. Both are American, therefore we must admire them equally. I contend that it is not a sign of patriotism to applaud the mediocrities of contemporary composers; by doing so we injure our real genius. It is because the American public has had inferior music forced upon it that it often gives polite, perfunctory applause to many of the native masterpieces.

Concert-givers often include American works on their programs from a sense of duty. Conductors, pianists, singers and violinists expect praise for their patriotism in including American music in their repertoire. Praise indeed! If American compositions are worthy of a place on their programs the artists benefit from having good music to play or sing; if the American works are not worthy of a hearing, those who play them should be pulled from their platforms for the injury they are doing American music, and for lowering their own artistic standards.

We have many all-American programs. Their object is evident, and their intent worthy, except where it offers a conductor or a recitalist the easiest way to pacify the chauvinists. But those who are sincere offer them to insure our composers a sympathetic hearing. Often they are given at festival occasions, and in the case of the Rochester concerts, to provide a laboratory for young composers. Under such conditions they are valuable. But in regular concert seasons it is far more of a compliment to American music to offer it in company with world music, without the American label. Then the public will find out for itself that the music is good. When a man has the pleasure of making his own discoveries, without being told what he should like, his liking will last longer and he will ask for more. Mac-

Dowell never wanted his music played on all-American programs. He felt that unless his music could bear comparison with the other numbers of a program it had better not be played at all.

The average song-recitalist is a serious offender. In many cases he starts with a group of songs from the old masters—early Italian or old English. Next he sings a group of *lieder,* and then maybe some songs from the French composers. Then comes the final set—the American group. If this fits in logically with the scheme of things (a modern group for his final appearance), very well, because then there is an artistic justification. If the list is chosen to represent the song-literature of various nations, that is again a valid reason, and since America is the youngest nation, and its musical product the most recent, its songs would chronologically belong at the end of the program.

But how often does the singer put these songs at the end because he feels that they must be gotten in somewhere, or because he knows that the publishers will advertise the fact that he sings their songs? The critics have departed, and all the audience except the invited guests may have gone home; but the singer has done his duty—he has sung at least six American songs. I wonder how far the cause of American music has been advanced.

We must give the American composer every chance. There are hundreds of worthy, beautiful American compositions, and more are being written every year. Play them, sing them, but do not label them. If the recitalist will select his programs from the music of all nations, having examined them all with equal care, he will choose a fair proportion of American works; not because they are American, but because they are the kind of music he needs for his recitals. When American music is performed because it is good music (and it can be performed for such a reason) then will the cause of American music advance

itself. For the American composer is a problem only as we make a problem of him. He exists, and he will continue to exist, as a virile factor in the music-making of the world. Encourage him, but be sure that he does not receive the kind of encouragement that discourages his public. Take care that he does not become the victim of his friends.

We are a little too self-conscious about our art in this country, anyway. In music we think a little too much about our nationalism. By taking thought we cannot add a national individuality to our artistic stature. Such things must come from within us; we cannot order an idiom as we would a suit of clothes. In the early days our composers imitated the German composers, and found them good models. When the War came, with its reaction to all things Teutonic, our musicians turned to the French for patterns, and we had an army of Debussyites. This is inevitable, for the real American school, whatever it may be, will appear only in the due course of years. Our literature already shows marked individuality; the American novel, the American short story, the American drama, are facts. They developed unconsciously, and so will our national music.

I do not think that the real American music will be highly nationalistic, as that of the Norwegians, the Russians or the Spaniards, people of one race. In fact, we can almost hope it will not be. Why pay the price that nationalists have had to pay for their individuality? Why shouldn't American music represent our cosmopolitanism, our country, where people from all nations come to be Americans? Capitalize our many heritages, and weld them into something far greater than one race alone can produce? I think that it will, and that *Our American Music* will speak not for one section of our country alone, not for one group of our people, or for one phase of our temperament, but rather for Our America as a nation, and for Americans as one people.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER I

MUSIC IN THE FOURTH DECADE

THE superficial aspect of the American scene at the beginning of the 1930's did not seem very encouraging for the immediate future of our music. The third decade had just ended in a wild confusion of falling stocks, lost fortunes, imminent bank failures, and all the bewilderment and uneasiness that followed in the wake of that never-to-be-forgotten October of 1929. For the first years of the fourth decade America seemed almost to be losing its grip. No one dared look ahead. It seemed for a while as if there were only one direction in which conditions could develop, and that was for the worse. And it was not easy to take the view that an exaggerated and partly false "prosperity" must inevitably be followed by an exaggerated "depression." And that this, too, must have its limits.

Where was music to find a place in the new order of things? we asked ourselves. With everybody retrenching, philanthropists tightening the strings of purses no longer bulging, civic authorities pruning budgets, bread-lines beginning to form, who would be able to afford to listen to music or pay for musical instruction?

The depression hit all forms of musical activities and hit them hard. Performing musicians, already displaced in large numbers by the radio and the sound film, found opportunities for employment growing steadily scarcer. Music teachers lost many of their pupils, and had to reduce their fees to those that remained. Music publishers, recording companies, instrument manufacturers, all of the music industries suffered an immense reduction of their profits, or even sustained heavy losses.

Yet today, near the close of this same decade, we can see that music in America has grown beyond our fondest hopes of ten years ago. The number of people studying music is far greater than ever before. The amount of good music broadcast, in response to popular demand, grows steadily. Music teachers are busy again. The music industries have revived to a degree that would have seemed fantastic a short time ago. Unemployment remains a great national problem, and musicians still have more than their share of it; but America never was so musical a nation as today, never had so many orchestras and bands, so much music in the schools, so many composers, conductors, singers, violinists, pianists, teachers, scholars, really equipped to do their jobs and do them well.

What is the explanation? How does it happen that less than six years since the American people touched bottom, both in their commerce and industry and in their general morale, music has bounded back to a place far higher than it ever held before?

There are many reasons. The same situation that underlies the unemployment of thousands of musicians—the steady advance of technology, which provides machines to do the work that men used to do—has provided the whole population, employed as well as unemployed, with hours of leisure unknown to earlier generations. That is not a new situation, or one whose advent had not been foreseen by thinking men and women. Educators, in particular, have been working at the problems involved for many years, and it is largely their work that has borne the fruit we are now harvesting.

The World War had caused a countrywide sprouting of community activities and community consciousness. In the great swarm of patriotic meetings and assemblies, music played a large part. Music undoubtedly helped to win the War. And if world events sometimes make us question the value of the fruits of victory, we cannot doubt for a mo-

ment that the surge of national unity caused by the war immensely helped the cause of music.

The pleasures of community singing and playing were not to be laid aside with the guns and the uniforms. On the contrary, music, as perhaps the most social of the arts, was cultivated with more enthusiasm than ever when the tenseness of war was over. Choruses sprang up all over the country and it was not too long before they inevitably turned to the treasures of the Golden Age of choral music—the polyphonic masters of the Pre-Bach periods. A genuine and countrywide rebirth of choral singing and choral writing took place, especially in the *a cappella* style.

The spread of choral singing continues right up to the present, with ever-increasing momentum. It has been a wholesome influence upon composers. The limitations of the human voice, for one thing, have tended to encourage them to be practical in their writing, while the virtuosity of the modern orchestra has been in a way a contributor to the stylistic disorder of our age. And since there are many people who can sing, for every one who can play an instrument, a composer finds it relatively easy to get his choral music sung, while he may wait years for a single performance of an orchestral work.

But that situation, too, is changing. Community orchestras had begun to spring up in the 1920's. And their growth was greatly encouraged by the spread of instrumental instruction in the schools. It is estimated that toward the end of this fourth decade there are between 150,000 and 200,000 school bands and orchestras in the United States, a number that is increasing at a tremendous rate. Each year, then, schools and colleges pour forth into the general stream of population an increasing proportion of young men and women trained for musical performance. One result has been the rise of professional symphony orchestras in many of our smaller cities. Another has been a great increase in

amateur music-making, in the field of chamber as well as orchestra music.

A third has been what has at times seemed an oversupply of musicians, leading to widespread unemployment. But insofar as unemployment among musicians exceeds that in other fields it would seem to be a passing phase. For the spread of musical training is accompanied or quickly followed by a corresponding spread of public interest in music. A great help in "taking up the slack" caused by the lag of the latter after the former has been the Federal Music Project.

When the continuance and deepening of the Depression in the early 1930's made it clear that as many as 10,000,000 or more of our population had no hope of gaining employment in private industry in the immediate future, the Federal Government found it necessary to set up a work relief program. Fortunately for the cause of music, this program was not confined to manual workers. It made provision for the "white-collar" class as well. Politicians and economists will continue to argue about the wisdom of the Works Progress Administration program and the efficiency of its organization. But from a narrowly musical point of view, at least, there can be no doubt that it has given our development an immense impetus.

The WPA's Federal Music Project has been active in many directions. It has put performing musicians to work in bands, orchestras, and chamber, choral, and operatic groups throughout the country. Through these organizations the participants have been enabled to keep up their morale, and to maintain and develop their technique. Audiences have been offered music which they have shown themselves eager to hear, at prices they could afford to pay. And composers have seen their opportunities for performance multiply by the score. Performances by WPA organizations are counted in the hundred thousands, total audiences in the hundred millions, American composers represented on the

programs in the thousands. Musical instruction has been given to millions who could not have paid for it, by teachers who represented the over-supply of the moment. Hundreds of copyists, arrangers, and librarians have been at work making the manuscript and out-of-print treasures of our libraries available to the borrowing public. New activities and opportunities for the composer have grown up. Composers' Forum Laboratories—sessions at which the works of a composer are played in his presence, and he is questioned or challenged about them by the audience at the end of the playing—have been developed in many cities.

The effect of all this upon our development as a musical nation is incalculable. The wide dissemination of music by radio, which both preceded and accompanied the activities of the Federal Music Project, has worked in conjunction with it, and with the increasing emphasis on music in the schools, toward making us a truly musical nation. Perhaps in this sense, and to this extent, we are becoming the first such nation. For music is being democratized in these United States. Every city and every town is bringing forth its own native musicians. Yes, and composers, too. And a wide musical culture such as we are developing is a prerequisite to that great and high period of musical creation toward which we have all, perhaps a little too impatiently, been looking forward.

The ordeal through which the nation has passed in the Depression has brought forth still other benefits. In the period of that prosperity which we now recognize to have been partly exaggerated and artificial, we were often too busy each with his own affairs to think much of the problems and purposes we had in common. The lean years have made us realize that our individual fates depend upon our common destiny. They have deepened our feeling of unity. They have tried and strengthened our faith in what has come to be known as the American way. The dissensions and dis-

turbances that continually upset and threaten the Old World have reminded us of our good fortune in belonging to the New.

In our musical life all this has been of great value. For we are gaining self-confidence. We listen increasingly and with increasing respect to American musicians. Our symphony orchestras, originally formed exclusively of Europeans, are now staffed preponderantly with native-born musicians. We are insisting that the music of our American contemporaries has as much right to be heard in our concert halls and on our radio programs as that of any of their European colleagues. And we are hearing it—even in such formerly impregnable citadels as the concerts of the Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra. Commissions, formerly very scarce treasures indeed, and usually reserved for foreign notables, are offered in increasing number to Americans—by the broadcasting companies, the music festivals, the League of Composers—and prizes for American compositions by the Philharmonic-Symphony itself. The vigilance of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers and kindred organizations is securing for our composers a juster share of the profits which accrue through their efforts to the broadcasting, recording, and motion picture companies. And our symphony orchestras are becoming more used to the fact that a composer is as much entitled to a performing fee for having written a work as a pianist or a violinist is for playing it.

One of our most wholesome national characteristics is, as many foreigners have remarked, our self-criticism. Nor is this being neglected in the growth of our musical self-confidence. Important surveys have been financed by the Carnegie Corporation and the American Council of Learned Societies, to name only two. The former is responsible for two important studies: a survey of *College Music,* made by Randall Thompson, and one of *Music in Everyday Life* by Eric T. Clarke. The trend of the times is also indicated

by the practical support which the Carnegie Corporation has given to music, in the shape of magnificent collections of music, books on music, records and record-playing equipment presented to numerous colleges throughout the country during the past few years.

The survey being conducted by the Council of Learned Societies concerns activities in the field of musicology. The very name of this field of endeavor is new to us. Yet our progress in it has been astonishingly rapid, and America bids fair to become, if it is not already, the home of this art and science. The scholarly investigation of the history, the theory, the materials, the relations, and the styles of music of all times and places was a field scarcely touched in this country until very recently. Oscar T. Sonneck (p. 544) deserves the title of our first real musicologist, and the subject of the researches by which he is best known was, appropriately enough, early American music. (Alexander Wheelock Thayer, in the middle of the last century, had earned a high place in the annals of musicology by his Beethoven researches, embodied in his classic biography. But his work was done mostly in Europe, and the biography was originally published in German.) Dr. Otto Kinkeldey, who now holds the first chair of musicology to be established in an American university, at Cornell, was another ground-breaker in this field. And the collections of music and books on music with which the names of these two men are associated—those in the Library of Congress in Washington and the New York Public Library—are among the most valuable tools in the world for workers in musicology.

The field is now cultivated in numerous American institutions, and many of them are accumulating libraries of real importance. An American Musicological Society has been formed, with chapters in several centers and many members of outstanding achievements.

We are especially fortunate in the fact that our growth in national musical consciousness is not being accompanied by

any chauvinistic attitude. We are too mixed a group, too close to our varied origins. Janssen, Shepherd, Giannini, Moore, Citkowitz—the very names of our American composers keep us from too narrow and precise a conception of American music. And now as at many other periods of our history, the American nation is being enriched and seasoned by a new influx of refugees from persecution in Europe. But for the first time in our history, we are receiving the very leaders in many fields of intellectual and artistic activity, who are establishing their homes here, becoming American citizens, and adding their contributions to our American culture. The names Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, and Heinrich Bruening in other fields are paralleled in music by those of Arnold Schoenberg, Curt Sachs, Alfred Einstein, Lotte Lehmann. We have always had visits from leading European musicians, since we first had money to pay them richly for their journey. And many performing artists, during and after the World War, came to live here permanently. But we have never before received the creators, the thinkers, and the scholars in any great number, and they come when we are ready to give them most and receive most from them. At an earlier stage of our development we should have been overwhelmed by such an invasion. But the best promise of our musical maturity lies in the way we are accepting the best they have to offer, gratefully but not meekly, and Americanizing them instead of letting them Europeanize us.

A further gain from the Depression and the atmosphere of crisis in Europe by which we are deeply affected has been a general sobering of the musical language. In the first hilarious years of release after the tension of the War, it was widely considered to be the most appropriate aim of art to amuse, to startle, to shock. Indeed, the desire to *épater les bourgeois* is a good deal older than that. It was originally a reaction to the earnest, stuffy optimism of the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. But the events

of the last ten years have to a large extent taken the point out of practical jokes on the musical public. There is little complacency left in any of us, and it is only the complacent who are fun to shock. Composers have not escaped the conviction that has overtaken most artists and thinkers in all fields—that we live in a critical era, and that this is no time for fooling. Questions of "style" and "idiom," which monopolized attention in the 1920's, are retiring to their proper places. There is less faddism, less following of aesthetic cults, and a more general desire to do a good job at writing whatever kind of music one has a talent for. That, surely, is progress.

One further aspect of American music needs to be discussed, the one which we "serious" music-lovers are apt to neglect, but the one which touches by far the greatest number of our people—popular music. The line between "popular" music and "art" music remains sharply drawn, even after the many fusions of the two styles that have been made during the last twenty years. "Jazz" yesterday, "ragtime" the day before, today it is "swing" that is the musical folk-language.

The word "swing" has almost as many definitions as definers. The most generally accepted meaning seems to be a style of free improvisation around a given tune, as opposed to "arrangements" planned and written out in advance. The idea is not new, and it has apparently been with us since the beginning of jazz, particularly among Negro musicians. But in the last few years it has blossomed forth as a popular cult, with aesthetic canons that are strict and exclusive, and a characteristic jargon that calls nothing by its right name. The mere musician is as helpless and bewildered by a page of professional comment from *The Metronome,* the jazzist's trade-paper, as an Englishman would be by the *Daily News* account of a baseball game.

The various "Kings of Swing" are highly successful in the exploitation of their talents through radio, recordings, films,

and personal appearances. Yet the word "commercial" is a term of severe reproach in referring to their playing. Your swing fan is satisfied only with the genuine inspiration of the moment—no mere playing of the printed notes, no matter how skilfully arranged or executed, interests him.

On the whole, he wants his music loud, fast, and highly ornamented in its melodic line, though these qualities are perhaps valued less in themselves than as symptoms that the player is "going to town." "Sweet," sentimental playing, with vibrato, in close harmony, is "out"—"corny." "Swing" is more hard-boiled, more nasal in quality, more polyphonic. Above all, it must be spontaneous. The swing-lover's dream is a "jam-session" when several of his favorite players are "in the groove."

One does not need to be a one hundred per cent enthusiast to recognize in swing certain vital elements. Improvisation has always been a feature of a healthy musical life. Perhaps its almost complete disappearance from our "serious" music is as significant as its reappearance in our folk-music. For if the claim of jazz to the title of folk-music has serious flaws, there can be no doubt that swing strengthens that claim. The radio and sound film have tended to stereotype jazz styles. In broadcasts timed to the minute there is little leeway for spontaneity. The "special arrangements" heard on the most popular programs have very much the same virtues and vices as the programs themselves. They are smooth and expert to the point of slickness, but they have a sort of mechanized, mass-production uniformity. The same is true to some extent of the popular tunes of the day. Time was when a tune "caught on" through an unpredictable combination of circumstances in which luck played a large part. The fate of a popular tune was as little to be foreseen as that of the musical show in which it was featured. But to a certain extent, anyway, the laws of natural selection were operative, and there was at least a partial survival of the fittest. The radio and the sound film have combined to re-

duce greatly the element of chance and popular selection. A tune has to be pretty bad not to catch on when it is heard in thousands of movie theaters and from millions of loudspeakers every night. The tendency, then, is for popular music to become almost as standardized as the cosmetics and cigarettes and foods it is used to advertise.

Swing represents a natural and essentially healthy reaction against this standardization. In contrast to "commercial" jazz, which has reached a point of relative and perhaps temporary stagnation, swing pursues the ideal of eternal change. The swing band not only must sound different from any other. It must never play in just the same way that it has ever played before. This attitude embodies healthy elements. But that does not mean that all the music produced in this way is high art, or even worth listening to. As usual, a good thing is being overpraised, which often makes it seem less good than it is.

Among the top-notch names of swing are Louis Armstrong (whose autobiography is one of the testaments of swing, and a very interesting book), Red Nichols, Stuff Smith, Frank Trumbauer, Fats Waller, Bunny Berigan, Jack Teagarden, Count Basie, Artie Shaw, the lamented Bix Beiderbecke, and, of course, the most popular of all in the last few years, Benny Goodman. *The Metronome* conducts each year a popularity contest, in which jazz bands are divided into three categories: "Swing," "Sweet," and "Favorite" (the third covering both the first two). The bands chosen as favorites from 1936 to 1938 include Benny Goodman, Glen Gray, Tommy Dorsey, Ray Noble, Paul Whiteman, Hal Kemp, Jimmie Lunceford, Duke Ellington, Isham Jones, Guy Lombardo, Ozzie Nelson, Red Norvo, Horace Heidt, Bob Crosby, Artie Shaw, and Jimmy Dorsey. (The order is haphazard).

The reader will have noticed that all the names mentioned in this discussion of popular music in the 1930's are those of performers, not of composers. Where are the names of

yesteryear—George Gershwin (see p. 654), Jerome Kern, Irving Berlin, Vincent Youmans, Rodgers and Hart? Most of these men have not stopped writing. They and many others have produced highly successful "musicals" for both stage and screen. But fame and popularity belong nowadays more than ever to the people who sing and play the tunes rather than to those who write them. And in "special arrangements" as well as in "swing" versions, the tune is only the beginning—only the raw material of a composition. By the time the arrangers and performers have finished with it, it hardly belongs to the composer any more than Brahms's variations on the St. Anthony theme belong to Haydn.

Popular music in our day is an extraordinarily widespread and democratic activity. "Classical" music is steadily approaching it in mass participation. Together, they involve an overwhelming proportion of our population, which is steadily being drawn into more active listening, playing, and even improvising and composing. Out of this ferment, who can doubt that great things will come?

Supplementary Chapter II

COMPOSERS IN THE 'THIRTIES

THE fourth decade of the twentieth century has seen radical changes in the positions of American composers—with respect to each other as well as with respect to the public and the institutions that stand between them and the public. Names that in the 1920's were known to few, and taken seriously by fewer, have come strikingly to the fore.

On the other hand, composers who represented our chief links with the musical past have withdrawn to much less prominent positions in the musical scene. Death has broken the chain in several important places. George Whitefield Chadwick (p. 325) was the first to go, on April 4, 1931. Arthur William Foote (p. 330) survived him by six years. Both men had begun their activities in Boston at a time when American composers were rare creatures found only in three or four centers of culture—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, perhaps Chicago. Both lived into the period when there are composers throughout the land. And neither Chadwick nor Foote had been wholly eclipsed by those who came later, although their direct influence is no longer strongly felt. Their younger sister and fellow-Bostonian, Mrs. H. H. A. Beach (p. 344) already looks back on more than half a century of activity as composer and pianist. Dr. Edgar Stillman Kelley (p. 465), who had been active as a musician on the Pacific coast in the 1880's, celebrated his eightieth birthday in April, 1937, and published his *Gulliver* symphony in that year.

Two of the most prominent figures in American music of

the era just closing passed away before they had completed their three score and ten. HENRY KIMBALL HADLEY (p. 474), composer, conductor, and crusader for American music, died in September, 1937. His last years were as full of activity as any others in his career. He founded and became the first president of the National Association for American Composers and Conductors. He toured as conductor in South America and the Orient. And he continued to produce compositions on a large scale: *Herod*—a dramatic overture, *Streets of Pekin*—a Chinese suite, *Scherzo Diabolique,* all for orchestra; a *Concertino* for piano and orchestra; a *String Quartet* and a *Piano Trio*; choral works; a *Symphony* written to celebrate the Connecticut Tercentenary (1935); and so forth. RUBIN GOLDMARK (p. 477), who died in 1936, was best known in his last years for his teaching. Among his pupils he numbered such divergent types as Nicolai Berezowsky, Abram Chasins, Aaron Copland, George Gershwin, Vittorio Giannini, Carl McKinley, Paul Nordoff, Bernard Wagenaar, and Frederick Jacobi, who succeeded him as teacher of composition in the Juilliard Graduate School.

If anyone was under the impression that when WALTER DAMROSCH (p. 491) resigned his post as one of the conductors of the newly merged Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, in 1929, that veteran of many decades would retire, events have proved the impression "greatly exaggerated." Well past his seventieth birthday, Damrosch found time and energy, in addition to what was required for his educational broadcast activities, to write no less than a full-length opera, *The Man without a Country*. The libretto, by Arthur Guiterman, was based upon the story by Edward Everett Hale. The opera was produced during the spring season of the Metropolitan Opera Company in 1937 and retained in the repertoire for the following regular season. A year earlier, he had produced his *Abraham Lincoln Song,* for baritone solo, chorus, and orchestra. And now he has completely re-

written his earlier opera, *Cyrano de Bergerac.* By general agreement, however, Damrosch's claims to fame will rest chiefly upon his achievements outside the field of composition, which have been monumental, and which show no sign of diminishing in vigor or popularity.

A name that has become almost as much a household word as Damrosch is that of DEEMS TAYLOR (p. 488), known to the great public for his broadcast talks on music. But to a large portion of that public he is known also for the music he has written, which, if they have not all heard it, they have read about, often on the front pages of their newspapers. As a composer, Taylor has had remarkably wide success—a success which some critics find based on clever opportunism rather than on a genuinely creative talent. The fame of *The King's Henchman* paved the way for his second opera, *Peter Ibbetson,* based on the somewhat sentimental and melodramatic story of Du Maurier, which Taylor set to thoroughly effective if not distinguished or original music. This opera was an even greater popular success than its predecessor. It was produced at the Metropolitan, with Edward Johnson, Lawrence Tibbett, and Lucrezia Bori in the cast, on February 7, 1931, and achieved such popularity that it was chosen to open its third season at the Metropolitan, and set the record, for American opera, of remaining in the repertoire for four seasons. Taylor has recently completed a third opera, *Ramuntcho,* now awaiting production. In 1934 he published a revised version, for symphony orchestra, of the fantasy-suite, *Circus Days,* and in 1936 the suite *Lucrece,* consisting of music written for Katherine Cornell's production of the play of the same name.

RICHARD HAGEMAN (p. 545) is another composer who has had the pleasure of seeing his "thoroughly stageworthy, entertaining, effective, and warmly melodious opera" gorgeously mounted at the Metropolitan. The work was *Caponsacchi,* based on Browning's *The Ring and the Book,* a ro-

mantic tale of villainy in mediaeval Italy. First produced in Freiburg, Germany, in 1932, and later in Vienna, it had its American première on February 19, 1932.

Among other composers whose reputations were already established before the beginning of the fourth decade are three native-born men and two born in Europe. CHARLES WAKEFIELD CADMAN (p. 445) was originally known as a specialist in the use of American Indian folk-songs. But nowadays he looks upon all "native" musical materials, be they Indian, Negro, cowboy, or hillbilly, as mere "ingredients" in a true American idiom. His *Dark Dancers of the Mardi Gras,* which takes its name from the Negro side of the New Orleans *fête,* does not employ any actual Negro themes. The performance by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, under Barbirolli, in December, 1937, was the fourteenth the work had received. On the same day, and in the same building (in the Carnegie Chamber Music Hall), an *American Suite,* for string orchestra, was played by the Mozart Sinfonietta. Cadman has also recently written a *Quintet* for piano and strings.

FREDERICK SHEPHERD CONVERSE (p. 472), younger colleague of Chadwick at the New England Conservatory, and his successor as Dean of the Faculty, was recently elected to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Letters. His suite, *American Sketches,* inspired by Carl Sandburg's *American Song-Bag,* was performed in February, 1935 by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Composed later, but performed by the Boston orchestra earlier than the *Sketches,* was his *Prophecy,* a tone-poem for soprano and orchestra. Converse says he is through with the "extravagant elements of modern music"; he feels that experimentation is already old-fashioned, and that what is needed is "deeper spiritual and emotional significance in our music."

If JOHN ALDEN CARPENTER (p. 479) has achieved a position of enviable eminence among our composers, it is due entirely to the intrinsic merits of his music, and not to any

element of smug respectability in his makeup. His reputation was first built largely on works devoted to humorous or unconventional subjects. In recent years, however, he has turned to more serious themes: *Sea Drift,* an orchestral piece based on Walt Whitman's sea poems; and the *Song of Faith,* an ode for chorus and orchestra commissioned by the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission. He has also made two further major ventures in the field of absolute music: a *Piano Quintet* commissioned for the Library of Congress Festival in 1935, and a *Concerto* for violin and orchestra.

The closing years of the life of CHARLES MARTIN LOEFFLER (p. 468) saw few works come from his deliberate pen. For the dedication of Severance Hall, in Cleveland, on February 5, 1931, he was commissioned to write a new work, which proved to be the symphonic poem with chorus of women's voices entitled *Evocation,* to verses after a Greek poet, "picturing a temple of the Muses." *Evocation* was published under the auspices of the Juilliard Foundation. A *Partita* for violin and piano was commissioned by Mrs. Coolidge, for a festival in Chicago. In its third movement, Loeffler reflected an interest in jazz which had led him as early as 1928 to write a piece entitled *Clowns* for Leo Reisman, the well-known dance-band leader. Loeffler died, after a long and painful illness, on May 19, 1935.

ERNEST BLOCH (p. 514) has lived abroad during almost the whole period since 1930, when he retired from the directorship of the San Francisco Conservatory to devote himself entirely to composition. During this period his fame has increased greatly abroad, especially in England, where an Ernest Bloch Society has been formed to promote performances and recordings of his works, and in Italy where, until the recent inauguration of an official anti-Semitic policy, he received many performances and widespread appreciation among musicians, critics, and public. His official biography, by Mary Tibaldi-Chiesa, was published in Italy, and in 1938

his opera *Macbeth* was performed there, for the first time since its original production in Paris in 1910. During the 1930's not much new music by Bloch has reached the public. In 1932 the *Sacred Service* for the synagogue was published, and in 1936 the *Voice in the Wilderness* for 'cello and orchestra, both in America. In the latter year, an Italian publisher brought out Bloch's *Piano Sonata.* A *Concerto* for violin and orchestra was completed in 1937. Bloch has recently returned to America to live.

COMPOSER-PROFESSORS

The composers already discussed in this chapter had all established their reputations solidly before 1930. Some were close to the end of their journey, and completed it during this fourth decade. Others are still active, constantly adding lustre to already famous names.

In the following group the average age of the composers is much lower, but some individuals in it might just as well have been included in the opening pages. It should therefore be understood that the groupings are intended merely to give a semblance of order to the discussion of a subject far too big and varied to lend itself easily to any classification. Human beings defy classification, and so must such an intimate expression of their personalities as music. In some instances we can base our groupings on the nature of the music these composers have produced, while in others, like the group to be treated next, the composers discussed have simply a major activity in common, entirely apart from their composition.

Few of our composers are able to support themselves through composing alone. Most of them must rely on other forms of musical activity, and many of them are engaged in what has always been one of the most common supports of creative artists—teaching. First we shall consider those who are associated with leading music schools, colleges, and universities.

HOWARD HANSON (p. 523), as director of the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, as initiator and conductor of its American Composers' Concerts, and as President of the Music Teachers National Association, has been an active force in directing the current of American music. He also conducted programs of American works in Germany, under the auspices of the Oberlaender Trust. His most extended work, and the one which has naturally occupied the most conspicuous position as far as the general musical public is concerned, is the opera *Merrymount,* to a libretto by Richard L. Stokes, produced by the Metropolitan in February, 1934, and given a total of nine performances during that season. The première was a great success, but the critics found the work somewhat uneven, and stressed the power of the choral writing. Hanson was one of the first six composers commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System to write a work for radio performance. This was his *Third Symphony,* first performed on September 19, 1937. This work, Hanson feels, comes closer to realizing his aspirations than any other of his compositions.

Associated with Hanson at the Eastman School are BERNARD ROGERS (p. 532) and EDWARD ROYCE. Rogers's opera *The Marriage of Aude* was performed at the Eastman Festival in May, 1931, and won the Bispham medal. As early as 1927 he had been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship. His *Five Fairy Tales,* for orchestra, have been played by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony and the Chicago Symphony Orchestras as well as in Rochester, and published under the auspices of the Juilliard Foundation. In the last few years he has also written *Three Japanese Dances,* for mezzo-soprano and orchestra, a *Third Symphony,* and *The Supper at Emmaus,* for orchestra, and *The Exodus,* for solo voices, chorus and orchestra. Edward Royce, who is several years the senior of Hanson and Rogers (he was born in 1886), is head of the composition department of the Eastman School. He has written two symphonic poems, *The Fire-Bringers,* and

Far Ocean, numerous pieces for piano, among them the *Variations,* which have appeared on the programs of several outstanding pianists, and a set of *Variations for Organ.*

The vacancy on the faculty of the Juilliard Graduate School caused by the death of Rubin Goldmark was filled by the appointment of FREDERICK JACOBI (p. 450), who had been Goldmark's pupil. In the past few years, Jacobi has produced three *Concertos,* for 'cello, for piano, and for violin, each with orchestra; a *Friday Evening Service,* commissioned by the Temple Emanu-El in New York, and *Six Pieces for the Organ* for use in the synagogue; a second *String Quartet,* published by the Society for the Publication of American Music, and a short *Scherzo for Wind Instruments.* He is prominent in the activities of the League of Composers and the United States Section of the International Society for Contemporary Music. ALBERT STOESSEL (p. 528) continues to find time for composition despite his many teaching and conducting activities at the Juilliard School and elsewhere. In recent years he has produced a suite for orchestra entitled *Early Americana,* a *Concerto Grosso* for strings and piano, several choral pieces, and the opera *Garrick,* on a libretto by Robert A. Simon, which was performed by the opera department of the Juilliard School in February, 1937. BERNARD WAGENAAR (p. 535), who is also on the staff of the Juilliard Graduate School, is one of the few "composers in America" (he was born and educated in Holland) who has had his work performed by Toscanini. The great Italian conductor played Wagenaar's *Second Symphony* with the Philharmonic-Symphony during the season of 1932-3. Wagenaar's recent works include a *Third Symphony,* a *Triple Concerto* for flute, harp, 'cello and orchestra, a *Second* and a *Third String Quartet,* and other chamber music works. EDWIN J. STRINGHAM (p. 533), formerly connected with the Juilliard School, has unfortunately been prevented by the press of teaching and editorial duties from adding much to his creative output in the last few years. He is an Associate Editor for the

American Book Company and in 1938 became Chairman of the Music Department of the newly organized Queens College of the City of New York. His *Nocturne* was played by the New York Philharmonic in January, 1935, and he has recently completed a *Symphonic Suite,* a *String Quartet,* and a *Notturno* for chamber orchestra.

QUINCY C. PORTER (p. 537) recently resigned from the Music Department of Vassar College to accept the post of Dean of the Faculty of the New England Conservatory of Music, in Boston. His first *Symphony* was awarded honorable mention in the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society's prize competition in 1937, and performed by the society, with the composer conducting, in the spring of 1938. He has also written a *Poem and Dance,* for orchestra; a *Suite* from his incidental music to *Antony and Cleopatra,* and a *Dance in Three-Time,* for chamber orchestra; and six *String Quartets* (Porter is himself an accomplished performer on the viola), of which one was published by the Society for the Publication of American Music. As early as 1929, Porter received a Guggenheim Fellowship for composition. *Two Dances for Radio* had their first performance in the summer of 1938, by the orchestra of the Columbia Broadcasting System, which had commissioned them. BERYL RUBINSTEIN, director of the Cleveland Institute of Music, where Porter formerly taught, has appeared as piano soloist with several leading orchestras. Born in Athens, Georgia, in 1898, he studied with Alexander Lambert and later with Busoni. As a composer he has become known chiefly through his setting of John Erskine's libretto *The Sleeping Beauty*—a gay, lighthearted comedy—which was performed in January, 1938, at the Juilliard School. He has also written a *Concerto* for piano and orchestra, a *String Quartet,* and other chamber music. ABRAM CHASINS (p. 533), who was until 1935 a member of the piano faculty of the Curtis Institute, has recently devoted himself chiefly to radio broadcasting. He has added to the list of his works a *Parade* for orchestra, and a

Second Concerto for piano and orchestra. Toscanini, whose ventures into American music are rare, played Chasins's *Parade* and *Flirtation in a Chinese Garden,* thereby inviting the censure of many who felt that these tidbits were too trivial to engage the attention of the world's greatest conductor, to the neglect of much American music of greater import.

It is nearly eighty years since music was first recognized officially at Harvard University, and since the days of John Knowles Paine composers of distinction have always graced the music faculty there. EDWARD BURLINGAME HILL (p. 497), senior member of the Harvard Music Division, has produced in recent years a *Symphony No. 2,* a *Concertino* for piano and orchestra, and two *Sinfoniettas,* one for full and one for string orchestra. He has also written a *Sextet* for wind instruments and piano, first performed at an Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Festival in Pittsfield, and a *String Quartet.* WALTER PISTON, like Hill, studied music at Harvard, went abroad for further study, and returned to teach at the University. He is now Assistant Professor of Music and Chairman of the Music Division. Of Italian ancestry, Piston was born in Rockland, Maine, in 1894. He first studied drawing and painting, and only later turned to music. Yet he is definitely "a musician's composer." His *Symphonic Piece,* played by the Boston Orchestra in 1928, has been followed by a *Suite,* a *Concerto,* and a *Prelude and Fugue,* all for orchestra. The Columbia Broadcasting System commissioned his *Concertino* for piano and chamber orchestra, and the League of Composers his *First Symphony.* He has also written several chamber music works, including two *String Quartets* and three frequently played *Pieces for Flute, Clarinet, and Bassoon.* In 1935 he received a Guggenheim Fellowship in musical composition.

At Yale, too, music has long held an honored place. Horatio Parker's pupil, DAVID STANLEY SMITH (p. 484), still heads the School of Music, and continues to produce a series

of serious and carefully constructed works. For orchestra he has composed *1929—A Satire, Tomorrow,* an overture, and a *Symphony No. 4.* He has also brought forth in recent years an impressive list of chamber works, of which the C major string quartet, Op. 71, like its predecessor, Op. 46, in the same key, was published by the Society for the Publication of American Music. RICHARD F. DONOVAN, also on the Yale faculty, was born in New Haven in 1891 and studied at Yale, at the Institute of Musical Art, and in Paris. Before his appointment at Yale he taught at Smith College. He has composed *Smoke and Steel,* a symphonic poem for orchestra, a *Symphony* for chamber orchestra, several chamber music works, and much in the field of choral music, sacred and secular.

At Columbia, DANIEL GREGORY MASON (p. 478) may appropriately be said to be still holding the fort, for Mason's aggressive defense of his artistic position in frequent literary activities is wholly characteristic, and it has continued right up to the present with the publication of his recent book of reminiscences, *Music in My Time.* At the same time, he has been very active as a composer in recent years. His *Chanticleer Overture* has enjoyed more than fifty performances, since its *première* in 1931. It was followed by a *Suite after English Folk Songs,* and by the *Lincoln Symphony,* Mason's third work in that form, in which he paid high tribute to the Great Emancipator. He has also produced a set of *Love Songs* for soprano and chamber orchestra, and a *Serenade* for string quartet, as well as two widely read books: *Tune in America,* and *The Chamber Music of Brahms.* DOUGLAS MOORE (p. 526), Associate Professor of Music at Columbia, has paid particular attention to the American scene, and tried to express something of American mood and character in his music, without chauvinism or any other rigid dogma. He followed his *Barnum* and *Moby Dick* with a *Symphony of Autumn* (1930), and an *Overture on an American Tune* (1931), inspired by Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt.* He

has written two chamber operas: *White Wings* and *The Devil and Daniel Webster*, several choral works, and a *Quartet for Strings*. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow in composition.

The distance we have travelled in the last few years is shown by the possibility of discussing the somewhat radical ROGER SESSIONS (p. 570) in this group. Remember, though, that the figures now being treated are grouped only by profession, not by style. For several years, Sessions lived abroad as recipient of the Guggenheim, American Academy in Rome, and Carnegie fellowships. On his return to America he began to teach composition, and became a member of the Executive Board of the League of Composers and President of the United States section of the I.S.C.M. He is now Assistant Professor of Music at Princeton University. He was commissioned by the League of Composers in its American Composers Series. His *String Quartet No. 1* was performed at the Library of Congress Festival in April, 1937. He has also composed *Symphonies No. 2* and *No. 3*, and *Three Dirges* for Orchestra.

PHILIP JAMES (p. 529) heads the music department of New York University. His *Station WGZBX* won a first prize of $5,000 in the National Broadcasting Company's contest in 1932, and his *Overture Bret Harte* (No. 3) received honorable mention in the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society's contest in 1937. His *Suite for String Orchestra* was chosen for a Juilliard School of Music Publication Award. He has also written choral music, chamber music, and incidental music for dramatic productions. At New York University, too, is CHARLES HAUBIEL (p. 566). His *Ritratti* won second prize in the Swift Symphonic Contest in 1935, and his *Pastoral* achieved honorable mention in the same contest. His *Passacaglia, The Plain Beyond* received half the award announced in February, 1938, by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society. He has also written numerous chamber works, a musical satire, *Brigands Preferred*, for

voices and small orchestra, and incidental music for *The Passionate Pilgrim.* A third composer member of the New York University faculty is MARION BAUER (p. 565). She has devoted much time in recent years to books about music, including *Twentieth Century Music, How Music Grew,* and *Music through the Ages.* She has also written *Sun Splendor,* for orchestra, numerous chamber works and choral pieces, and *Pan,* a choreographic sketch for chamber-music combination intended as incidental music to a film.

The music department of Smith College includes two well-known figures. WERNER JOSTEN (p. 532) has had many performances by leading symphony orchestras. He has written two *Concerti Sacri* for piano and strings, a *Symphony for Strings,* and a *Serenade* and a *Symphony* for full orchestra, as well as several ballets and some chamber music. Two of his works have been published under the auspices of the Juilliard Foundation, and the ballet *Joseph and His Brethren* was given by the Juilliard School forces. ROSS LEE FINNEY, Associate Professor of Music at Smith, won a Pulitzer Scholarship, a Guggenheim Fellowship, and the Connecticut Valley Prize. He was born in Wells, Minnesota, in 1906, and studied with Alban Berg and Nadia Boulanger in Europe and with Roger Sessions and Edward Burlingame Hill in this country. He has written two *Piano Sonatas* and several other chamber-music works, including a *String Quartet in F minor* that has had numerous performances; orchestral works; and the dance drama, *Masse Mensch.*

Music is strongly cultivated at Bennington College, in Vermont, where OTTO LUENING (p. 537) is Chairman of the Music Division. He is a very prolific composer in many forms. His opera *Evangeline* won the David Bispham medal in 1933. His recent works include *Americana, Divertimento, Dirge, Two Symphonic Interludes,* and a *Symphony,* for orchestra; a *Suite for String Orchestra;* and considerable chamber music. ROBERT MCBRIDE, another member of the

Bennington faculty, has had numerous and conspicuous performances of several works. McBride was born in 1911 in Tucson, Arizona, and was educated in his home state. In 1937 he received a Guggenheim Fellowship. A year previously, he had received a commission from the League of Composers. His *Prelude to a Tragedy* was performed by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in 1935; his *Show Piece* (*Ballet Workout in One Act*) by the Philadelphia Orchestra, under Stokowski. He has also written a *Mexican Rhapsody* for orchestra, a *Workout* and a *Fugato* for chamber orchestra, and several works of chamber music.

HARL MCDONALD (born 1899, in Boulder, Colorado) is best known for his *Rhumba Symphony, No. 2,* which, like other works of this composer, was introduced by Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra. McDonald studied here and in Germany and has been active as pianist, organist, and choirmaster; at present he conducts the choral organizations of the University of Pennsylvania, and lectures on composition. For some years he engaged in research, under a Rockefeller grant, on the measurement, recording, and transmission of tone, and similar subjects. His *Santa Fe Trail-Symphony No. 1* and his *Mojave-Symphonic Fantasy* have been performed by leading symphonic organizations, and he has written choral works and chamber music. CARL E. BRICKEN (p. 537), who won both a Pulitzer Scholarship and a Guggenheim Fellowship, back in the 1920's, has recently been named Professor of Music and Director of the School of Music in the University of Wisconsin. ARTHUR SHEPHERD (p. 500), who heads the music department at Western Reserve University, was commissioned by the League of Composers to write a *String Quartet* for its American Composers Series.

RANDALL THOMPSON (p. 537), after serving for a year as Professor of Music and Director of the University Chorus at the University of California, was appointed Director of the Curtis Institute, in Philadelphia, to succeed Josef Hofman,

beginning with the 1939-40 season. He is the composer of music as sincere, deeply felt, and widely appealing as any written by our contemporary composers. He has received many honors (honorary degree of Doctor of Music from the University of Rochester; Juilliard Publication Award; fellowships of the American Academy in Rome and the Guggenheim Foundation; and so forth), and his music, especially the *Symphony No. 2,* and *Americana* and *The Peaceable Kingdom* for chorus, the latter commissioned for the Harvard Glee Club by the League of Composers, has been widely performed.

OTHER OLD FRIENDS

The next group of men to be considered consists chiefly of composers who were known in 1930, and who have consolidated their positions and added importantly to their reputations in the past few years. Having no conspicuous academic connections, they do not belong with the group previously treated. Since they are neither reactionaries nor conservatives nor radicals nor anything else that can be easily labelled, we may admit the paradox and classify them as the Unclassifiables.

Four of them are associated in one's mind, along with Sessions and Jacobi, with the activities of the League of Composers, indefatigable champion of contemporary music of "advanced" tendencies. AARON COPLAND (p. 566) has succeeded in getting rid of the jazz connotation which his name formerly evoked. Copland has occupied himself at the same time with the development of his technique as a composer, as in the stern and tightly wrought *Piano Variations,* and with the extension of the composer's appeal to the wider audience which the radio and the phonograph have opened up. For orchestra he has produced a *Short Symphony; Statements,* commissioned by the League of Composers; *El Salon Mexico,* widely admired for its technical adroitness but criticized by some as being too trivial for a

man of prevailingly serious purpose like Copland; and a piece commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System, called by the composer simply *Music for Radio,* and named by one of the radio audience, rather inappropriately, *Saga of the Prairie.* Copland is one of the composers who have been influenced by the current of modern social and political change to try to place their talents at the service of social and political purposes. His *Second Hurricane,* a play-opera for high school performance, is an example of this aim.

LOUIS GRUENBERG (p. 563) is another composer who has put jazz behind him. In 1931 he collaborated with John Erskine in the writing of an opera, *Jack and the Beanstalk,* which was produced at the Juilliard School and has had repeated performances in other cities. His *Emperor Jones,* to the play by Eugene O'Neill, produced in January, 1933, was the most finished and theatrically effective American opera the Metropolitan has yet produced, though critics seemed agreed in finding that O'Neill's stark and powerful play hardly needed the elaborate raiment in which Gruenberg clothed it. The opera was awarded the Bispham medal. In 1937 Gruenberg was commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System to write a one-act opera for radio—*Green Mansions,* on the novel by W. H. Hudson. In the last few years he has also written an opera, *Queen Helena,* to a libretto by Philip Moeller, as well as a *Second Symphony,* a *Second Quintet for Piano and Strings,* and a *String Quartet.* LAZARE SAMINSKY (p. 564) continues his activities in behalf of modern music on many fronts. He has recently composed a three-act opera, as well as several orchestral works—*To a New World, Three Shadows, Stilled Pageant,* and *Pueblo, a Moon Rhapsody,* the latter commissioned in the League of Composers American Series. There are also numerous choral and chamber works. He has published two books, *Music of Our Day,* and *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible,* serves on the executive board of the League of Composers, and is active in the American Society

of Composers, Authors and Publishers. EMERSON WHITHORNE (p. 559) has added to the roster of his works *The Dream Pedlar,* played in New York by the Philadelphia Orchestra in February, 1936; a *Fandango;* a *Violin Concerto; Moon Trail,* introduced by the Boston Symphony Orchestra in December, 1933, a vivid, expertly scored, and often strikingly original piece; and a *Second Symphony,* as well as several chamber works.

WERNER JANSSEN (p. 536) has survived an experience that would have broken less courageous men. After considerable successes as a conductor in Europe and a particularly enthusiastic flourish of praise from Sibelius, accompanied by a decoration from the Finnish government, Janssen was engaged for the 1934-5 season as one of the conductors of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra. The advance publicity proved a boomerang. Audiences and critics had been led to expect such a paragon that even the talented young conductor that Janssen is could not measure up to such expectations. And Janssen's tenure of the podium, since it was not an unprecedented success, was set down, unjustly, as a failure. But he has nevertheless gone on with both conducting and composing, and has recently been appointed conductor of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra. His *Louisiana Symphony,* composed while he was a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome, has been widely played; his *String Quartet No. 2* was played at the Library of Congress Chamber Music Festival in April, 1935; and his score for *The General Died at Dawn* was produced with the Paramount film of that name. Another composer-conductor is QUINTO MAGANINI (p. 536), who has been very active in the furthering of American music. He was born in Fairfield, California, in 1897, and after playing as a flutist in the San Francisco and New York Symphony orchestras, he received a Pulitzer Award and a Guggenheim Fellowship, successively. He is conductor of the Maganini Chamber Symphony. His orchestral works have

been performed by leading orchestras, and he has also written choral music, chamber works, and an opera, *The Argonauts—A California Tetralogy.*

Two prominent figures lead double lives, musically speaking. ROBERT RUSSELL BENNETT (p. 537), born in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1894, is active as composer, conductor, and orchestrator for Broadway and Hollywood, and at the same time keeps up his interests and activities in the field of serious composition. His opera, *Maria Malibran,* on a libretto by Robert A. Simon, was produced at the Juilliard School in 1935; the League of Composers commissioned him to write an orchestral work which was played by the National Broadcasting Company Orchestra on their tenth anniversary program; and the Columbia Broadcasting System commissioned a work for radio in 1938. He has written an *Adagio Eroico,* a *Concerto Grosso,* using a small dance band for the *concertino,* and a scherzo, *Hollywood,* for orchestra; and various chamber works. VLADIMIR DUKELSKY is that even rarer bird, a trained musician born in Europe (Russia, 1903) who has made the language of American popular music his own. How far he has succeeded is indicated by the fact that he contributed two ballets and several songs to the score of the *Goldwyn Follies* when the music for that film was left unfinished by the late George Gershwin. His popular writing is done under the pseudonym of VERNON DUKE. As Vladimir Dukelsky he has written two *Symphonies,* a *Piano Concerto, Dédicaces* for soprano solo, piano solo, and orchestra, some chamber music, an opera and several ballets, and an oratorio, *The End of St. Petersburg,* for soloists, chorus and orchestra, which had its *première* at the hands of the Schola Cantorum and the New York Philharmonic.

The life of GEORGE GERSHWIN (p. 595), cruelly cut short on July 11, 1937, by an unsuccessful operation to remove a brain tumor, was not one of allegiances so sharply divided as those of Bennett or Dukelsky-Duke. Gershwin really

belonged to Tin-Pan Alley, to Broadway, and later to Hollywood, and his high musical ambitions did not lead him to turn his back on his origins, but to try to use everything he owed them in music for the concert hall. This effort is generally considered to have been only partly successful. His rich gift of invention seems to have been particularly suited to the forms and purposes of dance music and show business. The construction of larger forms, on the other hand, was not his *forte,* and when he attempted to pour his melodies into more elaborate and architectural moulds, the color and the characteristic effectiveness of his usually irresistible tunefulness suffered materially, without his really achieving anything in the symphonic style which would take its place. None of the successors to the famous *Rhapsody in Blue*—neither the *Concerto in F,* nor the *American in Paris,* nor the *Second Rhapsody*—has achieved anything like the great success of that piece. The opera *Porgy and Bess,* based on Dubose Heyward's play, *Porgy,* had a successful run when it was produced, in the 1935-6 season, by the New York Theatre Guild. Perhaps if he had lived he would have gone on to achieve a real fusion of the language of popular music with the larger and subtler forms of the symphonic style. But it does not seem too likely. His strength as a popular composer was in the very fact that he spoke the musical language of Broadway naturally and un-selfconsciously, and it may be doubted that that language could ever be used, by one born to speak it, like Gershwin, for the expression of ideas and the construction of forms essentially alien to Broadway's experience. This is not by any means to belittle Gershwin's unique gifts or to question the justice of his claim to fame. For the rewards of fame and success were his in full measure, and he had richly deserved them.

ROY HARRIS (p. 572) has become one of the most widely performed of our composers, and certainly the most recorded on phonograph records, which is a remarkable achievement when one considers that he has not given the

public easy music to listen to, but has made it accept him on his own terms. The Pasadena Music and Arts Association voted him a fellowship for creative work in 1931. The following year he came East, and it is from then that his wide reputation dates. For the nerve centers of American musical activity are still in the East, whose citadels Harris set out to capture. He is no shrinking violet; he believes unreservedly in himself and he has had the good fortune to make others share his faith. For several seasons he taught at the Westminster Choir School, and he has lectured at the Juilliard School. He has been commissioned by various organizations and artists to write works for them, including the RCA Victor Company (*Johnny Comes Marching Home, Overture*), the Columbia Broadcasting System (*Time Suite*), and others. He has written three *Symphonies,* a *Violin Concerto,* a *Piano Concerto,* a *Prelude and Fugue for String Orchestra,* a *Symphony for High School Orchestra;* numerous choral works, of which the *Song for Occupations* and the *Symphony for Voices* are the best known; three *String Quartets,* two *Piano Sonatas,* a *Piano Trio,* a *Piano Quintet,* and numerous other works of chamber music. Among his most successful works is the *Poem* for violin and piano. The promise Harris held out in 1930 seems well on the way to fulfillment. He has developed his own unmistakable and characteristically American idiom, and if he can go forward in the path of rich, warm, emotional music and not be stifled by his often too active intellectualizing, his should be a high rank indeed in the history of American music.

HAROLD MORRIS (p. 529) has had considerable recognition in recent years. His *Piano Concerto* was published under the auspices of the Juilliard Foundation, and he is a member of the faculty of the Juilliard School. His *Sonata* for violin and piano was chosen by the Curtis Institute as a representative American work for performance at the Amer-

ican Embassy in London for the King's Jubilee. He has recently composed a *Symphony after Browning's Prospice (No. 2)*, a *Second String Quartet,* and a *Second Piano Trio,* and a *Suite* for flute, violin, 'cello and piano. PAUL NORDOFF was born in Philadelphia in 1909, and had his musical training there at the Juilliard School. He won a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1933 and in 1935. He was commissioned by the League of Composers in the American Composers Series. His *Prelude and Three Small Fugues* were performed by the Philharmonic-Symphony Chamber Orchestra under Otto Luening in February, 1937, and his *Fugue* and *Secular Mass* have been produced by the Philadelphia Orchestra. He heads the composition department of the Philadelphia Conservatory of Music. About CARL RUGGLES (p. 573) there is still nothing like a settled or accepted opinion. An excellent and enthusiastic article about him by Charles Seeger was published in Henry Cowell's stimulating compilation, *American Composers on American Music.* Ruggles' *Sun Treader* was played at the Barcelona festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music. LEO SOWERBY (p. 524) has added to his works in recent years a *Passacaglia, Interlude and Fugue,* played by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1934, *Concertos* for piano, for violin, and for organ with orchestra, and a *Sinfonietta* for string orchestra. He has also produced further chamber music and choral works, and a *Suite* for organ. He was commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System to write a work for radio.

LAMAR STRINGFIELD, born in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1897, received his training in flute-playing and in composition at the Institute of Musical Art, in New York, and in conducting from Henry Hadley and Chalmers Clifton. He has written several orchestral pieces, mostly of a programmatic nature, numerous works of chamber music, and some stage music, including *The Mountain Song,* a three-act opera.

He has been particularly interested in the use of folk material. At present he is assistant conductor at the Radio City Music Hall, in New York.

NEWCOMERS

We come now to a group of men whose names have become known for the first time during the 1930's. Here less than ever may we attempt appraisal. By the time another decade has passed some of them will have written their names permanently in the annals, and some, having had their brief moment of fame, will have subsided into that oblivion whither the mere hard facts of arithmetic must inevitably retire a certain number. Meanwhile, they have come and been noticed, and among them are men of undoubted talent. It is worth noting, incidentally, that in some ways it does not become easier, as time goes on, to become noticed. There was a time when one had but to introduce a vacuum cleaner or a typewriter or an aeroplane motor into a score to achieve an international notoriety. But the wildest things have already been done—they would no longer attract attention, and so our composers must and in general do base their claims to attention on solider foundations. And at this point our system of grouping becomes more frankly than ever a matter of mere convenience, for we shall discuss these newcomers in alphabetical order.

SAMUEL BARBER, born in 1910, in West Chester, Pennsylvania, has achieved remarkable recognition. Awarded the Prix de Rome in 1935, he received the Pulitzer Prize in the same year and again the next year—the first time this award had ever been made twice to the same musician. His *Symphony in One Movement* was the first American work ever played at the Salzburg Festival. His *Overture to "The School for Scandal"* and his *Music for a Scene from Shelley* have been widely performed by leading orchestras, and Toscanini played the *Essay* and the *Adagio for Strings* during

the autumn of 1938—the first American compositions to be played by the *maestro* with his National Broadcasting Company Symphony Orchestra. Since Barber is a conservative composer, Toscanini's choice again caused a certain resentment among musicians of the left, but on the general public the works made a favorable and musicianly impression.

Among the several Russian-born composers who have been successfully transplanted to our shores is NICOLAI T. BEREZOWSKY, who was born in St. Petersburg in 1900. He studied both abroad and at the Juilliard School. In 1932 he was the recipient of the National Broadcasting Company's orchestral award; in 1934 he was commissioned by the League of Composers in its American Composers Series; and he was one of the winners of the NBC competition in 1936. He is a member of the Coolidge String Quartet, and has written much chamber music, including numerous *String Quartets,* a *Duo for Viola and Clarinet,* and two *Woodwind Quintets.* He has had considerable orchestral experience, both as instrumentalist and as conductor, and has written three *Symphonies,* a *Concerto Lirico* for 'cello and orchestra, and a *String Quartet with Orchestra.* His *Sinfonietta* received a Juilliard publication award.

PAUL FREDERICK BOWLES is that rare being, a native New Yorker. He was born in the metropolis in 1911, and is a pupil of Aaron Copland and Virgil Thomson. His interest in exotic folk-music has taken him to Spain, Northern Africa, the Sahara, the Antilles, and South and Central America. The Philadelphia Orchestra played his *Yankee Clipper* ballet music in 1937, and other works have been performed both in this country and abroad. His works have been mostly for small combinations of instruments, or for voices and instruments. They include a *Suite* for small orchestra, incidental music for Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus,* and a three-act opera, *Denmark Vesey.* THEODORE WARD CHANLER is known as a critic, having served both *Modern Music* and *The Boston Herald* in that capacity, but to a few

people and by a very few works only he is known as a composer of genuine talent and taste. He is a pupil of Shepherd, Goetschius, Bloch, and Boulanger. His *Sonata* for violin and piano was heard at the Copland-Sessions concerts in New York, and in Paris. He is interested in simplifying methods of piano instruction, and he is cooperating in an experiment of the Dalcroze School of Music toward providing instruction in ensemble playing at all stages of the instrumentalist's studies. For this purpose he writes ensemble pieces within the technical limitations of the special student groups who play them.

Associated with the Dalcroze School, too, is ISRAEL CITKOWITZ, who was born in Russia in 1909. He is a pupil of Copland, Sessions, and Boulanger. His compositions are chiefly in the field of chamber music, with and without voices. His sensitive setting of William Blake's poem *The Lamb* has been performed by the Dessoff Choirs. His *String Quartet* was performed at the first Yaddo Festival; his *Sonatine* for piano was played by the Vienna section, and his *Song Cycle to Words of Joyce* by the London section, of the I.S.C.M. PAUL CRESTON, who was born in 1906 in New York City, of Italian descent, studied with Randegger, Dethier, and Yon, and is active as organist and choirmaster of St. Malachy's Church in New York. He has interested himself in research in the fields of acoustics, aesthetics, musicotherapy, and kindred subjects. His compositions include a *Prelude and Dance* and a *Symphony* for orchestra, a *Partita* for flute, violin, and strings, a *Suite* for alto saxophone and piano, and numerous other works of chamber music. They have been played at the Yaddo and Westminster Choir School Festivals, and elsewhere. In 1939 he was awarded a fellowship in composition by the Guggenheim Foundation. ROBERT MILLS DELANEY won the Pulitzer Prize in 1933 for his setting of Stephen Vincent Benét's poem, *John Brown's Body*. He was born in Baltimore in 1903, studied violin with Schradieck and Capet and composi-

tion with Boulanger and Honegger, and has taught music at the Concord (Mass.) School and the Santa Barbara School in California, where he now lives. In 1929 he won a Guggenheim Fellowship. He has written several orchestral works, some chamber music, and numerous choral works.

DAVID LEO DIAMOND is one of the youngest composers on our list, having been born in 1915, in Rochester, New York. He studied at the Cleveland Institute and at the Eastman School, and later with Roger Sessions and Nadia Boulanger. His *Sinfonietta* for orchestra won him the Elfrida Whiteman Fellowship in 1935, and his *Psalm* for orchestra received the Juilliard publication award in 1937. In 1938 he obtained a Guggenheim Fellowship in composition. The League of Composers commissioned him, in its American Composers Series, to write a work for small ensemble. He has written numerous works for orchestra and much chamber music. A. LEHMAN ENGEL, born in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1910, is best known as a choral conductor. He organized and directs the Madrigal Singers, a unit of the W.P.A. Music Project in New York, and has conducted the premières of numerous modern works under other auspices. He has written orchestral works and chamber music, but his best known compositions are the incidental music he has produced for various stage productions, including Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral,* O'Casey's *Within the Gates,* Aristophanes's *Birds,* and others. DANTE FIORILLO has a remarkable ability to escape attention. A most prolific composer, whose work is known and highly respected by a few musicians, he has had few conspicuous performances, and his name does not appear in any of the reference books, though they list composers of far less striking attainments. He was born in 1905, in New York City, studied the 'cello at the Greenwich House Music School, and is self-taught in composition. He received a Guggenheim Fellowship in composition in 1935 and again in 1936. His *Music for Chamber Orchestra* was performed by Hans Lange and the

Philharmonic-Symphony Chamber Orchestra; his *Concerto* for harpsichord and strings by Ralph Kirkpatrick with the Durieux ensemble; his *Concerto* for oboe, horn, piano, strings, and timpani at a concert of the Society of Professional Musicians. The list of his works is incredibly long for a composer not yet thirty-five years old, particularly in an age when writing music does not "come easy" to many composers. And such of his music as has been heard in public encourages one to think that its quality often corresponds to its quantity. ANIS FULEIHAN, who was born on the Island of Cyprus in 1900, came to the United States at the age of fifteen, and is a naturalized citizen. He is a pupil in piano playing of Alberto Jonas, and is principally self-taught as a composer. He is at present in charge of the Symphony Orchestra Department of the firm of G. Schirmer, Inc. Eugene Goossens was the first to introduce one of Fuleihan's major orchestral works, *Mediterranean,* a suite for orchestra, in 1935. It has since been performed by several other major orchestras. His *Concerto No. 1,* for piano and string orchestra, was played by the composer with the National Orchestral Association; his *Concerto No. 2,* for piano and full orchestra, by Eugene List with the New York Philharmonic in December, 1938. Both the earlier works have been performed in England, in concert and for broadcasting. He has also written a *Symphony,* a *Concerto* for viola and orchestra, *Calypso* (a symphonic poem), and some chamber music. He disclaims all nationalistic aims, as well as any attempt at "Germanic profundity." His music does not go in for heroics; it is simple and transparent in texture, and brilliantly scored. In 1939 he received a Guggenheim Fellowship in composition.

VITTORIO GIANNINI was preceded on the road to fame by his sister, Dusolina Giannini, the renowned soprano. He was born in Philadelphia in 1903, and studied in Milan and with Goldmark at the Juilliard Graduate School. He was appointed to a fellowship of the American Academy in

Rome, and now lives in New York. His symphony *In Memoriam* was performed at the inauguration of the New York State Theodore Roosevelt Memorial. He has written *Concertos* for piano and orchestra and for organ and orchestra; three operas, two of which, *Lucedia* and *The Scarlet Letter,* have been performed in Germany; several major choral works, including a *Stabat Mater* and a *Requiem,* and numerous works of chamber music. His *Quartet for Strings* was published under the auspices of the Juilliard Foundation. GIAN-CARLO MENOTTI, also of Italian origin (he was born in Italy in 1911) and also from Philadelphia, is known to the public exclusively by one work, the *opera buffa, Amelia al Ballo* (*Amelia Goes to the Ball*), a piece of such sparkling gayety and charm as to disarm criticism. He was commissioned by the National Broadcasting Company to write a short opera for radio. GARDNER READ won the first prize, in the contest for American Composers promoted by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society, before he had reached his twenty-fifth birthday. He was born in Evanston, Illinois, in 1913, and studied at the School of Music of Northwestern University and at the Eastman School. The prize-winning work was his *Symphony No. 1.* His *Sketches of the City* was published under the auspices of the Juilliard Foundation. He has written several other orchestral works and some chamber music. WILLIAM H. SCHUMAN, who is on the faculty of Sarah Lawrence College, has composed two *Symphonies,* two *String Quartets,* a *Choreographic Poem* for seven instruments, and some choral music. His second *Symphony* was played by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony Orchestra in February, 1939. He was born in New York in 1910, and studied with Haubiel, Persin, and Harris. He was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1939. DAVID VAN VACTOR was born in Plymouth, Indiana, in 1906, and studied at the Northwestern University School of Music, where he now teaches. He also studied composition in Paris under the late Paul Dukas.

His *Masque of the Red Death* received honorable mention in the Swift Contest, and his *Symphony in D* won the $1,000 prize of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society in September, 1938. He has written numerous other orchestral works, a *Concerto* for flute and chamber orchestra, a ballet, *The Play of Words,* and some chamber music, much of it making use of the flute, which Van Vactor himself plays.

EXPERIMENTERS

The composers belonging to the next group agree in following one convention. That convention is unconventionality. Call them experimenters, pioneers, builders of a new music, crackpots, *enfants terribles*—there are some of each, no doubt, here, and only posterity will be able to decide with some assurance which are which. But all are staunch individualists, men and women to whom originality is the highest good and conformity would be death. They cannot all be right, for they all disagree among themselves, when they have time to notice each other. But perhaps they are not all wrong either. Meanwhile, they add spice to our musical diet.

The name of GEORGE ANTHEIL (p. 568) became so thoroughly publicized in the 1920's as the creator of sensations of one kind or another that it will never be easy to consider him seriously as a composer. The Guggenheim Foundation, however, took him seriously enough to award him a fellowship in 1932 and again in 1933. And Hollywood has used his music in such films as *Once in a Blue Moon, The Scoundrel,* and *The Plainsman.* Whether or not it is because concert audiences and performers have not recovered from the impressions of earlier years, his music has hardly been heard at all in the 1930's, except for his opera, *Helen Retires,* with libretto by John Erskine, which was produced at the Juilliard School in New York in February, 1934. JOHN J. BECKER was born in Henderson, Kentucky, in

1886, was educated in the Middle West, and has stayed there (in Minneapolis and St. Paul) carrying on more or less single-handed a strenuous battle for non-conformist music. He has been director of music at Notre Dame University, professor of fine arts at the College of St. Scholastica, conductor of two orchestras and the St. Cloud (Minn.) Civic Choir, and State Director of the Federal Music Project for Minnesota. He has written three *Symphonies,* of which the second was performed at the Frankfurt Music Festival in Germany in 1932, *Concertos* with orchestra for piano, for two flutes, for horn, and for viola, and choral and chamber music. He has also experimented with new combinations of music and dancing and dramatic action in *A Marriage with Space,* and in *The Life of Man,* based on Andreiev.

MARC BLITZSTEIN belonged for a time among the experimenters, and to some it seemed that his brilliant musical talents did not belong in the field of composition. But like numerous other artists of recent years, the march of political and social events caught him up and persuaded him to place his music at the service of a cause. Blitzstein cast his lot with the political left, and whatever the effect on politics, the effect on his music was to give it a function and a direction which it had until then seemed to lack. *The Cradle Will Rock,* a play with music (originally written for the W.P.A. Theatre, and later produced by the Mercury Theatre with Blitzstein himself presiding as pianist and narrator), was a powerful and biting allegory. It made a deep impression on its audiences and achieved a Broadway run of several months. Blitzstein also furnished incidental music for Orson Welles' production of *Julius Caesar,* and, with Virgil Thomson, for the film *Spanish Earth.* To fulfill a Commission from the Columbia Broadcasting System he also wrote a "radio song-play" called *I've Got the Tune.* Blitzstein was born in 1905 in Philadelphia, and studied composition with Scalero, Boulanger, and Schoenberg. He has written a *Concerto* for piano and orchestra, a set of *Variations* for or-

chestra, chamber music, choral works, and considerable music for stage and screen.

HENRY DREYFUSS BRANT, born in Montreal in 1913, studied with Goldmark and Antheil. Henry Cowell, in *American Composers on American Music,* has pointed out some original features of Brant's music. One of them, Cowell says, is Brant's interest in "oblique harmony"; not the mere sound of two or more voices at the same time satisfies him, nor yet the contrast of two or more melodic lines, but the relations between one voice at one point and another at another. If in the process of working out such "intellectual" systems, Brant's music "happens to sound well," he does not mind, we are told. But these remarks were penned in 1932, and no doubt Brant's point of view has changed since then. He has written two *Symphonies* and several other orchestral works, chamber music, and several satirical stage works.

HENRY DIXON COWELL (p. 575), whom we have quoted in several connections, has been one of the most ardent champions and propagators of modern American music of the non-conformist variety. He edited the symposium *American Composers on American Music,* and wrote many of its chapters; he later published *The Nature of Melody;* he founded the quarterly *New Music,* in which music of American and European innovators has been published; he organized many activities of the Pan-American Association of Composers, in Europe and America; he developed in conjunction with Professor Leon Theremin the "rhythmicon"—a device for producing difficult rhythmic combinations; he has lectured on music in various colleges and universities and at the New School for Social Research in New York. In short he is indefatigable, and his activities have been immensely varied on behalf of all composers of radical tendencies. He received a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1931, under whose terms he went to Berlin to study comparative musicology, and he has cultivated an interest in exotic music.

Meanwhile, he has produced a long list of compositions himself, for full orchestra, chamber orchestra, and various instrumental combinations. His *Synchrony* for orchestra has been widely performed, and he himself has presented his "tone-cluster" music, with extraordinary sound effects produced by unconventional approaches to the piano, from San Francisco to Moscow. Whatever one's opinion of Cowell's own music or of much of the music he has promoted, one must admit that he has been a unique factor in seasoning our musical fare and adding color and life to the American musical scene.

RUTH CRAWFORD (p. 537) constructs elaborate and intricate formal and rhythmic patterns, which have been described in a very interesting essay by her husband, Charles Seeger, in Cowell's *American Composers on American Music.* Miss Crawford's music is definitely not directed at a mass audience. It could, to quote Mr. Seeger, "very well find a permanent place in a small repertoire of an intellectual sort for a particular group of people who were interested in that sort of thing"—a claim that need not be disputed. In recent years she has written a *String Quartet, Three Songs* for contralto, oboe, percussion, and piano, and an orchestral work. The group of *Three Songs* was chosen as one of two American works for performance at the International Festival of the I.S.C.M. in Amsterdam.

CHARLES E. IVES (p. 576) remains a fascinating enigma. But his reckless courage in experimenting with polyharmonies and polyrhythms, strong dissonances, atonality, and rhythmic intricacies, long before Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and similarly famous Europeans had forsaken conventional idioms, has become more and more widely recognized. He has had numerous performances and broadcasts both in the United States and abroad. It seems likely that 1939 may be the beginning of far wider recognition for him, thanks to two remarkable performances by John Kirkpatrick of Ives' *Concord, Massachusetts, 1840–1860* (a piano sonat/

never before performed in its entirety) in the Town Hall in New York. In 1932 Ives's rousing cowboy song, *Charlie Rutlage,* had stopped the show at the First Yaddo Festival. But Kirkpatrick's performance of the *Sonata* brought many musicians face to face with Ives's work for the first time, and the most skeptical among them could not deny that this sonata succeeded brilliantly, though perhaps not uniformly or consistently, in conveying varying moods of humor, grandeur, nostalgia, warm feeling, and gentle irony, in a pattern whose details seemed on first acquaintance clearer than their formal relation. "Exceptionally great music," Lawrence Gilman called it, referring to Ives as "probably the most original and extraordinary of American composers."

COLIN MCPHEE, who is now living in Bali, has not been heard from much during the fourth decade. Born in Montreal, Canada, in 1901, he studied composition with Strube, LeFlem, and Varèse, and piano with Friedheim and Philipp. His music was introduced by the now defunct International Composers' Guild in the 1920's, and has been heard on the programs of the Copland-Sessions Concerts, the Pan-American Association of Composers, and the League of Composers. He was quoted in Wallingford Riegger's article in *American Composers on American Music* as saying he had been trying to convey through music "an emotion resulting from contact with daily life—its noise, rhythm, energy, and mechanical daring." It was not program music that he had in mind, but a "tonal structure," which, "while orderly and complete," should be "as complex as the structure of a large bridge." "My output has been small for the past few years," he wrote in 1932, "as I have . . . mistrusted my natural facility." He has composed a *Concerto* for piano and orchestra, a one-movement *Symphony,* some chamber music and music to accompany experimental films, *Bali* for orchestra (1936), and *From the Revelation of St. John the Divine* for men's chorus (1935). WALLINGFORD

RIEGGER (p. 574) has continued on his cerebral, somewhat forbidding, allegedly "feline" and "facetious" way in a series of works; for orchestra: *Fantasy and Fugue* for organ and orchestra and *Lyric Suite;* for chamber-music combinations: *Dichotomy, Scherzo, Divertissement* for harp, flute, and 'cello, and a *Suite* for flute solo, the last movement of which contains "a series of thirty-six non-repeated notes"; and much music for the modern dance, written for Martha Graham, Charles Weidman, Doris Humphrey, Tamiris, and others. He is now musical director of the Dance Division of the Federal Theatre Project in New York, and a member of the executive boards of the Pan-American Association of Composers and the American Composers' Alliance.

CARLOS SALZEDO, born in 1885 in the Basque country of Southern France, was graduated from the Paris Conservatory with honors in harp and piano, and is known as a brilliant harpist and an apostle of advanced musical tendencies, in his own music and in that of other men. He collaborated with Varèse in the founding, in 1921, of the International Composers' Guild, and he is a member of the Board of the United States Section of the International Society for Contemporary Music. He has written numerous works for harp solo, harp and orchestra, and various combinations of instruments and voices including one or more harps. He has enriched the composer's orchestral vocabulary by demonstrating numerous hitherto unexploited sounds and colors of which the harp is capable. His music has been heard in many performances and broadcasts. It includes *The Enchanted Isle,* for harp and orchestra, an untitled work for harp, brasses, and strings, and a *Concerto* and *Préambule et Jeux* for harp with several other instruments. GERALD STRANG, who since 1935 has been assistant to Arnold Schoenberg in the music department of the University of California in Los Angeles, was born in western Canada, in 1908, and graduated from Leland Stanford University. He has interested himself particularly in comparative musicol-

ogy, an interest he shared with Henry Cowell, with whom he became associated in 1933 as director of the New Music Workshops, and whom he succeeded in 1936 as director of the New Music Society and managing editor of the New Music Edition. In composition he has confined himself largely to chamber music. He has composed numerous pieces for woodwind instruments, a *Quintet* for clarinet and strings, two *String Quartets* and a *Passacaglia* for string quartet, a choral work *Vanzetti in the Death House,* and *Incidental Music for a Satirical Play.*

VIRGIL THOMSON (p. 573) has received much wider attention during the 1930's than would have seemed at all probable at their beginning, since Thomson's musical mixture of absinthe and distilled water (the latter often largely predominating) would not have appeared a likely diet for mass consumption. However, his *Four Saints in Three Acts,* to words of Gertrude Stein, whose autobiography had recently attracted considerable notice, was something of a popular success when it was produced in 1934, in Hartford, New York, and Chicago. It even called forth favorable comment from so respectable a source as the music columns of *The New York Times.* Thomson's contact with a large public has come also through his incidental music to the two films *The Plough that Broke the Plains* (1936) and *The River* (1937), produced by the Farm Security Administration of the United States Government. Thomson has also written a *Symphony No. 2,* several works in the choral and chamber-music fields, and incidental music for *A Bride for the Unicorn, Injunction Granted* (for piccolo, trombone, and 16 percussion instruments), and *Hamlet.*

EDGAR VARÈSE (p. 579), born in Paris in 1885, is one of the most radical composers in his approach to the musical language, in that he has frankly interested himself in sonority and rhythmic complexity at the expense, and sometimes to the exclusion, of melody and harmony. His *Ionisation,* for example, is written for two groups of percussion players,

thirteen in all, using only sounds of indeterminate pitch. Yet it is said (by Nicolai Slonimsky in his *Music Since 1900*) to be "written in a sonata form," with exposition, development, abridged recapitulation, and coda. It has been recorded by the Columbia Phonograph Company. Varèse was one of the pioneers in presenting music of radical tendencies to American audiences, having organized the Pan-American Society, and, with Salzedo, the International Composers' Guild. His orchestral and chamber music has been widely performed abroad as well as in this country. His recent works include *Metal,* a poem for soprano and orchestra, *Espace* for orchestra, and a *Symphony with Chorus; Density 21.5* for flute solo; and *Equatorial,* for organ, percussion, brass, theremin instrument, and bass-baritone voice. Cowell has written of him: ". . . if stirring auditors to an almost unendurable irritation be taken into account, then the music can be said to be highly emotional. . . . While he lacks melodic invention and harmonic succession, Varèse . . . deserves the highest place among European composers who have become American."

ADOLPH WEISS (p. 571), disciple of Schoenberg, has had numerous performances of his orchestral and chamber-music works in this country and abroad, including a broadcast of the *Kammersymphonie* by the British Broadcasting Corporation and one of the *Third String Quartet* by the Kolisch Quartet. In 1932 he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship. He has recently produced *Three Pieces* for orchestra, a *Fourth String Quartet* and a *Quintet* for wind instruments, a *Violin Sonata,* and a *Trio* for clarinet, flute, and bassoon.

RACIAL EXPRESSIONS

Such bursts of musical activity as have taken place in other countries within the last century (*e. g.,* in Russia seventy-five years ago, and in England during the last twenty-five years) have had as an important feature the

rediscovery of national folk-song as a storehouse of melody and melodic idiom upon which composers might profitably draw. The corresponding movement in American music has been discussed at some length in Chapter XV. It is a movement which has not gathered impetus. For when our younger composers interest themselves in folk-music it is usually not to the mountain ballads of Kentucky and Tennessee, the melodies of the Indians, or the songs of the Negro that they direct their attention (except as the influence of Negro music has made itself felt indirectly, through jazz). They are apt to wander further afield, and their interest is the opposite of nationalistic; it is a cult of the exotic. It has been mentioned (pp. 382-3) that we are too mixed a nation to be able to fall back on anything that could correspond to the national treasures of England, or Russia, or Germany, or Hungary. And too young a nation, as well. But certain composers continue to interest themselves in particular fields of our musical folk heritage.

Negro composers could not, any more than any other members of their race, have forgotten their racial background. The position of the Negro in society forces on him a consciousness of his fellowship in a community of color. This remains true even when his achievements take high rank by any standard—as have those of several Negro musicians. Marian Anderson and Roland Hayes have, by their singing of the classics of musical literature, won from critics and public superlatives that any musicians, white or black, might envy. Yet while their reputations would be among the highest if they never sang Negro spirituals, it is in their voicing of these expressions of their own race that they contribute something unique and unmatchable by any white singers. It is natural that Negro composers, too, should wish to be judged by standards that have nothing to do with race or color. But they would be neglecting a field that is truly theirs, as folk-music rarely is to an American

composer, if they did not at times cultivate Negro melodies and rhythms.

WILLIAM LEVI DAWSON, born in Anniston, Alabama, in 1899, studied at Tuskegee Institute, in Kansas City under Busch, and with Weidig and Otterstrom in Chicago. He has been Director of the School of Music and of the Choir at Tuskegee since 1931. In 1930 and 1931 he won the Rodman Wanamaker contest for composition. His *Negro Folk Symphony, No. 1* has been played several times by the Philadelphia Orchestra, and broadcast over the Columbia network. He has also written a *Scherzo* for orchestra, several choral works, a *Trio* for violin, 'cello and piano, and a *Sonata* for violin and piano.

R. NATHANIEL DETT (p. 454) continues to direct the musical activities at Hampton Institute, and has received increasingly wide recognition. His *Ordering of Moses,* an oratorio for soloists, chorus, and orchestra, was presented at the Cincinnati and Worcester Music Festivals, and he was one of the composers commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System to write a work for radio in 1938.

Another Negro composer commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting System is WILLIAM GRANT STILL (p. 455) whose *Lenox Avenue,* for orchestra, was one of the works produced in that organization's first American Composers Series, in 1937. Also written in response to commissions were his *Kaintuck,* in 1935, for the League of Composers, and *Deserted Plantation* and *Ebon Chronicle,* for Paul Whiteman. His ballet, *La Guiablesse,* has been performed in Rochester and Chicago; his *Symphony in G Minor* was played by Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra in December, 1937; and his *Afro-American Symphony* has been widely performed. In 1934 he won a Guggenheim Fellowship for creative work, which was renewed in 1935; and in 1938 the Guggenheim Foundation made him a further grant.

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