ISSUES OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM IN MID-TO-LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN ART MUSIC

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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American Art Music

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What is American music? For composers in the late nineteenth century, the
question was not so easily answered since a distinctive American musical style had
not yet been formed. This dissertation explores three distinct schools of thought that
informed the debate over nationalism in American music: the Second New England
School, the circle of Antonín Dvořák, and the Indianists. Each school approached
American musical nationalism differently. The Second New England School looked
almost exclusively to German composers of the nineteenth-century, including
Beethoven and Brahms, while Dvořák and his followers looked to American music,
most notably American Indian and African American musical styles. The Indianists
focused on American Indian melodies. During a time in American history where race
and ethnicity played an important role, composers of the Second New England School,
Dvořák, and the Indianists posed an important question: What does it really mean to
be American? In an effort to untangle the complexities of this question, selected
orchestral and chamber works of composers associated with these groups are analyzed to determine what constitutes American nationalism in music.
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Introduction

I came to the topic of American music rather late in my academic career. I cannot be entirely certain that I was introduced to American composers of the nineteenth-century as an undergraduate since those days seem like a lifetime ago. My studies focused on European masters and Western art musical traditions. Years later as a graduate student, my coursework continued to be centered on Western art music. My acquaintance with topics in American music essentially began when I was a graduate teaching assistant for a survey course titled Music in American Society. I was immediately fascinated by the music and culture of American Indians, and I enjoyed learning about America’s composers from the Colonial period to the early 2000s. I took copious notes, which I drew upon when I was asked to teach the course one year before graduating with my Master’s degree. I was promoted to an adjunct instructor, and for nearly five years I dove into the subject of American music. More than any other topic, I was drawn to the musical events of the mid-to-late nineteenth-century. I enjoyed Edward MacDowell’s character pieces, and his “Indian” Suite made an impact on me. I became interested in trying to understand MacDowell’s musical approach and the importance of his drawing upon American Indian music, especially in the wake of Antonín Dvořák’s tenure in New York (1892 to 1895). I also became curious about George W. Chadwick. My course’s textbook described Chadwick as the most American composer of the Second New England School. I did not fully know what that meant at the time. The textbook offered no further explanation, so I began to research the author’s claim. As a result, I dug deeper into issues related to nationality in American music. The idea for a large-scale research project immediately formed in the back of my mind, and many years later, I put my findings into this
dissertation, and began to answer my own questions about how Americanisms\footnote{Americanisms in music refers to the incorporation of musical characteristics (rhythmic, melodic) one can associate with the traditional music of American Indians, African Americans, and Anglo-Celtic balladry. The term Americanisms was coined by Barbara Zuck in \textit{A History of Musical Americanism} (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press. 1980). Also see Victor Fell Yellin’s “Review of Barbara Zuck, \textit{A History of Musical Americanism},” in \textit{American Music}, 1, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 70-76.} in music could be applied to composers active in the late nineteenth-century.

What is American music? The answer to this question depends on the era in which it is asked. For Virgil Thomson in the mid-twentieth century the answer was straightforward: “The way to write American music is simple. All you have to do is be an American and then write any kind of music you wish.”\footnote{Virgil Thomson, “On Being American,” in \textit{Virgil Thomson Reader} (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 304-306 quoted in Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, \textit{Music in the Western World A History in Documents} 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition (Belmont, CA: Thomson Schirmer, 2008), 438.} However, for art music composers in the nineteenth century, the question was not so easily answered. Although there were composers of American art music in the nineteenth century, a distinctive American school of composition had not yet been formed. Art music composers recognized that the cultivated music traditions of teaching, performing, and composition in America so far had been dependent on European models, and as a result, some made a conscious effort to continue the traditions and models of Western Europe. Conversely, other composers rejected the European influences by embracing the local American musical heritage, incorporating musical influences from African Americans, American Indians, and American balladry.

In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, American art music composers found themselves plagued by assessments of their inferiority when measured against their European counterparts. Perceptions of this condition, disseminated and perhaps
exaggerated by American critics and journalists, left American composers in a precarious position: some followed the path of Americanism in music in an effort to assert their nationalism in novel ways, while other, more conservative composers demonstrated Non-Americanist tendencies by adhering to European models in an effort to be taken seriously.

The study of American identity in music was explored in detail by musicologists who concentrated on music written after World War I. Other scholars tended to focus on composers who were active following World War II. Meanwhile, the question of America’s musical identity in art music from the Civil War to 1918 has received relatively little attention. Musical developments during that period were nonetheless important: this was a time when American art music composers were creating a foundation for classical music in this country, and their efforts paved the way for later generations of American composers. A thorough assessment of America’s musical history between 1865 and 1918 is very much needed. My dissertation will contribute to fill some of this need by examining the years 1860 to 1910, thus narrowing the discussion to the period that I believe represented a crisis in American musical identity.

How does nationality manifest itself in such an abstract art as music? Are there distinctive musical markers for an American sound, even in compositions that do not quote or allude to indigenous music? My examination of instrumental works will provide new

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3 Jeffery Taylor, Brooklyn College (1920s Jazz studies); Ray Allen, Brooklyn College (George Gershwin; American folk music); Stephanie Jensen-Moulton, Brooklyn College (American music post 1900).
4 Carol Oja, Harvard University (Charles Ives, Henry Cowell, William Grant Still, high-low intersections: George Gershwin and Leonard Bernstein); Ellie Hisama, Columbia University (Ruth Crawford Seeger; Gender studies); Denise Von Glahn, Florida State University (20th century American modernism); Charles Garrett, University of Michigan (20th century American Music; jazz, popular music); Philip Gentry, University of Delaware (American music and politics).
insight into the Second New England School, Dvořák, and the Indianists, clarifying their goals and the outcome of their efforts. My work also addresses stylistic characteristics of indigenous material available to the composers, and their manifestation in the selected works.

My dissertation builds on work devoted to related issues in music from this time period. Michael Beckerman, for example, has written on the significance of Dvořák’s brief tenure in the United States. Other scholarly research on which I draw includes Michael Broyles’ study of Americanisms in music and Nicholas Tawa’s focus on the musical life of New England. Scholarly attention has also been devoted to the study of American Indian sources and the presence of American Indian topics in instrumental and vocal music of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Michael Pisani’s work on Indianist trends is notable in this regard. By contrast, relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the influence of African American music on art music during the mid-to-late nineteenth-century. American Indian and Anglo-Celtic influences in art music are plentiful in musical compositions and scholarly research, but an African American presence, however

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prominent in popular music of the day, is relatively scarce in art music compositions and scholarly research, and little attention has yet been paid to the work of art music composers of color during this time period, their influences and their aesthetic outlook.

I identify three distinct schools of thought that informed the debate over nationalism in American music during that time: the circle of Antonín Dvořák, the Second New England School, and the Indianists. By studying selected orchestral and chamber works of composers associated with these factions, and by placing those works in the context of music criticism and polemics of the period, I aim to shed fresh light on what constitutes Americanisms in music by examining stylistic tendencies that American composers gravitated toward in order to create a folk-oriented idiom—for example the use of pentatonic scales and American Indian tunes.

My study investigates the musical questions raised by the Second New England School whose ideology stemmed from German musical influences. The Second New England School had emerged in the 1860s with John Knowles Paine, who established the ideology of the Boston Classicists. My investigation centers on specific orchestral and chamber works by George W. Chadwick—namely his *Symphonic Sketches*, the Second Symphony, and the Fourth String Quartet—and on Edward MacDowell’s First Suite for Orchestra and the Second Suite for Orchestra, “Indian.” Of particular interest are the identification of American musical traits they perceived to be acceptable, and discovering how they utilized this musical material. George W. Chadwick was a member of The Second New England School, and Edward MacDowell was on the periphery of that group. MacDowell, who was considered the most famous American composer of his day in the
United States and abroad, had no allegiance to The Second New England School, yet he did share some compositional and philosophical tendencies with the group.

The question of Americanisms in music raised by The Second New England School centered upon how and why they would base a national music on such marginal groups as African Americans and American Indians. To explore this point, I consider aspects of American society at the time and inquire as to why art music composers did not want the music of the “Other” infiltrating theirs. Instead, they rejected notions to incorporate indigenous music into their compositions. In undertaking this line of inquiry, it is worth noting American composers’ dependence on German models. The members of the Second New England School wanted to be taken seriously in their craft and to find their place in an American society that seemed to place more emphasis on technological and scientific innovation than on the arts. In the music world, the majority of immigrants came to the United States from Western Europe, and they brought with them their musical traditions. Most of the musicians who performed in America’s first orchestras were German, as were most of the conductors. The majority of classical works heard in American concert halls were by German composers (dead and alive). The wealthy classes in the United States naturally had a hand in shaping America’s artistic culture, and in music, their preference was for all things European, especially German. Given the commanding German presence, it is understandable that America’s art music composers looked to Germany for their musical inspiration. An interesting point to consider is the fact that the German Romanticism that American audiences tended to prefer was being supplanted by modernist trends in Western Europe by the last decade of the nineteenth-century. American
composers at the turn of the twentieth-century were thus writing music that was stylistically old fashioned and clichéd compared to their contemporary European counterparts.

Another important figure who relates to American musical identity is Dvořák. His tenure as the Director of the National Conservatory of Music of America in New York City (1892 to 1895) is still controversial today. Dvořák represented a catalyst for composers’ engagement with the indigenous cultures of this country—primarily the music of African Americans and American Indians. Dvořák influenced Arthur Farwell, the leading figure in the Indianist movement, as well as his own students at the conservatory, including Harry T. Burleigh, whose biggest impact in art music are his transcriptions and harmonization of African American spirituals for choir. Among Dvořák’s own works, he credited his *New World* Symphony, “American” Quartet, and String Quintet op. 97 to his time in America, declaring that he would not have been able to write those pieces had he not lived for a time in this country. Conversely, for most New England composers, exposure to African American and American Indian cultures was limited to publications by American musicologists and ethnologists, some of whom transcribed American Indian music. The composers’ contact with these cultures came from books and periodicals, not live interactions or field research.

Before Dvořák’s arrival in the United States, American composers had included African American and American Indian themes into their works, although this music was

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8 An important collection of Indian folk music appeared as a dissertation by the American Theodore Baker. Baker was educated in Leipzig, and his 1882 dissertation, “On the Music of the North American Indian,” written in German, would find its way to scholars and American composers. The other widely circulated collection of Indian folk music was compiled by Alice Fletcher. Her *Study of Omaha Indian Music* (1893) is important because it contained transcriptions created by John C. Fillmore, who harmonized the monophonic chants to make them more appealing to Western art music preferences.
not always considered sufficiently serious by influential music critics like the conservative John Sullivan Dwight and Philip Hale. Louis Moreau Gottschalk, for example, was the most famous pianist/composer of his day in the United States and abroad. A native of the culturally diverse city of New Orleans, Gottschalk drew upon African American, Creole, and Caribbean influences to inform his music. He was well received in Europe and South America, and he was endorsed by leading composers and performers of his day, including Frédéric Chopin. Although Gottschalk created a sensation stateside and abroad, he found an enemy in the prominent Bostonian music critic John Sullivan Dwight, who aimed to shape America’s musical tastes towards European classical music traditions.

After Dvořák left in 1895, Arthur Farwell and others took up his challenge. Farwell and his colleagues would usher in the Indianist Movement (1890 to 1920), the aim of which was to create music based on indigenous American Indian traditions. The trend toward the use of indigenous music continued with Chadwick, MacDowell, and other Second New England School composers who were at first opposed. Perhaps it is possible that since Americans valued the opinions of European composers, Dvořák’s suggestion was the breaking point, after which it became more acceptable for art music composers to use indigenous sources.

This study is organized in such a way as to create a trajectory towards the most substantial chapter, “Dvořák’s Exhortation and the New England School’s Response” (chapter 5). The reader will be informed about nineteenth century music criticism and the growing divide between vernacular and cultivated music. The importance of Dvořák, and the characteristics of the music he suggested for inspiration, namely from American Indian
and African American traditions, are explored. Then, the application of Americanisms in specific works, and finally the legacy of the Second New England School.

Chapter 1 provides historical context by introducing important figures in music criticism active in Boston and New York, and their role in shaping America’s artistic values in the mid-to-late nineteenth-century. German immigrants brought with them their revered composers and high musical standards, a phenomenon that would make an impact on American musicians and audiences. Orchestral institutions based upon European models emerged in the United States and led to the burgeoning desire of American composers who wanted to be heard. Chapter 2 explores the emergence of the distinction between vernacular and cultivated music in the 1860s. The case of Louis Moreau Gottschalk is especially interesting due to his successful blending of vernacular and cultivated practices. An overview of the composers of the Second New England School highlights their ideology and the influence of the German Romantics on their works. This chapter also explores the Boston composers’ initial rejection of vernacular traits, and the questions that arose regarding the integration of vernacular elements within a cultivated tradition. Dvořák is introduced, but his impact on America’s musical landscape will be explored more fully in chapters 3 and 5. Chapter 3 presents the genesis of the National Conservatory of Music of America in New York and the influence of Dvořák in his position as its director. Dvořák’s interest in American vernacular music and his controversial statements about its place in American art music are evaluated. Chapter 4 is an examination of American Indian, African American, and Anglo-Celtic-Scottish sources in an attempt to specify and explain “Americanisms” in music. Chapter 5 provides analytical commentary on works by Dvořák, Chadwick, and MacDowell through the lens of “Americanisms” in music. Chapter 6 is an
analytical evaluation of the Indianist movement through the examination of selected works by Arthur Farwell. This chapter also examines the importance of Farwell’s Wa-Wan Press as a means of promoting music by American composers. Lesser known, but equally important to his cause were his lecture series tours and his involvement in community music making. Chapter 7 is a summary of “Americanisms” in music from 1860 to 1910. Here the aim is to show the importance of American elements in works from this time and the impact of those works on later composers who openly embraced an ideal of American nationalism in their works.

With the exception of Dvořák, the composers of the Second New England School and the Indianists are largely forgotten, and their efforts to promote and create a sustainable future for American art music are often overlooked. To better appreciate the more well-known leaders of American art music, including Gershwin, Copland, and Still, it is essential to recognize the foundations set by their mid-to-late nineteenth-century predecessors. My research will help enrich our understanding of those foundations through the examination of the relevant historical and cultural background as well as the music itself.
Chapter 1

Boston and New York: Two Leading Cultural Centers

Throughout most of modern European history, the arts have been supported largely by the aristocracy and the church. For most of America’s short history, the arts have been supported by the general public. In the 1870s, in the wake of industrialization, the advent of robber barons, and the emergence of “nouveau riche” patrons, America’s upper classes were eager to demonstrate their good taste and wealth. In conjunction with this new wealth, social classes became more stratified not only politically and economically, but culturally as well. As a greater distinction between popular and art music began to surface, wealthy Americans often looked to aristocratic Europeans as their model. The Europeans, coming from generations of wealth, spent their money with ease and little care for public opinion. But for the Americans, the money was new and those who possessed it were looking to impress and amaze. As if taking their cue from several generations of European nobility, well to do Americans demonstrated their intellect, wealth, and cultural superiority through their support and patronage of the arts. In the postbellum years, the emerging Gilded Age saw the establishment of “Beaux Arts concert halls, private universities and music conservatories, resplendent museums, magnificent churches with glorious pipe organs, and vast new Renaissance-style libraries.”9 America’s new gentry (the Astors, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, and Morgans, to name a few) built lavish mansions in the style of Italian palazzi, French châteaux, and English manor houses, and then proceeded to fill their palatial estates with an array of European furniture and artworks.10 European models were

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10 Ibid.
also favored regarding matters of culture. Wealthy Americans supported the arts because that is what European aristocracy did: Europeans supported European art music, so Americans supported European art music as well. Affluent Americans were looking for respect and a way to assert their superiority, so they supported what they considered upscale and elite based upon European models: German art music and French and Italian opera. “From the end of the Civil War to the end of World War I, American art music was dominated largely by the attitudes, the ideals, and the modes of expression of nineteenth-century Europe, particularly Austria and Germany.”

To further demonstrate their taste, upper and middle class Americans viewed mass entertainment such as minstrel shows, variety acts, and burlesques as low-brow. Only music of the highest class would prevail, which was art music that came directly from Europe or else American art music that was composed in a European style.

In the mid-nineteenth-century, Boston and New York were important cultural centers for shaping America’s artistic values. Even before the Civil War, Boston was a leading cultural center. Music publisher Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner (1767-1836), whose catalogue included four hundred twenty works by one hundred twenty composers, “remained the unquestioned leader of all musical forces, and the most esteemed musical scholar of the town.” Yankee composers William Billings (1746-1800) and

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12 German-born Gottlieb Graupner, a former oboist in Haydn’s orchestra in London, moved to the United States in the mid-1790s. He settled in Charleston, South Carolina in 1795, and relocated to Boston in 1797. He became a contributing figure to Boston’s musical life as the co-founder of the American Conservatorio of Boston, which has been recognized at the first Conservatory of Music in Boston <http://bostoniano.info/community/conservatorio-boston-finally-plaque/> In 1810, he founded the Boston Philharmonic Society, which dedicated itself to classical music. He later co-founded what would later be called the Handel and Haydn Society in 1815.
Daniel Read (1757-1836) contributed to Colonial musical life through their choral writing and their involvement in the newly emerging singing schools; and in New England culture was being shaped by the Boston Brahmin elite. In New York, the Hudson River School, a group of American landscape painters active from 1825 to about 1880, depicted the beauty and sublimity of the American wilderness as a demonstration of pride and nationalism. The Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, and Astors, among other wealthy industrialist families, were cultural philanthropists who funded the cultivation of the arts and music. The abundant wealth in Boston and New York made a vibrant artistic culture possible, and this helped to form the basis of this country’s cultural future.

**MUSIC CRITICISM AND DWIGHT’S JOURNAL OF MUSIC**

Leading music critics active in Boston and New York voiced differing opinions regarding the direction of American art music. For two generations beginning in the mid-nineteenth-century, Boston critics upheld a conservative platform, arguing that art music should have its roots in European technique and methodology, while New York critics proved to be more liberal in their opinions regarding influences and material suitable for making valuable art music in America. The distinguished music critic John Sullivan Dwight (1813-1893) was active in Boston. His publication *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (*DJM*) was very clear in its message regarding which kind of music was best when he endorsed “Haydn, Beethoven, and Mendelssohn as a universal standard of musical excellence.”14 Although Dwight was not a professional musician, he played the flute and was a founding member of the Harvard Musical Association Orchestra (HMAO) (1865),

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14 Ogasapian and Orr, 55.
whose mission was to promote education and social harmony through music. Decades before the establishment of the Boston Symphony (1881), Dwight had been advocating the development of a permanent orchestra that would both epitomize and spread the highest musical standards. Dwight was a transcendentalist, and his philosophical views were applied to his opinions regarding the sublime power of music. For Dwight, there were three elements of music in our lives: 1. Feeling/ sentiment (soul); 2. Sciences/ laws (intellect); 3. Enjoyment (body). The music of the German masters embodied all three, and the HMAO’s programs reflected Dwight’s ideology accordingly.

Prior to Dwight’s career as a music journal founder, editor, and critic, he was a Unitarian minister for a brief period after completing his studies at Harvard Divinity School. Notable alumni from Harvard Divinity School included the eminent transcendentalist thinkers Ralph Waldo Emerson and George Ripley, both of whom were Unitarian ministers influential in shaping Dwight’s transcendentalist views. Transcendentalism had its roots in the Unitarian church as ministers and congregations found their mainstream Protestant religion too conservative and spiritually unrewarding. Emerson, finding himself spiritually unfulfilled in his ministry, left his pulpit to explore transcendental thought. Emerson’s writings focused upon the importance of the individual in moral and intellectual development. His ideal notion of favoring the Oversoul (intuition) over Understanding (rational thought) emphasized self-reliance as opposed to dependence on religion or religious and philosophical figures. One’s acceptance of the Oversoul would enable a higher level of spiritual fulfillment. When Emerson left the church, Dwight was

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called upon to take his congregation. However, owing to a lack of interest or dispiritedness, Dwight was unsuccessful in the ministries in which he preached. Dwight’s friendship with George Ripley initiated his move to the transcendentalist commune, Brook Farm, where he remained from 1840 to 1847. Ripley’s view of transcendentalism differed from that of Emerson. As Emerson emphasized the individual, Ripley favored a community of individuals coming together to reform society. Dwight adhered to Ripley’s belief in communal harmony and believed that all humans are connected and share a responsibility towards human fulfillment. The Brook Farm community and Ripley’s ideas motivated Dwight’s thoughts about the potential of high art as a means to affect morals and elevate humankind regardless of social class. “He saw music becoming ‘the popular art par excellence’ if only the best of it could be properly appreciated, he was certain, it would be, ‘an important saving influence’ in the democratic life of the rapidly expanding country.”

To disseminate his thoughts and his idealistic view of music, at Brook Farm he began writing articles for the transcendentalist magazines the Dial and the Harbinger. Dwight supported absolute music; he believed that music was a universal language that did not need words or pictorial associations to be made understandable. Purely instrumental music, such as sonatas and symphonic works, was considered unsurpassed. Dwight, in pursuing his notion of music’s power to reform society, leaned towards German Romanticism. He advocated for the German and Austrian symphonists, especially Beethoven, whose music, he claimed, rose above story lines and embodied a universal idea of music. Dwight was key in introducing Beethoven’s symphonic works to audiences in Boston. His 1841 review

of Beethoven’s slow movements described them as able “to hallow pleasure, and to naturalize religion.” With such eloquent remarks, Dwight helped lay the foundation for consistent performances of instrumental art music. In his writings at Brook Farm, he became the leading musical spokesman for New England transcendentalism.

Dwight’s next literary platform was his Dwight’s Journal of Music, which he established in 1852. Its purpose was to be “a severe, friendly voice to point out steadfastly the models of the True, the ever beautiful, the Divine.” For Dwight, this entailed listening to the works of the German masters, particularly Beethoven, which would lead to a higher moral state. By 1858, he delegated the advertising, circulation, and publishing to Oliver Ditson while Dwight retained editorial control. DJM enjoyed a thirty-year run, in which it became “the most influential musical periodical in America.” In the pages of DJM, Dwight and his correspondents covered a myriad of music topics from classical music and opera to operetta and the minstrel show. Dwight was forthcoming about his praise of traditional African American music and later wrote that in the songs of the Fisk Jubilee Singers “the American school of music had been discovered.”

In this respect, the “American school” refers to music that was born from a distinct American source: African American spirituals and work songs. In an April 5, 1873 review of the Fisk Jubilee Singers Dwight writes, “They have also received considerable musical instruction, and have

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18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ogasapian and Orr, 56.
21 Sablosky, 1.
23 Sablosky, 12.
become familiar with much of our best sacred and classical music, and this has modified their manner of execution...The music of these songs is generally strikingly wild...the majority are unique in construction, rhythm, and melody. The cultivated musician will at once perceive that they are crude and childish, but he cannot deny their originality.”

The Jubilee Singers’ performance of this body of music matched Dwight’s ideas regarding concert music—it should have its basis in European art music. The Fisk Jubilee Singers arranged spirituals and work songs by using European harmonic practices, thus embarking upon a new genre: the Concert Spiritual. These spirituals were rehearsed, set in four parts, sung in a European operatic manner, and performed on the concert stage. Although Dwight wrote about minstrel shows and other popular forms of music, he held firm in his opinion that cultivated music was more worthwhile in its transcendent capabilities; art music was not intended for the elite exclusively, rather it was music for everyone’s enjoyment and edification. Dwight used the DJM to promote his ideas on the “concept of Sacralized art: an art that makes no compromises with the temporal world; an art that remains spiritually pure and never becomes secondary to the performer or to the audience; an art that is uncompromising in its devotion to cultural perfection.”

Dwight stated, “While all else in our musical life is changing, blown this way and that way by caprices of fashion and tricks of advertisement, we want one series of concerts, permanent itself, devoted to the permanent; one to which we may always look for opportunities of refreshing our knowledge and our feeling of the great masterworks of men of genius, grouped in programmes which shall have symmetry and harmony of tone…and a pervading spirit of

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24 Ibid, 284.
pure art; for in this only is there any lasting satisfaction, any charm that will survive the mere excitement of the moment; and in this only is there real culture.”  

26 Dwight’s denouncement of “caprices of fashion and tricks of advertisement” refers to the popularity among the masses for travelling virtuosi. Dwight was rather suspicious of virtuoso performers whose virtuosity demonstrated sensationalism rather than art. He cautioned against concert programs overwhelmed by empty showmanship: “Beethoven and Mozart might lose their place of honor….The point of a concert was not rendition, but conservation to keep the standard master works from falling into disregard.”  

27 Sacralization meant not only looking upward for divine inspiration, but also looking east towards Europe. Through Dwight’s efforts and others’, namely Christopher Pearse Cranch, William Wetmore Story, and Margaret Fuller, the sacralization of music became a reality: all things German were deemed best not only intellectually, but spiritually as well. It is no surprise that the cultivation of the German musical tradition began in Boston, as many of America’s greatest composers of the mid to late-nineteenth-century were active in that city.

By 1881, DJM had ceased publication, but it left an enduring mark on America’s musical future by, among other things, introducing of Beethoven’s music to this country when it was considered new and unfamiliar, and urgently stressing America’s need for permanent orchestras to perform orchestral music more consistently. By the end of DJM’s run, current trends were leading away from Dwight’s ideal of a morally elevated musical culture for America; and on this matter Dwight expressed his discontent: “A journal which

27 Ibid.
devotes itself to art for art’s sake, and strives to serve the ends of culture, however earnestly and ably, gets praise and compliments, but not support.”

A NEW YORK ADVOCATE FOR AMERICAN COMPOSERS: WILLIAM HENRY FRY

Dwight’s ideology demonstrates the mid-century conservativism of Boston and highlights the emphasis he placed on the supremacy of the European masters, promoting the music of the classical canon and supporting American composers who sounded European, but joined other critics in expressing biases against American music. In a February 4, 1854 letter to the editor in *DJM*, a citizen complained about critics’ treatment of American composers. In response to an unfavorable review of William Henry Fry’s *Santa Claus* Symphony, the reader writes, “I am sorry to see an additional instance of the not uncommon, but very unworthy treatment, that our American composers receive from those who should encourage them and be their friends…I say let us give those few of our countrymen who devote themselves to High Art, an equal chance; let their productions be heard, and receive a candid, and if possible, a favorable attention. By such encouragement, it may be that more in our land shall be led to devote themselves to earnest study of art…” This anonymous reader’s plea would have found agreement among the cultural arbiters in New York who promoted a similar viewpoint: American talent should be cultivated and, more importantly, supported alongside the creations of the Americans’ European counterparts. At the helm of this movement was William Henry Fry (1813-1864), the son of a wealthy newspaper publishing family in Philadelphia. Fry began composing orchestral music in his youth, but his most notable contribution to American music was in the operatic

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world. Fry believed that opera was the highest form of artistic achievement owing to its incorporation of multiple artistic forms: music, drama, and poetry. He was a musical realist: “Music would describe the external realities of the culture preferably on the opera stage,” whereas Dwight was an idealist who believed that music had the ability to transform society. Contrary to Dwight, who argued for absolute music’s cosmopolitanism and was not an ardent supporter of opera, Fry supported programmatic music, finding absolute music “intellectually dry.”

A significant portion of Fry’s musical vocabulary stemmed from Italian operatic models traceable to Donizetti and Bellini. Clearly, Fry did not reject European styles; he claimed that the Italian operatic tradition was the highest form of operatic achievement and he urged American composers to do what the British had not in the development of English-language opera. In Fry’s opinion, British opera, with its combination of spoken dialogue interspersed with musical numbers, was an affront to authentic operatic style. Fry’s English-language opera, *Leonora* (1845), which premiered in Philadelphia, is credited as the first home-grown American grand opera to appear on the operatic stage. *Leonora* is Italian in its conventions as it is sung throughout with orchestral accompaniment; it is also modelled after Bellini, something that Fry made no effort to conceal. The Italian influences were not lost on the critics. One writer commented, “All were delighted with the music, it was so much like an old acquaintance in a new coat…a warm ‘hash’ of Bellini, with a cold shoulder of ‘Rossini,’ …whilst others congratulated Mr.

31 Ibid.
32 Ogasapian and Orr, 56.
Fry upon his opera being so much like *Norma.*” Fry’s response was civilized: “This opera has been written according to the highest rules of art, and it is to be judged by the severest criticisms of art.” The comparisons to Italian opera were not perceived by Fry himself as a backhanded compliment. The desire for American composers to master the Italian operatic tradition in order to create a foundation for American opera was as important to Fry as the German orchestral model was to Dwight.

What is most important about Fry’s legacy was his tireless support of the American composer. He focused on fostering the creation of tasteful music that would be taken seriously in America’s concert halls. George Frederick Bristow (1825-1898), an American composer, violinist, and teacher, agreed with Fry’s platform, which encouraged the performance of works by contemporary American composers. In protest to the overwhelming number of living and deceased European composers on concert programs, Bristow temporarily resigned as violinist from the New York Philharmonic because the organization had disregarded a requirement in the orchestra’s original charter to perform one work by an American composer per year.

Fry’s advocacy for American composers dovetailed with his journalistic endeavors, which began when he settled in New York in 1841. He began writing for Horace Greeley’s *New York Tribune* while continuing to compose privately. After a six-year stint in Paris as a foreign correspondent for the *Tribune*, Fry returned to New York to become its music editor in 1851. In this influential position, he supported American composers, and his mission reached beyond the *Tribune* as he took his ideas to the public via a series of well-attended lectures on music, enhanced by live examples by an orchestra, a band, a choir,

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34 Ibid.
and solo vocalists. Fry’s last lecture in 1853 was a controversial tirade. Admonishing American audiences for being ignorant of art, he voiced his disgust with the scarcity of American music present in the concert hall, a circumstance that he attributed in part to the lack of financial support for American composers. His thoughts culminated in his “Declaration of Independence in Art.”

America had already tasted political independence from Europe; and now, Fry believed, it was time for artistic independence as well. “Until American composers shall discard their foreign liveries and found an American school” of musical forms favored by the concert hall and opera house, he warned, “art will not become indigenous to this country, but will only exist as a feeble exotic.” Fry advocated artistic independence even as his musical style was thoroughly European. In this context, contradictions arise. In his own writings Fry is quick to admonish a composer’s lack of originality. In an 1854 Tribune review of Schumann’s Second Symphony, Fry wrote, “This work is constructed on the classic pattern of the last century. We hold it to be an inflexible rule in the philosophy of Art that it must assume new forms, or if old ones are adhered to, they should be improved upon….We cannot think that he has improved upon Beethoven in the classic Symphony…We think, therefore, Mr. Schumann’s symphony writing in the classic mold, a sheer waste of powder.” One century later, Gilbert Chase referred to Fry numerous times as a “sedulous ape to Bellini and Donizetti.” Fry initiated the idea of artistic independence, but he did not provide any musical models for contemporary composers to

36 Crawford, 199.
37 Chmaj, 66.
38 Chase, 332.
follow. He did not leave any advice regarding how musical independence from Europe could or should be achieved. In this regard, it is clear that it was not his intention to establish or initiate a characteristic American compositional style based upon indigenous American music. Fry did not borrow traditional American music, nor did he attempt to imitate it. Rather, he believed that American music was defined by nationality, not musical style. Much like Virgil Thompson’s opinions of American music in the twentieth century, his view was that one only needs to be American to write American music. Fry insisted that American composers deserved to be heard simply because they were American.\(^{39}\)

Fry’s “Declaration” sparked discourse among supporters and detractors of his cause. American composers agreed with Fry, and it is easy to side with his statements; but the performance of new music in the concert hall is financially risky, even today, so American composers were facing an uphill battle. To compound the obstacles American composers faced, John Sullivan Dwight proved a detractor as he became engaged in the discussion by promoting New England transcendentalism and European masters.

**THE DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS OF PHILIP HALE AND HENRY KREHBIEL**

The debate regarding serious art music continued into the next generation of influential music critics, and the argument remained the same: Boston versus New York, European masters versus homegrown composers, idealism versus realism. Only the names of the critics changed: Philip Hale (1854-1934) of Boston perpetuated Dwight’s Austro-German supremacy, while Henry Krehbiel (1854-1923) of New York, used Fry’s

\(^{39}\) Crawford, 200.
foundation as a starting point, yet went even further to promote American composers and eventually helped to inspire an indigenous American musical style.

Philip Hale began writing for the *Boston Post* in 1890; he served as music critic for the *Boston Herald* from 1903 until 1933. Although he was an important critic, he is mostly remembered as a program note annotator for the Boston Symphony Orchestra. In fact, Hale was a seminal figure in adding this occupation to that of music critic. According to music critic Lawrence Gilman, “Philip Hale transformed the writing of programme notes from an arid and depressing form of musical pedagogy into an exhilarating variety of literary art.”

His writings bordered on snobbery and elitism in the arts, but Hale’s vast knowledge and sharp intellect enabled him to defend his pretentiousness. He made himself judge and jury in the case for good music. If he touted Schubert as the creator of “a new lyric—the emotional song,” declaring that “the modern song was invented by Schubert,” he was effectively inserting Schubert into the canon as the premier lieder composer. If Hale promoted a composer in the BSO program notes, music critics and educators perpetuated his viewpoint without question.

Hale was candid and unapologetic in his criticism, unafraid to rebel against the popular consensus about music, which included shattering the idolatry musical society placed upon Beethoven. He was frank in his assessment that even Beethoven was prone to writing uninteresting music. Hale’s criticism of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony was particularly biting. In an 1899 *Musical Record* review Hale writes, “We heard lately in Boston the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven…But is not worship paid the Symphony mere

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41 Ibid, 77.
fetishism? Is not the Scherzo insufferably long-winded? The Finale is to me for the most part dull and ugly…Do you believe way down in the bottom of your heart that if this music had been written by Mr. John L. Tarbox, now living in Sandown, NH, any conductor here or in Europe could be persuaded to put it in rehearsal?”42 In other respects, Hale was progressive in his musical tastes; he was an early supporter of Debussy when that composer was virtually unknown in the United States, and he admired Stravinsky’s style prior to his neoclassical endeavors: “We personally prefer the Stravinsky of the *Sacre du Printemps* to the Stravinsky who of late has been attempting to compose in the manner of Bach. To begin with, we do not hear music now with the ears of the earlier centuries….Stravinsky’s feeble echo is simply dull, boresome. His ‘Muscovism’ is greatly to be preferred.”43 Like John Sullivan Dwight before him, Hale praised absolute music for its ability to transcend text, and he was an anti-Wagnerite who railed against what he called “acute Wagneritis.”44 Hale praised George W. Chadwick for contributing to a developing American musical style, but later chastised the composer for being influenced by Dvořák. Regarding Chadwick’s Fourth String Quartet, Hale stated, “I do not mean to say that there is any deliberate imitation of Dvořák’s later music; but Mr. Chadwick has undoubtedly been influenced in spirit (by Dvořák’s *New World* Symphony), and I regret this, for he is a big enough man to stand on his own legs and work out his own musical salvation.” 45 Along with fellow Bostonian critic Henry T. Fink, Hale enjoyed taking jabs at Dvořák’s supporters and the

42 Grant, 79.
43 Ibid.
lack of a sufficient musical scene in New York. Hale also delighted in a rivalry with his contemporary, the influential New York music critic, Henry Krehbiel.

With his erudite and officious tone, Henry Krehbiel (1854-1923) was the “acknowledged ‘dean’ of New York City’s music critics.”46 Krehbiel was self-educated in German music and pedagogy; he was a Wagnerite, and it was through his championing of Wagner’s music that he acknowledged that great music can be nationally specific. Krehbiel was a collector of indigenous music, including the music of Jews, Russians, African Americans, and American Indians. He did not view music as an elite art, esoteric and obscure, but as an emanation of traditional customs by which culture and race are linked. “The more the world comes to realize how deep and intimate are the springs from which the emotional elements of music flow” Krehbiel opined, “the more fully it will recognize that originality and power in the composer rest upon the use of dialects and idioms which are national or racial in origin or structure.”47 Unlike John Sullivan Dwight and Philip Hale, whose genealogy traces to the earliest settlers in this country, Krehbiel was the son of immigrant parents. Krehbiel’s lineage led to questions about his own identity: German, American, both? He searched for answers in an effort to discover what it meant to be an American. As a writer, reporter, and eventual critic for the New York Tribune in 1880, he mingled in circles of journalists, artists, musicians, and music critics. His enduring friendships with two important late-nineteenth-century musical figures in New York would change America’s musical landscape: Anton Seidl, a Wagnerite conductor, and Antonín Dvořák, who found in Krehbiel a friend, mentor, and advocate.

47 Horowitz, Moral Fire, 77-78.
Seidl was a supporter of the American composer; he preferred Edward MacDowell to Brahms. Seidl was a leading figure and participant in the American Composers Concert movement along with Krehbiel. Krehbiel’s interest in African American folk songs and his transcriptions of Indian melodies not only demonstrated his commitment to indigenous American music, but also shed light on its importance and potential in America’s art music. Dvořák’s *New World* Symphony was given special attention by Krehbiel: he wrote a 2500-word preview of the symphony, complete with musical examples, and this text was reprinted in significant newspapers, including the *Cincinnati Gazette Inquirer* and the *Musical Courier*. American composers were reluctant to use American Indian and African American music as a basis of art music, but Dvořák was already an established and well-respected composer who had nothing to lose. In Krehbiel’s article, Dvořák’s influence on indigenous music is explored. For Krehbiel, Dvořák’s symphony was decidedly American and his *Tribune* article argued for the work’s Americanness by highlighting its exhilarating pentatonic scales and syncopated rhythms. Much of Krehbiel’s attention focused on the importance of traditional African American music. Krehbiel states, “That which is most characteristic, most beautiful and most vital in our folk song has come from the negro slaves of the South…Being musical and living a life that had in it romantic elements of pleasure as well as suffering, they gave expression to those elements in songs which reflect their original nature as modified by the American environment. Dr. Dvořák, to whom music is a language, was able quickly to discern the characteristics of the new idiom and recognize its availability and value.”48 A common opinion of the era was that “America had no folk songs of its own,”49 in which Krehbiel concurred. However, he realized that

49 Ibid.
African American and American Indian music came the closest. After Dvořák’s premier of the New World in Boston, Philip Hale was not as impressed. Hale found nothing specifically American in the symphony, since pentatonic scales and Scotch snaps can be found in a myriad of compositions outside the United States. For Hale, African Americans and American Indians were on the lowest end of the evolutionary scale and therefore unable to contribute to America’s musical identity. Hale openly admired the songs of Stephen Foster and remarked upon his delight with Chadwick’s Scherzo movement from his Fourth String Quartet. In comparison to Dvořák’s “American” Quartet, he found Chadwick’s piece more American in its “lack of reverence and devil-may-care” attitude. However, Krehbiel’s premonition that future American music was to build on African Americans foundations came true: Krehbiel was an early advocate of jazz. Krehbiel’s most important articles about American identity in music are post-Dvořák. He wrote lengthy articles about the music of African Americans, American Indians, Hebrews, Scandinavians, Russians, and Asians in Tribune articles. He also wrote books: How to Listen to Music (1896) and Afro-American Folk Songs: A Study in Racial and National Music (1914).

James Huneker (1857-1921), a native Philadelphian, settled in New York in 1886 after travelling through Europe. He taught at the National Conservatory for a few years, and in 1900 became music critic for The Sun, and then The Times in 1917. Huneker was prolific in his endeavors: he was a novelist, an art critic, a musician, and a music critic. His mission was: to educate Americans about the best cultural achievements, native and European, of his time. He was Eurocentric, but he also favorably reviewed and encouraged American composers such as MacDowell, Chadwick, Parker, Griffes, and Loeffler.

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50 Ibid, 97.
Huneker read Gautier, who coined “art for art’s sake” and established the idea that the highest service of a critic was to exhort for and enhance appreciation of art, rather than to function as a mere judge or faultfinder.\footnote{Grant, 119.}

**LOUIS ANTOINE JULLIEN’S INFLUENTIAL ORCHESTRA**

The Revolutions of 1848 brought many German immigrants to the United States. Among them were musicians and conductors who brought with them a rich history of German music and pedagogy. Ensemble music had its place in this country, and some of the seminal organizations developed on the Eastern seaboard date back to the eighteenth-century. Many groups had struggled to stay afloat due to poor musicianship and lack of public support. Beginning in the 1840s, touring virtuosi hailing from Europe, namely Henri Vieuxtemps and Ole Bull, showed American audiences what talented violinists could do. It was a revelation. Orchestras also visited from Europe and made a lasting impression on American audiences and inspired musicians. Critical attitudes and points of view that prevailed variously in Boston and New York—both to the points of opposition and their overlap—are exemplified in the mid-nineteenth-century phenomenon of Louis Antoine Jullien and his famous orchestra. Jullien and his musicians crossed the Atlantic in 1853 and showed what a well-rehearsed orchestra could accomplish. The attraction to Jullien’s orchestra was not just the size of the group—forty players, augmented to sixty (or more) upon his arrival—it was his showmanship. Conducting from a velvet throne with a bejeweled baton, Jullien was as entertaining as his orchestra. Moreover, for the first time in this country, audiences were introduced to monster concerts—multi-day festivals or
concert engagements featuring dazzling performances of large orchestral and vocal forces. Such spectacles would inspire the Irish-American band leader Patrick Gilmore and Creole-American virtuoso pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk to embark upon their own monster concerts in the following decade.

Jullien and his orchestra toured throughout the United States for ten months in 1853-54, performing monster concerts in cities large and small, including New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and Savannah. His more than two hundred performances were seen by tens of thousands of people, some of whom had no previous exposure to an orchestral ensemble. Jullien’s concert programs were diverse and offered an array of musical experiences from light orchestral music, including waltzes, polkas, and quadrilles, to more demanding instrumental and vocal selections by Mozart, Beethoven, and Meyerbeer. His concert selections changed nightly and were derived from a repertoire list numbering over twelve hundred works. In general, each concert included “an overture, two movements from a symphony, an operatic potpourri, two instrumental solos, one of Jullien’s sets of quadrilles, two songs by (German soprano) Madame Zerr, and a variety of waltzes, polkas, etc.,—a nightly banquet with a bill of fare ample enough for every taste.”

Jullien’s aim was to entertain and educate his audiences; he reported to the Illustrated London News that his goal was “to ensure amusement as well as attempting instruction, by blending in the programmes the most sublime works with those of a lighter school.”

Jullien began his American tour in New York City, performing there more than one hundred times over the course of his ten-month journey; it was the most of any US city he

visited. The locations in which Jullien’s orchestra performed in New York were as diverse as his concert programming: the first month of his tour, August 29 to September 24, 1853, took place in Castle Garden, a multi-purpose open-air theater which undertook multiple functions during its existence, including a beer garden/restaurant, exhibition hall, theater, and opera house; for his second month, September 26 to October 21, his concerts moved indoors to Metropolitan Hall, a theater well-suited for variety shows as well as more lofty entertainment, such as Shakespearian plays. His return to New York at the conclusion of his US tour, May 15 to June 5, 1854, and then June 15 to June 26, brought return engagements at Castle Garden and a new venue for Jullien, the Crystal Palace, which was an exhibition hall.

New York City’s population in 1850 numbered just over five hundred thousand, with inhabitants of every social class representing every corner of the world. With this in mind, Jullien’s programming needed to be strategic. As noted in the Tribune, August 30, 1853: “The presentation of orchestral music alone at concerts in this city has never yet been pecuniarily a successful enterprise—the public taste seemingly not being educated up to the point of rightly appreciating and enjoying it. If Jullien overcomes this obstacle and succeeds in improving the public taste to the point of appreciating and rewarding his efforts it will be no less a source of gratification to himself than to all connoisseurs.” During Jullien’s first month of concerts, his programs mixed “sublime works” with lighter fare. His second month introduced more ambitious programming, as one evening per week would be dedicated to a classical master, namely Mozart, Beethoven, or Mendelssohn. The first part of the program would feature works by one classical composer; and then after
intermission, the concert featured lighter fare including medleys, dances, and works composed or arranged by Jullien.

The variety of the programming was absolutely necessary if Jullien was to attain success and accomplish his mission of educating and entertaining his audience. The educational strategy is very clear: offer small doses of classical music interspersed with lighter music, and then carefully dedicate one night each week to a classical master in an effort to raise audience awareness and musical tastes. In later years, Jullien’s strategy can be seen in the programs of America’s first great orchestral conductor, Theodore Thomas, who incidentally was hired as a violinist in Jullien’s orchestra in 1853. Jullien’s concerts not only appealed to “every taste,” he also made concert going affordable with ticket prices starting at 50 cents. The *Tribune* cheered, “He has done more to cultivate the taste of the masses, by affording the best music at the cheapest possible cost.”

In addition to bringing classical music to American audiences, Jullien is also important for promoting the works of native-born composers. He not only performed native compositions but also commissioned works by American composers, including pieces by Fry and Bristow. Fry’s *Santa Claus* Symphony and Bristow’s Symphony No. 2, *The Jullien*, were written specifically for concerts in New York. Jullien also scheduled a “Grand American Night” on December 29, 1853, in which the first portion of the concert featured multiple selections by Fry and Bristow. A *Tribune* article voiced gratitude towards Jullien for performing American composers, “He at least has not slighted them, but has given them every chance equally with Europeans.”

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54 *New York Daily Tribune* (December 29, 1853): 5.
York, Jullien encouraged and supported American composers when there was little support by American musical organizations.

My examination of a selection of *Tribune* articles from Jullien’s New York City concerts confirms that his performances were met with critical success, as he was praised for his musicianship and skill in interpreting the classical masters. In a *Tribune* article from October 21, 1853, at the conclusion of his two month stay, Jullien thanked New York City and remarked that he was grateful for the opportunity to help elevate tastes regarding classical music and promote what he considered the most worthy light music. After several months of touring the East coast, Jullien concluded his US tour in New York City.

The city of Boston was Jullien’s next stop, immediately following his departure from New York in late October 1853. His orchestra performed in Boston twenty-six times over the course of three separate visits. His stay was roughly for two weeks at a time. Jullien’s orchestra performed in a single venue, Boston’s Music Hall. The Hall was built in 1852 through a generous financial donation by the Harvard Musical Association; John Sullivan Dwight, who had strong ties with the HMA, was equally important in getting the hall built. The HMA’s mission, like Dwight’s, was to advance literacy and musical culture. Unlike the New York venues, which showcased a variety of entertainments high and low, in Boston it is clear that the sole intention of the Music Hall was to promote knowledge and classical music. The Hall later became the home of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Jullien’s arrival in Boston was met with eager anticipation. *DJM* offered a myriad of pertinent articles, which covered a wide gamut from cheers to jeers by Dwight, his correspondents, and citizens who took the time to submit their opinions. At first, Dwight gushed over Jullien’s performances of art music. “To hear the great works of the masters
brought out in the full proportions of so large an orchestra, where all the parts are played by perfect masters of their instruments is a great privilege and great lesson.” Dwight readily admitted that the initial *DJM* reviews would be favorable as he or his correspondents gleaned the surface of each concert; however, as the series wore on, he promised the commentary would delve deeper into Jullien’s conducting skills and musical interpretations, and would offer a more critical evaluation of each performance.

The size of Jullien’s orchestra was reduced and the cost of admission was twice as expensive, points that did not go unnoticed by *DJM*: “Does he not miscalculate, then, in putting his tickets at a dollar! In Castle Garden he had half a dollar; there his orchestra exceeded a hundred; here we are told, it will consist but of sixty or seventy instruments. We fear the masses will not go many nights to pay more for less than was given in New York.” Despite the reduction in forces, Dwight consistently remarked favorably upon the orchestra and the conductor’s ability to elicit musical effects in the classical compositions that were performed.

Jullien’s concerts followed the same program structure as in New York; but whereas his New York programs were ambitious and diverse, return engagements in Boston offered much of the same material. The population in Boston during the 1850s was just over one hundred thousand, which did not warrant the luxury of performing the same programs, even if they were separated by months at a time. “Many things Jullien understands, but not the Boston public. His music is essentially popular, and he needs the great democratic masses to receive and reward it. The musical public in Boston is of

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55 Preston, 334.
56 *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (October 22, 1853): 23.
57 Ibid.
58 *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (January 14, 1854): 118.
necessity small, and we have not that perpetual influx of new people which enables New York to furnish a new audience every night.”59 Dwight and the DJM correspondents were growing tired of the redundancies60 and found the usual finale, a performance of Jullien’s “American Quadrille,” a bore. In New York, the “American” was highly anticipated as Jullien composed it specifically for his US tour; it premiered on September 6, 1853. It was received with “unbounded enthusiasm and delight”; already on September 7, the Tribune advertised that the “American” would be performed at the end of every concert until further notice. The “American” featured a medley of national songs (“Hail to the Chief,” Foster’s “Old Folks Home,” “The Star Spangled Banner,” among others) and twenty solos from Jullien’s most celebrated performers. The piece brought audiences to their feet in New York, and the work was successful and acclaimed. Patriotic composer George F. Root wrote, “Ah Monsieur Jullien, you have hit the right chord, and wherever you go in America, you will be sure of a welcome.”61 On the contrary, critical commentary in Boston proved otherwise: “He [Jullien] has done wisely of late to put the ‘American’ at the end of the programme; for, if its music figure every night, it is better to place it where those who have had enough of its noise, and have exhausted the joke of rising up to the ‘Yankee Doodle,’ may hear other things without having to endure that cannonading first.”62 Jullien’s four farewell concerts, May 8-12, 1854, just before he returned to New York to conclude his US tour, were met with apathy: “The programmes have been essentially the old story…, the same inimitable solos…, Mlle. Zerr’s same old songs…, in short the most hackneyed selection conceivable for those who have been familiar with Jullien’s concerts; relieved for

59 Dwight’s Journal of Music (November 5, 1853): 34.
60 Dwight’s Journal of Music (January 14, 1854): 118.
61 Preston, 333.
five or ten minutes by the same strain or two from the 8th Symphony of Beethoven, or the
‘Pastoral,’ or the Scotch symphony of Mendelssohn’s.”

By the end of Jullien’s concert series in Boston, it was clear that his novelty was
wearing off. Audiences were becoming more vocal about their opinions of Jullien and his
concert plan as demonstrated in DJM articles and letters to the editor. Dwight published
opposing opinions in singular issues of his magazine to reveal contrasts, and perhaps to
generate dialogue with his readership. Some concert goers enjoyed the lighter selections,
while others complained of too much “monster” and not enough classical music. In New
York, Jullien seemed to have been unchallenged in the Tribune, while Bostonians proved
more discerning. Jullien’s scheduled classical nights were offered in Boston, yet the
consensus claimed the classical concerts were not for the elite but geared for the masses.
Whether Jullien was lauded in New York or met with lukewarm opinions in Boston, his
legacy was unmatched in American musical history at the time. William Henry Fry
remarked, “To say that M. Jullien has done more than anyone in this country for music of
a high order, is to say very little: he has done more than all others put together. He has
given us all kinds of music, never wanting in perception as to its interpretation….He has
laid (high art) before the people (and) he has opened the door of the exclusive concert-
room to tens and twenties of thousands who would never have entered it otherwise.”

64 Dwight’s Journal of Music (November 5, 1853): 35.
65 Ibid, 38.
66 Preston, 342.
THE RISE OF ORCHESTRAS

Resident ensembles were assembled when needed, and loyalty to the ensemble was not always practiced. It was not uncommon for musicians to miss performances when better paid opportunities presented themselves. In 1842, the Philharmonic Society of New York was established as America’s first permanent orchestra. It was an enterprising endeavor led by the musicians themselves. The members of the Philharmonic paid dues and were responsible for their own artistic and financial goals. In addition to educating the players and the audience with their programs, the purpose of the Philharmonic was to devote concerts to the much-neglected art of instrumental music. Although their mission is clear, it may have been too optimistic, as their concerts featured a generous amount of vocal music too. The founder and president of the Philharmonic was violinist Ureli Corelli Hill (1805?-75). A third-generation American, Hill had gone abroad to further his studies in 1835. While in Europe, Hill kept a diary of the concerts he attended, their programs, people he met, lessons he took and the orchestras he played in.  

Hill gained knowledge of orchestral sizes and the proportions of instruments, and he drew diagrams in his diary of orchestral set ups with and without vocalists. His exposure to the best orchestras in Europe, including the London Philharmonic, honed his critical ear to recognize the qualities needed of a high-level organization regarding performance practice and musicianship. While in Kassel, Germany, Hill had performed in Louis Spohr’s orchestra. The Kappelmeister held mandatory rehearsals, a practice that Hill required of his Philharmonic. Not only did he record his overall impressions, but he also documented the cost of food, lodging, and ticket prices. His experiences made an impact on the development of the Philharmonic right

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before the mass immigration of Germans in 1848. Hill knew firsthand the dissatisfaction European musicians felt about the conditions under which they worked; political strife was already underway. In Darmstadt, he met the city’s Kapellmeister Wilhelm Mangold and his orchestra. He wrote this of his experience: “They, like all the rest of the musicians, complained bitterly of the profession in Germany. Mangold said if the sea was not between, he should go immediately to America….Thousands of musicians will come to America if they can get there. So our musicians must study to compete with them.”

Theodore Thomas (1835-1909), a German immigrant, was a violinist in the Philharmonic Society of New York in 1854. As a section-leader and concertmaster, Thomas took initiatives to further his career and education in musical America. “As a concertmeister, I had both power and responsibility, and I dispensed…with the middle man and began making all engagements with the members of the orchestra myself.”

Already familiar with the artistic side of his profession, Thomas soon acquired business savvy. In 1862 he took an enormous risk by performing an orchestral concert in New York at his own expense. Thomas hired his own musicians, booked the concert hall, created the program, ran rehearsals, and promoted the event. His success led to the development of the Theodore Thomas Orchestra (1865-1890). The importance of this Orchestra cannot be overstated, as it was the first professional independent orchestra; Thomas served as conductor.

Thomas was a leader; he made it his mission to help raise musical standards so that the symphony orchestra would have a secure future in the United States. His achievements

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68 Ureli Corelli Hill, Diary, 1835-37 (manuscript), New York Philharmonic Archives, Box 500-01-01, 145, quoted in Haws “Ureli Corelli Hill,” 362.
are threefold: (1) He raised the standard of orchestral playing by hiring only the best musicians. (2) He toured widely with his orchestra from the east coast to the west coast. This not only gave his organization enough performances to survive financially but more importantly, his concerts gave many communities their first sight and sound of a symphony orchestra. Essentially, he laid the groundwork for music enthusiasts in cities without an orchestra to form their own. As a result, local orchestras began to develop: the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1881 and the Chicago Symphony in 1891 to name two. (3) Thomas was notorious for his programming strategy, which was designed to offer some familiar music that audiences knew and liked while carefully introducing longer, more involved and less familiar works. His program balanced a mixture of polkas and waltzes with overtures and symphonic movements to raise the audience’s musical standards. His programs were often divided into three parts separated by lengthy intermissions. The first part of the concert consisted of short works to minimize the interruption of late-comers on the overall concert going experience; the second part was the most weighty, consisting of symphonic movements; the third part featured lighter selections to enliven the audience and send them home happy. Thomas’s goal was to shape his audience and elevate their tastes by gradually introducing them to substantial orchestral works. The impact of Thomas’s former experience playing with Jullien’s orchestra is evident in his own well-calculated approach to programming.

Throughout the year Thomas’s orchestra performed around the country. The route he traveled became known as the “Thomas Highway,” the core of which included twenty-eight cities in twelve states. Thomas was met with admiration and appreciation during his travels; in Boston, he was welcomed and praised. Boston was already a cultured city with
the “most cultivated audience” who showed a “high musical standard of the most advanced American community of that period.”

Dwight wrote in a December 14, 1872 *DJM* article, “Without these splendid concerts,—six of them (seven, counting the one given in the Bay State Lecture course)—more than a week would have gone un-cheered by music. They came with full ranks, armor furbished bright, in perfect training, fresh and full of ardor. That is to say, the orchestra was better than ever,—if that were possible,—which we are inclined to doubt…” Dwight also remarked upon the stability and independence of Thomas’s organization in an effort to inspire Bostonians to work toward a permanent orchestra of their own.

The orchestral music performed by Thomas’s Orchestra was predominantly Germanic, but Thomas did make very strong efforts to include works by contemporary American composers, including John Knowles Paine and George W. Chadwick. Over the course of his career, Thomas programmed more than 150 works by native-born composers and immigrants to the US. He stated,

> As for the American composers, the only way in which to develop composition in our own country is to play the works by American writers side by side with those of other nationalities, and let them stand or fall on their own merits. I do not believe in playing inferior works merely because they are American, nor rejecting good ones because they are not foreign. Let our composers realize that there is a standard to be reached before they can be recognized, but that if they do reach it, they will be certain of equal recognition with writers of other nations. They will then have an incentive to produce the best that is in them, and will produce it.

Thomas made a point to perform new music only if he considered it worthy enough to appear on his concert programs.

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72 Thomas, 67-68.
The Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876 was an important event and Thomas was in charge. He was the first conductor of a major American orchestra to present an “American Night,” which consisted of works exclusively by American composers, namely Fry and Paine. However, Dwight’s correspondent complained that the best American composers were not represented by Thomas’s Orchestra. American composers were also overshadowed by the highly anticipated Wagner commission, The Centennial March, which turned out to be a tremendous failure. The work was expensive as Thomas paid five thousand dollars for a piece that was largely critiqued as uninspired.

In 1891, Thomas moved to Chicago at the request of businessman Charles Norman Fay. Fay acquired financial backers to support the newly formed Chicago Symphony, with Thomas as its music director. Thomas was determined to play works representing higher art forms for the culturally elite; in Chicago his ideology changed from “making good music popular” to performances for audiences who did not need explanations. In its first years, the Chicago Symphony suffered a financial deficit. Thomas understood that elevating the orchestra above public taste would cost the organization money. However, his persistence and steady financial backing made it possible for him to concentrate solely on cultivated music. Thomas’s enduring legacy was the far-reaching popularization of symphonic music throughout the United States.

While Theodore Thomas set standards for excellence in musical performance and programming, Henry Lee Higginson (1834-1919) established a model for the organization and support of a symphonic orchestra. Singlehandedly Higginson funded the Boston Symphony Orchestra, which he founded in 1881. He aimed to keep ticket prices affordable.
and he maintained control over the Symphony’s personnel and the programming. The concert programs were slanted towards the German masters, but Higginson also initiated Promenade Concerts of lighter classical music during the summer months as a means to keep the orchestra together during the off season, as well as reduce any financial deficits. The conservative Bostonian music critic, and friend of Higginson, John Sullivan Dwight opposed the inclusion of lighter music into serious art music concert programs, so Higginson’s summer concerts did not conflict with his stance on serious art music.

**AMERICA’S COMPOSERS FIND SUPPORT**

American composers were facing difficulties getting their music heard. They did not have a solid place in the concert programming of America’s leading orchestras, and it became the task of the Music Teachers National Association (MTNA), founded by Theodore Presser in 1876, to promote their cause. George W. Chadwick (a personal friend of Presser’s) and America’s leading conductor, Theodore Thomas, were early members. It was the mission of the MTNA to initiate the presence of American composers in concert halls. In 1884, the MTNA presented a concert of American piano works at their convention in Cleveland. The timing appears to have been right, because over the next decade the American Composers’ Concert movement would spread across the nation. Other organizations whose interests matched the MTNA’s mission were also founded in an effort to promote and perform American art music.

In New York, Frank Van der Stucken specialized in presenting orchestral music in his series of Novelty Concerts—concerts dedicated to new music by Americans and Europeans. Van der Stucken (1858-1929) was an American conductor who spent much of his youth in Europe, where he was trained in music. Upon his return to the US in 1884, he
became the conductor of the Arion Society in New York and used his conductorship to address issues that he believed were hampering New York’s concert life. During his first concert season, Van der Stucken presented four Novelty Concerts. The first three included a mixture of European and American art music, which included new works by Grieg, Tchaikovsky, and Dvořák. New York critics, who lamented the absence of new music on concert programs, applauded Van der Stucken’s efforts. The fourth Novelty Concert was devoted entirely to American compositions, including both new works and those previously heard in New York. Critics were unanimous in their praise for the idea of an all-American Novelty Concert, but many were not so enthusiastic when reviewing the actual pieces. The overall tone of critics’ commentary was condescending and unconstructive. Instead, they ranked each piece from best to worst. This approach implied that the American composers they heard were not ready to be taken seriously. Despite the patronizing criticism, Van der Stucken continued to offer his Novelty Concerts presenting mixed concerts and concerts devoted solely to American works.

In general, the goal of all-American concerts was to introduce audiences to pieces by native composers as well as create an environment that was hospitable to American works. Concerts were billed as being restricted to works by “native or resident composers” to allow the inclusion not only of those born in the US but also those who immigrated to the US at any time, no matter how recently.\(^74\) In the mid-1880s, critics had no complaints about the American Composers’ Concerts, and reviews were enthusiastic; but by the late 1880s, critics were being more thoughtful, raising questions and objections about the

concerts and the music they heard. By the 1890s, critics turned against the Concerts and the movement began to decline.

Van der Stucken brought all-American concerts to the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris. French critics were not too kind to American art music, finding it unoriginal; and they questioned whether an American national style could be formed. “The Americans are a people too young and formed of elements too diverse to possess a well-defined musical school at this time. Originality in art, or more precisely, artistic nationality, is only found in older nations where the races have long been blended into a homogeneous whole.”

Stereotypes of Americans also aided in the demise of Van der Stucken’s efforts. The view from abroad was that American culture was low-brow; Buffalo Bill Cody and his Wild West Show fed Europeans with stereotypes that the audiences lapped up. Contrary images of American culture as seen in the high-brow concerts of Van der Stucken did not conform to their idea of America.

Ultimately, the American Composer’s Concert movement came full circle and ended where it began, with the MTNA. After 1890, American composers took matters into their own hands and developed manuscript societies, which emerged in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The purpose of these societies was self-preservation: a forum to compose and hear performances of newly composed works.

The well-known music critic in New York, Krehbiel, was very outspoken in his support for the all-American concerts and the necessity for the founding of an American school of composition. Krehbiel was a strong supporter of Dvořák and his mission at the National Conservatory. On the opposing side, the leading American composer of the late-

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75 Ibid. xvi.
76 Ibid. 55.
nineteenth-century, Edward MacDowell, was vehemently opposed to the all-American concerts. His viewpoint was clear: let American compositions stand next to their European counterparts and allow the American works to either triumph or fail. MacDowell believed all-American concerts coddled composers: one would never get a true understanding of a work’s merit if it remained segregated from the rest of the musical world. Although MacDowell’s stance may appear anti-patriotic, in reality it was not. MacDowell knew that American composers had as much talent as their European counterparts, and he also knew that to separate American compositions from European works on concert programs was a disservice to the American composer. The true measure of an American composition was its ability to stand next to one from the European canon. If American works were judged only against American works, composers would not be given the chance to grow and mediocrity would be inevitable. Although MacDowell’s view that all-American concerts were detrimental was not popular with the MTNA, it proved prophetic as critics and audiences also began to find fault with the all-American concerts.

Not only did American composers have difficulty finding their way onto concert programs compared to their European counterparts, they also faced issues getting their music published. European and American publishing houses generated catalogs by composers of the Western art music tradition. But composers who ventured beyond the German mold were less fortunate in the search for willing publishers. The most renowned Americanist composer, Arthur Farwell (1872-1952), decided to govern his own fate. In 1901 he established the Wa-Wan Press in Massachusetts, which ended its run in 1912. The

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77 The New York based G. Schirmer publishing house was founded in 1861. By 1892, *Schirmer’s Library of Musical Classics* was launched. *Schirmer’s Library* published European masterworks for American distribution in an effort to quell European sheet music importation.
publishing company was named after an American Indian ceremony, and the mission of the company was to publish the music of like-minded American composers both male and female. Critic Lawrence Gilman hailed the Wa-Wan Press as “probably the most determined and courageous endeavor to assist the cause of American music that has yet to be made.” All in all, Farwell published thirty-seven composers (including himself) who shared an enthusiasm for discovering the musical potential of American Indian and African American sources in an effort to create distinctly American art music. Although he wrote original works, Farwell is mostly remembered today for his arrangements of American Indian music. A more in-depth discussion of Farwell’s contributions to American music can be found in chapter 6.

Farwell’s endeavors also led him to tour around the country performing his music and offering lectures on American music. “Although Farwell was very involved with the work of his press, he came to realize the need for an organized, systematic study of American music and thus founded the American Music Society in Boston in April 1905.” This local organization, however, did not serve to advance Farwell’s broader vision of making contemporary American music known all across the nation. To implement his larger goal he established, in 1907, the National Wa-Wan Society of America. With Farwell as president the board included such distinguished men as George Chadwick, Charles Martin Loeffler, Frank Damrosch, and Lawrence Gilman. In the organizing process twenty centers for the propagation and study of American music were developed in cities scattered widely across the nation.”

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79 Ibid, 165.
80 Culbertson, 165.
Many of America’s leading composers of the mid-to-late nineteenth-century travelled to Europe, specifically Germany, to gain proficiency in musical technique. The prevailing attitude of the time was that in order for musicians to be taken seriously in the United States, they had to study and win acceptance in Europe first. The lessons they learned regarding the treatment of melody, harmony, and form were brought back to the shores of the United States and disseminated in collegiate institutions. Thanks to the efforts of Lowell Mason in the 1830s, music was already part of the curricula in public schools throughout the country. After 1865, colleges and universities began to institute music courses as well, and gradually music departments were formed. The educational institutions, orchestras, and publishing houses in the United States were founded upon European models. Once absorbed, these models served as a springboard for Americans to forge a new path. As the nineteenth-century came to a close, the reliance upon European archetypes was on the wane as Americans found themselves more comfortable and confident on their own feet.

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82 Hitchcock, 149.
Chapter 2

Vernacular versus Cultivated Music

Prior to the mid-nineteenth-century, vernacular and cultivated music were not
differentiated in the United States. 83 Vernacular music is created for mass consumption, it
is simple melodically and harmonically, and it is accessible to the public. Vernacular music
is “understood and appreciated simply for its utilitarian or entertainment value.” 84 Cultivated music is created by a composer with artistic intent, it is more complex
melodically and harmonically, and the composer is the authority on taste. Cultivated music
is “appreciated for its edification—its moral, spiritual, or aesthetic value.” 85 By the late-
nineteenth-century, the vernacular music tradition became associated with low art and
popular music, while the cultivated music tradition covered the domain of high art and art
music composed and performed by professional musicians who emulated Western
European practices. Looking to America’s musical past, the works composed by Bostonian
William Billings and his contemporaries (the First New England School) during the
Colonial era fulfilled a myriad of functions and covered both vernacular and cultivated
music traditions as defined by H. Wiley Hitchcock. The First New England School’s music
was cultivated because it was consciously created with intent; secondly, it was edifying
since it provided the basis of psalm singing in the church and in singing schools; lastly,
those same compositions were employed for their utilitarian and entertainment purposes in
one’s home. However, as the distinctions between vernacular and cultivated music became

83 The most widely accepted definition of vernacular and cultivated American music traditions were
84 Hitchcock, 56.
85 Ibid.
more noticeable in the mid-nineteenth-century, the works by the First New England School lost their cultivated appeal. There are several contributing factors that led to the separation between vernacular and cultivated music, including massive immigration, the formation and function of symphonic societies, and the so-called sacralization of the arts.  

THE IMPACT OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS

The influx of Irish and German immigrants to the United States at mid-century coincided with the growing separation between vernacular and cultivated music traditions. Most of the Irish who arrived in America prior to 1820 were Scotch Irish, or Ulster Scots from the North of Ireland, whose dominant religion was Presbyterian. Most were skilled laborers or artisans whose background and capabilities afforded them a higher social status when they arrived in the States. Ulster Scots had the financial means to become city dwellers of consequence, or to migrate westward and accumulate land. Two decades later, due in large part to the potato famine (1845 to 1852), a second wave of Irish, which reached one million by 1850, immigrated to America. The Irish who fled during the famine were Catholics from poor, rural areas, and many were uneducated, unskilled laborers. The Irish settled in port towns, generally congregating in the urban areas of Boston and New York, where they were subjected to unsanitary living conditions, low wage occupations, and

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88 Ibid.
prejudice. In Boston, the Protestant-elite Brahmins had a low opinion of the newly arrived Irish. As a result, the impoverished immigrant’s culture was viewed as that of a peasant class.\(^8\) Traditional Irish music had long been popular in the United States as “Irish ballads were regularly sung in Federal America, and Irish songs and dances appeared in many collections of instrumental and vocal music beginning in the eighteenth-century.”\(^9\)

Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies* (1808 to 1835), a ten-volume collection of his poetry set to mostly preexisting Irish tunes, was widely circulated throughout Europe and the United States. The genesis of Moore’s *Irish Melodies* was predicated upon the success of the British Isle folk song arrangements by Haydn and Beethoven respectively. Moore’s collection sparked a trend in composing Irish-infused melodies, something that can be found in the American vernacular music of Stephen Foster. Seemingly, traditional Irish music belonged to the vernacular because of its entertainment value; and Irish musical traits were more likely to appear in popular songs and on the minstrel stage than in cultivated music. Nevertheless, prominent late-nineteenth-century art music composers did draw upon Celtic influences as a way to assert their ethnicity in the wake of Antonín Dvořák’s recommendation for America’s art music (chapters 3 and 5).

**LOUIS MOREAU GOTTSCHALK: A SYNTHESIS OF STYLES**

The mingling and interaction of vernacular and cultivated traditions is vividly illustrated in the works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869) as he intertwined vernacular music elements with virtuosic technique. He was the most famous pianist-

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\(^8\) Ibid.
\(^9\) Ibid, 138.
composer of his day in the United States, and he also enjoyed international recognition. A native of the culturally diverse city of New Orleans, Gottschalk drew upon African American, Creole, and Caribbean influences to inform his music. He was well received in Europe and South America, and he was endorsed by the leading composers and performers of his day, including Frédéric Chopin and Hector Berlioz. Although Gottschalk created a sensation stateside and abroad, he found an enemy in the prominent Bostonian music critic John Sullivan Dwight, who aimed to shape America’s musical tastes towards European classical music traditions.91

Gottschalk was a child prodigy who grew up in an affluent environment. His father was a Jewish-English businessman, and his mother was from an aristocratic French Creole family with Haitian ancestry. Recognizing their son’s pianistic abilities, Gottschalk’s parents nurtured his development. It was customary for prominent Louisiana families to send their children to Paris to further their musical education, so the young Gottschalk was sent to Paris in 1842. He had hoped to attend the Paris Conservatoire; but he was rejected without a hearing as the director remarked, “America is nothing but a country of steam engines.”92 Despite this obstacle, Gottschalk remained in Paris, studying piano privately with Carl Hallé, Camille-Marie Stamaty, and composition with Pierre Malenden. He made his piano debut in Paris in 1845 and remained in Europe for the next ten years, performing in France, Switzerland, and Spain. When he returned to the United States in 1853, he was already an accomplished performer-composer.

Gottschalk did not deny his vernacular musical influences and he did nothing to hide their origins. He especially favored dance music, which was important and quite prevalent in New Orleans. As a young man in Paris, he began to compose works inspired by or based upon the melodies and rhythms he heard in his native New Orleans. Between 1844 and 1846, Gottschalk composed his “Louisiana Creole Pieces” in Paris. It is a set of four virtuoso piano works, Bamboula, La Savane, Le Bananier, and Le Mancenillier, published in Paris under the name “Gottschalk of Louisiana.” Each piece was very popular both in salons and larger concert settings. Le Bananier (The Banana Tree) was especially well-liked; its appeal lent itself to a transcription for violin by Offenbach, and it was found in the music libraries of Bizet and Borodin.

Le Bananier is a compact work structured as a theme and variations. The theme is derived from the Creole song “En avan’ Grenadie” (Go forward, Grenadiers). The original Creole melody was a war song sung by “Creoles of Color” (Creoles with African ancestry) who fought in the battle of New Orleans. The melodic shape of “En avan’ Grenadie” is similar to the British military tune “The British Grenadiers,” which was often heard during the Revolutionary War. Gottschalk’s Le Bananier begins with an ostinato pattern in the left hand, which is evocative of a persistent drum beat (See Ex. 1). The opening triadic melody (m. 4) initiates the first theme (a). The theme’s melody, which has an unusual five plus five phrase structure, is repeated. The contrasting theme (b; m. 25) is in a higher register and also has an uneven five plus five phrase group that is repeated. The ensuing variations play with mode and register. Gottschalk also varies his themes with ornamentation and

virtuosic display. Unexpectedly, he introduces new material composed of sixteenth notes in an improvisatory style (m. 84). In the third variation (m. 98), he transfers theme a to the left hand while the right hand dazzles with rushes of sixteenth notes. The work concludes with fragments of a in the left hand while the right hand maintains its virtuosic flair. Here, Gottschalk has successfully transformed a folk tune into a worthwhile and attractive showpiece.

Example 1 Gottschalk’s La Bananier, measures 1-13.

Gottschalk’s The Banjo, op. 15 (1853), represents another example of his ability to integrate vernacular music traditions within a cultivated work. This piece features emulations of a banjo style that was popularized by the minstrel show, including rapid note repetitions, strumming techniques, and high levels of syncopation that anticipate ragtime. To further incorporate the vernacular, Gottschalk utilized a quotation from Stephen

95 As cited in Laura Moore Pruett’s dissertation Louis Moreau Gottschalk, John Sullivan Dwight, and the Development of Musical Culture in the United States, 1853-1865 (Ph. D. diss. The Florida State University, 2007), 90, Paul Ely Smith’s article “Gottschalk’s The Banjo, Op. 15, and the Banjo in the Nineteenth-Century” explains banjo strumming technique in more detail. He describes the down-stroking style typically used by banjo players in the minstrel show and the up-picking technique which was found in West-African lute traditions. Since Gottschalk’s The Banjo emulates these strumming styles, it shows that perhaps his influences may have stemmed beyond the minstrel show to include African American musicians he may have met in New Orleans.
Foster’s minstrel tune, “Camptown Races.” All of The Banjo’s vernacular elements are skillfully woven and executed with virtuosic passagework.

Gottschalk was appreciated in Europe because his music exuded exotic influences, and Europeans considered him to be the true voice of the New World. Yet those very influences were not always considered appropriate in art music by American cultivated musical standards. A bold opponent of Gottschalk’s approach was John Sullivan Dwight who wrote,

Could a more trivial and insulting string of musical rigmarole have been offered to an audience of earnest music-lovers than American Reminiscences to begin with! These consisted of a thin and feeble preluding…followed at last by fragmentary and odd allusions to Old Folks Home.96

Dwight’s chief issue was that Gottschalk did not play the German masters enough in recital. A Dwight’s Journal of Music review after Gottschalk’s first Boston recital opined that a virtuoso marketing himself as a successor to Chopin, Liszt, and Thalberg should have performed works more representative of that legacy than a program of his own pieces.97 It was Gottschalk’s repertoire that offended his detractor, not his piano-playing abilities. In fact, Dwight was sincere in his championing of Gottschalk’s pianistic touch. Gottschalk rarely performed the European masters in public because he thought it was his duty to play his own compositions. When asked why he did not play the classics, Gottschalk 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 as well as I can.”

Additionally, according to William Mason, Gottschalk “did not care for the German school…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 naiveté. It will eventually vitiate your musical taste…”

Gottschalk was formally trained, but he was often criticized for the simplicity of his formal structures and his lack of contrapuntal activity. He preferred simple, repetitive forms as “the complexities of logic involved in more intricate forms were foreign to Gottschalk’s compositional temperament.” Ultimately, he was a virtuoso performer first, and a composer second, a circumstance that may lead to important insights into his audience-centered compositional style. Gottschalk’s concertizing schedule was very busy, and his activity increased exponentially after the death of his father in 1853. Gottschalk became the sole source of financial support for his mother and younger siblings, who were residing in Paris. After his mother’s death, Gottschalk continued to send money to his sisters until they reached adulthood. His overwhelming schedule may have left little time for composing complicated works. Additionally, he composed quickly to keep up with his audiences’ demands. As a public entertainer whose success was dependent upon the marketplace, he admitted that he had to favor the light salon music of the day to please his audiences.

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102 Ibid.
Gottschalk was considered the first American musical “matinee idol” and he successfully crossed the musical divide by composing highly enjoyable works that combined vernacular and cultivated traits. He was chastised by Dwight, but many audiences and critics adored his music and appreciated his incorporation of the vernacular executed in a Chopinesque style. It is plausible to consider that critics, aside from Dwight, weighed Gottschalk’s compositions on a different musical scale than cultivated composers of Germanic-style genres. His “matinee idol” reputation may have resulted in his musical output being examined under a forgiving lens. Gottschalk’s contributions were worthwhile, but “the trend in concertizing in the late 1850s and 1860s was shifting away from the display pieces popularized by Gottschalk and toward European music….The growing interest in loftier music eventually lessened the demand for the lighter repertory associated with Gottschalk.”

He was the epitome of Emerson’s literary movement in the musical world. Sadly, when Gottschalk died he did not have followers to keep his musical momentum alive. His music was overshadowed by newer developments, and subsequent commentators devoted little time to his accomplishments.

GERMAN IMMIGRANTS MAKE THEIR MARK

By mid-century, the cultivated musical tradition in the United States was being influenced by European musicians, and German immigrants in particular played a

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103 Ibid, 40-41.
significant role in shaping the direction of America’s music. Many Germans who immigrated to the United States during the nineteenth-century did so as a result of the Revolutions of 1848. As opposed to the Irish, who escaped the potato famine poor and uneducated, the Germans were generally wealthier and brought with them to America their music, musicians, and Western European practices. Many had the financial freedom to flee the port towns and begin a westward migration, while others chose to settle into an urban way of life. Boston was notably hospitable to these new arrivals, who became influential in the cultivated arts as professional musicians, members of newly formed musical organizations, and as prominent conductors. Gottschalk, the leading American-born piano virtuoso-composer at the time, commented upon the overwhelming German presence in the United States, “It is remarkable that almost all the Russians in America are counts, just as almost all of the musicians who abound in the United States are nephews of Spohr and Mendelssohn.”

Upon hearing a volunteer military band, Gottschalk noted in his journal, “It is necessary to say that it is composed of Germans (all of the musicians in the United States are Germans)?” Gottschalk’s observation, although hyperbole, did have some truth.

Symphonic societies date back to the eighteenth-century in America. Since such organizations were not government funded, societies were cooperatives instead. They were initially composed of amateurs and professional musicians, but near the dawn of the nineteenth-century, symphonic societies became more professionalized. The Philharmonic Society of New York, founded in 1842, began as a cooperative symphonic society. German

106 Ibid.
art music figured large in America’s consciousness, and the Germania Musical Society offers insight into what a symphonic society could accomplish. The Germania Musical Society was founded in 1848 by twenty-one professional instrumentalists\textsuperscript{107} from Berlin who travelled around the United States and Canada showcasing the cultivated musical tradition. Their mission was to “further in the hearts of this politically free people the love of the fine art of music through performance of masterpieces of the greatest German composers.”\textsuperscript{108} The Germanians had come to America to work as musicians in a republic, rather than as a private orchestra or under the kind of aristocratic patronage that was available in Europe. The group flourished in America through concertizing activities and open rehearsals.\textsuperscript{109} In all, they performed over nine hundred concerts for nearly one million people. The Germanians spent six years touring in the United States, which was the lengthiest of any such campaigns in America before Theodore Thomas’s Orchestra emulated their efforts in the 1870s.\textsuperscript{110} Their performances included new pieces composed by the members along with recognized symphonic works. An examination of their concert programs shows that the musicians performed an eclectic mix of music.\textsuperscript{111} It was not unusual at the time to mix light musical fare with more substantial works,\textsuperscript{112} but that trend was changing mid-century as music critics and conductors began to voice their intolerance


\textsuperscript{109} In \textit{Good Music for a Free People} Newman provides a chronological list in Appendix A of the Germanians concert tours, which shows their rigorous schedule in Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston as well as other cities in New England, the South, and Midwest.

\textsuperscript{110} Newman, \textit{Good Music for a Free People}, 24.


\textsuperscript{112} In fact, Louis Antoine Jullien’s Orchestra succeeded with mixed repertory in 1853-1854.
for the desecration implied in having established symphonic repertoire performed alongside lighter music. Soon after the Germanian Musical Society premiered in October 1848, a *New York Tribune* critic in the October 16 issue stated his displeasure with the amount of light repertoire they had included. The writer touted that their superb level of musicianship could easily handle the classical masters, therefore they should limit the amount of light music. In doing so the Germanians would separate themselves from other active ensembles. John Sullivan Dwight echoed the *Tribune* in his own articles for *The Harbinger* and then later in *DJM*, where he published concert programs in advance and provided commentary about the performances. During their first two years in the United States, Germania’s concert programs were divided into three parts and featured a mix of repertoire. New to this country and eager to find an audience, they followed a pragmatic programming strategy. As they established themselves, their concerts featured more symphonic works and a more substantial two-part program, which featured local premieres of Beethoven symphonies as well as newly composed works by European composers and members of the Germanian Society. Depending upon the audience, concert programs could be modified to include some dances and lighter music. The final season’s repertoire continued to feature the classical masters; and owing to audience demand in the Boston area, more concerts were added to their subscription series. The cost of the extra concerts caused ticket prices to rise, a development that met with public resistance. In an effort to retain the subscribers they gained, the Germanians alternated concerts of light music with concerts featuring more serious works. By 1854, an overly demanding touring schedule and a desire of some members to establish more permanent roots led to the Germanian Society’s being disbanded. The organization’s legacy of musicianship, style, and precision
made an impact on America’s burgeoning symphonic endeavors as other groups looked to them as an influential model.

THE SECOND NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL

As discussed in chapter 1, a sacralization of the arts emerged as cultural arbiters began to view the musical arts as divine and the composer as creator. The musical score was meant to be followed and executed exactly as written. In the 1848 annual report of the Philharmonic Society of New York, the directors wrote, “It must be acknowledged that the science of Music as it exists in nature is not of human invention, but of divine appointment.”\(^\text{113}\) The sacralization of music is about placing it on a higher plane so its purpose is heightened. High art became a moral standard, not merely a means of aesthetic pleasure. Cultivated music was intended to move the soul, to edify, and stimulate intellect. Lines between high art and low art began to be drawn by critics who supported cultivated music during the mid-nineteenth-century. As audiences were subjected to this developing cultural hierarchy, musicians were also being stratified. Evidence of a musical divide began to present itself as the gap between amateur and professional musicians widened. According to John Sullivan Dwight and other like-minded music critics, only educated audiences and the culturally elite could understand high art.

As the divide between vernacular and cultivated music widened, Boston became an important cultural center in shaping ideas related to the moral and intellectual benefits of musical exposure. Michael Broyles explains that “music could be used for moral

enhancement as well as serious enjoyment. The establishment of that premise, which ultimately became the basis of high musical culture in nineteenth-century America, was Boston’s principal contribution to America’s music.”

Boston was already an established leader in education and social reform; and artistically, as noted in chapter 1, two important conductors, Jullien and Thomas, were devoting concert time to American composers. The most influential group of composers to come out of Boston were known collectively as The Second New England School. The group had emerged in the 1860s with John Knowles Paine at the forefront. Each member of the School lived in or around the Boston area and shared the same Europe-oriented compositional philosophy. In addition to Paine, other members included Horatio Parker, George W. Chadwick, Arthur Foote, Edward MacDowell (who was on the periphery of the group), and honorary member Amy Beach. Musical education had its roots in the Boston area and opinions had not changed over the years regarding music’s worth. Also, there were many patrons of the arts in the nineteenth-century who supported the emergence of a cultivated tradition. Many German musicians resided in Boston, and the musicians of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, including the conductor, were German-born. It was only natural that the New England composers would come to admire, and emulate, the Austro-German masters. Accordingly, it was unthinkable for an art music composer not to consider European training. Amy Fay’s *Music Study in Germany* recounts her experiences as a piano student of Liszt, Tausig, and Kullak. Her book concludes by extolling, “That marvelous and only real home of music—Germany.”

Nineteenth-century writers on music generally agreed that composers needed to study in a

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115 Amy Fay, *Music Study in Germany* (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg and Co., 1881), 348 quoted in Clarke, 75.
European conservatory for at least a year. Indeed, each member of the Second New England School did study in Germany; and with the exception of Beach and Foote, all became professors of music when they returned to the United States.

In contrast to the Second School, the First New England School did not rely upon European models. Responding to a need that could not be fulfilled by European sheet music importation, composers of the First School endeavored to compose a practical repertoire of sacred and vernacular music. It is important to note from this perspective that the First School composed according to their own tastes, which meant that they broke more than a few European musical rules. As a result, the works of the First School have been described as naïve and inexperienced. Nevertheless, their music is considered the first example of a distinctive American sound, with open fourths and fifths, and the use of parallel motion. By the nineteenth-century, however, New England composers were looking to elevate music and create a legacy of serious art music in this country. Horatio Parker remarked, “We are entrusted with the task of forming the taste of the next generation whether we will or no, it is our duty to do so.”¹¹⁶ The members of the Second New England School felt it their duty to create an educated, intellectually informed musical community that was on par with musical activity in Europe. To achieve that standard and establish a new musical practice in America, study of the musical past was necessary as “the art of the past could provide useful sources for the development of a national American art.”¹¹⁷ The Second School established a foundation for the next generation of American composers as many

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American composers whose careers extended past World War I studied with a member of the Second School.

John Knowles Paine (1839-1906) was the pioneer of the Second New England School. He initiated serious study of the classical masters, including Haydn and Mozart, but much of his interest lay in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach. Influential German musicians abounded in Boston, and they felt their music superior to American art music. Paine realized that in order to be taken seriously, American composers needed German approval. What better way to achieve that stature than to emulate the music the Germans highly regarded? The earlier generation of American composers, namely Bristow and Fry, looked at German domination as a threat, but Paine looked at the Germans as allies.

Paine studied at the Akademie der Tonkunst (Academy of Music) in Berlin, which was modeled after Mendelssohn’s conservatory in Leipzig. After his study abroad, he settled in Boston. Paine offered non-credit lectures at Harvard 1862, and then was appointed the university’s first music professorship in 1875. Paine established the music curriculum, which focused on understanding the mechanics of music (theory, history and composition) as opposed to performance. Harvard’s music curriculum became a beacon as Paine and his students set the foundation for generations of American composers. In 1872 he spoke of the “adherence to the historical forms, as developed by Bach, Handel, Mozart, and Beethoven as a healthy reaction to the extremely involved and complicated techniques of music like Wagner, Liszt, and their adherents.” 118 His more mature works, however, would lean toward Liszt and Wagner. Paine admitted that his opera Azara (1900) had

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“followed throughout the connected orchestral rhythmical flow, and truth of dramatic expression characteristic of Wagner.” Paine and a number of his contemporaries found employment in academia, which enabled them to perpetuate the German musical style and mentor young composers to do the same. Academia can also be restrictive since music is studied in a classroom where the teaching models were the composers of the canon. As a music educator, Paine taught the musical canon and wrote in a correspondingly conservative style.

Paine’s Second Symphony, “Im Frühling” (Spring) composed in 1879, established him as a promising American composer. After a performance in 1880, the otherwise staunch John Sullivan Dwight enthusiastically stood on his seat and opened and closed his umbrella to show his approval. Dwight was ecstatic that a Germanic symphony was written by an American composer. He wrote:

We cannot but regard this “Spring” Symphony as a remarkable, a noble work, by far the happiest and ripest product, thus far, of Prof. Paine’s great learning and inventive faculty, and marking the highest point yet reached in these early stages of American creative art in music. It is worthy to hold a place among the works of masters, and will reward many hearings wherever the symphonic art can find appreciative audience.

Dwight happily found similarities between Paine’s Symphony and Joachim Raff’s “Spring” Symphony no. 8 (1876). Both symphonies are in four movements, Paine follows Raff’s tempo markings, and the movements correspond in the mood they evoke. Both scores have similarly dense orchestration, the string family dominating with accents of brass and only a little emphasis on the woodwinds. Paine’s symphonic achievement made

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a deep impression. Composer Rupert Hughes commented, “The most classic of our composers is their venerable dean, John Knowles Paine. It is an interesting proof of the youth of our native school of music, that the principal symphony, “Spring,” of our first composer of importance, was written only twenty one years ago. Before Mr. Paine there had never been an American music writer worthy of serious consideration in the larger forms.”

The younger members of the Second School would turn their attention to Beethoven, and later Wagner.

A generation gap existed between Paine and the composers of the Second School, and this can be felt in their personal approach to utilizing German art music models. Paine admired the control and balance of the European classical masters as did Horatio Parker (1863-1919), who remained conservative. George W. Chadwick, Edward MacDowell, and Amy Beach maintained genres popularized by the German masters, including symphonies, string quartets and other categories of chamber music, yet infused their music with current nineteenth-century traits such as long, lyrical melodic lines, advanced harmonies, and timbral variety. George W. Chadwick (1854-1931), America’s “Yankee Composer,” typically followed European structures and genres, but he gave his music an American sensibility through folk-like melodies and his treatment of voice leading (see chapter five).

Like Paine, Chadwick studied in Germany, and upon his return he eventually settled in Boston. He was the director of the New England Conservatory from 1897 to 1930, and he transformed that institution from a fancy finishing school for singers and pianists into a

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European-style conservatory. Chadwick’s respect for the German masters is evident in his formal constructions, but his musical voice is uniquely American.

Like his peers, Edward MacDowell (1860-1908) admired the accomplishments and instrumental models as established by Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann. MacDowell also had a keen interest in the “New German School” of Wagner and Liszt. MacDowell studied with Joachim Raff, so it is not surprising that he became acquainted with his music and the music of Liszt and Wagner. MacDowell admired Tchaikovsky and Grieg, but he did not care for the French and was indifferent to Brahms. For MacDowell, earlier composers spoke through their melodies, but owing to Wagner’s precedents, composers could now speak through harmonic gradations and tone color. MacDowell knew the importance of melody, but he also understood the significance of its harmonic support. In a conversation, tone of voice can nuance a phrase and give it different meanings, just as harmony can change the shade of a melodic phrase. MacDowell’s treatment is Wagnerian in its “chromatic harmony, full of enharmonic modulations, appoggiatura dissonances, and inversions of triads, seventh chords, and ninth chords; its texture tends to be thick and fat, and although ranging freely over the entire keyboard, seems to emphasize the lower registers; and its ebb and flow of rhythmic activity and dynamic contour, both in a state of constant flux.”

Late nineteenth-century critics heard much influence of Wagner in MacDowell and praised him for his natural talent and originality. “[O]ne can hear so much Wagner in the MacDowell suite (Suite für grosses Orchester, op. 42) without being able to

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122 Broyles, “Immigrant, folk and regional musics in the nineteenth century,” 139.
123 Hitchcock, 162.
blame him for plagiarism because of it…” 124 Audiences found him to be progressive, not restrained by classicism. His rich harmonies were championed and his melodic sense was appreciated. 125

MacDowell embraced the German Romantics’ exploration of programmaticism and the language of music. His music covered the gamut of Romantic inspiration, including the love of nature (Woodland Sketches, Sea Pieces, New England Idylls), exoticism (“Indian” Suite, Les Orientales), epic poems (Lancelot and Elaine), reminiscences of childhood (“Of Br’er Rabbit” from Fireside Tales, “Uncle Remus’s Cabin” from Woodland Sketches), 126 and literature (Hamlet). Compared to Paine’s conservative approach to American cultivated music, MacDowell’s style represented an updated rendering of German musical imitation.

Near the end of the nineteenth-century, questions regarding the use of vernacular traits in art music were becoming more pronounced, especially during the three-year tenure of Antonín Dvořák in New York from 1892 to 1895 (see chapter 3). As stated in chapter 1, Dwight and other arbiters of culture rejected the use of the vernacular and worked to create a distinction between cultivated and vernacular music. According to Dvořák, American composers should look to indigenous American music, namely that of African Americans and American Indians, for inspiration in their art music. The composers of the Second School took very little interest in Dvořák’s suggestion. Instead, the vernacular elements one finds in the music of the Second School are derived from Anglo-Celtic-

124 Dr. H. P. [Hans Paumgartner], “Aufführung von Werken amerikanischer Componisten,” Wiener Zeitung 154 (July 7, 1892): 2-3, quoted in Bomberger, 111.
126 Hitchcock, 161.
Scottish roots. They very rarely drew upon American Indian music because they did not have direct contact or knowledge of the culture. They had even less interest in African American music for much the same reason. MacDowell understood that his students would find interest in America’s vernacular music, but such musical traits were foreign to him. He explained to his students that the music they whistled for fun was probably ragtime; but because he had spent so much time in Europe, the syncopations of ragtime did not come as naturally to him as they did to his students. Instead, MacDowell would draw upon the vernacular music with which he was most well-acquainted, as would Chadwick. MacDowell’s lineage can be traced back to the North of Ireland and Scotland, while Chadwick’s roots can be traced to the Puritans. Celtic music was acceptable to draw upon for inspiration because the members of the Second School had deep roots in Anglo-Celtic-Scottish tradition. The more Dvořák promoted African American and American Indian music, the more New Englanders were inclined to employ Anglo-Celtic-Scottish influences instead. A more in-depth study of the use of vernacular traits in selected works by Chadwick and MacDowell will be explored in chapter five.

The effects of World War I would have consequences for American musical study abroad. The next generation of American composers began studying in France instead of Germany, and to them the Second New England School seemed old fashioned. While America was becoming more industrious and materialistic, MacDowell stood out as the epitome of German Romanticism in American art music, looking back to a bygone era of pastoral images and ideals.

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127 Tawa, The Coming of Age of American Art Music, 133.
Chapter 3

Dvořák’s Impact on American Musical Thought

Between 1860 and 1918, institutional foundations dedicated to the cultivation of art music emerged in the United States. Music conservatories, some of which are still preeminent today, were founded: in 1857 the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore, in 1865 Oberlin Conservatory, in 1867 the New England Conservatory in Boston as well as the Cincinnati Conservatory and the Chicago Conservatory of Music; in 1878, the New York College of Music, the National Conservatory in 1885, the Institute of Musical Arts (later Juilliard) in 1908, and the Mannes School of Music in 1916. Most of this country’s leading pedagogues at the conservatories just mentioned were German-trained. For example, Second New England School composer George W. Chadwick taught at the New England Conservatory where Horatio Parker and later William Grant Still were his students; Parker, another member of the Second New England School would later establish the music department and teach at Yale. His most famous student was Charles Ives. Edward MacDowell headed the music department at Columbia University briefly, and among his students was Henry F. Gilbert, who would become a leading nationalist composer.

The establishment of music programs at the collegiate level enabled composer-teachers to direct the minds of their students towards a musical style they believed was

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129 Refer to chapter 1 for a discussion regarding the prominence of German musicians in the United States in the mid-nineteenth-century and their impact on America’s musical path. American composers’ interest in instrumental music stemmed from the importation of works by German speaking composers (i.e., Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms, etc.) who dominated European orchestral music. Americans found less influence in the music of French and Italian composers who, at that time, focused upon cultivating grand opera. French orchestral music did not have an effect on American composers until the late-nineteenth-century (see chapter 5. esp. the music of George W. Chadwick).
most appropriate and that could measure up to their European counterparts. Based upon
the names of their most famous students, one can see that the younger generation was not
as committed to maintaining this tradition. Even so, as professional composers whose
works were performed publically at home and abroad, Paine, Parker, Chadwick, and
MacDowell raised the level and reputation of American composers as serious contributors
to art music. Additionally, these composers were the start of a long line of composer-
teachers that extends to the present day.

Despite the efforts of German-minded pedagogues in some of the establishments
noted above, the younger generation voiced a desire to differentiate themselves from the
German masters they were taught to emulate. By the 1880s, young composers wanted to
go beyond German models for inspiration, and so they began to seriously consider looking
to indigenous sources in an attempt to create a distinctive American style. An important
institution at the forefront of this new mission was Jeanette Thurber’s National
Conservatory of Music of America in New York City, founded in 1885. The same year,
Thurber founded the American Opera Company; however, the Opera Company was short-
lived owing in large part to its restrictive mission: only if opera in English was validated
and disseminated could an American operatic repertoire of significance develop.\footnote{130}
Linked to the Opera Company’s project was its companion, the National Conservatory of Music
of America. Its mission, which endured longer, was founded upon this premise: “only if
gifted young Americans studied in the United States could an American school of
composition be properly nurtured.”\footnote{131} Thurber’s curriculum was considered progressive,
as she required solfège and music history courses to supplement courses in performance and composition. She also offered scholarships to students in financial distress, including students of color.\textsuperscript{132} Interestingly, Thurber was educated abroad and some of her most renowned faculty members were European, including Anton Seidl, Rafael Joseffy, and Victor Herbert. One of her leading American faculty members was Horatio Parker, but his tenure was brief. Parker left the Conservatory shortly after the arrival of Thurber’s crown jewel, Antonín Dvořák, who led the National Conservatory from 1892 to 1895. In keeping with Thurber’s mission, Dvořák’s intention was to help shape America’s music, but it was his specific concept for the direction of America’s music that sparked controversy.

\textbf{DVOŘÁK’S VANTAGE POINT AS A NEW WORLD VISITOR}

Dvořák’s reputation as a patriotic Czech composer was well known throughout Europe and the United States. It seemed natural to him that artists would be stimulated by their surroundings and seek indigenous sources for inspiration. To his surprise, the leading American composers were leaning in the opposite direction. Instead of turning to musical traditions cultivated in the United States, art music composers were far more willing to look to Europe. In a letter to the editor of the \textit{New York Herald}, Dvořák wrote: “The new American school of music must strike its roots deeply into its own soil. There is no longer any reason why young Americans who have talent should go to Europe for their education. It is a waste of money and puts off the coming day when the Western world will be in music, as in many others, independent of other lands.”\textsuperscript{133} Upon his arrival in New York,

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid.
Dvořák immersed himself in all kinds of American music, from organ grinders to churches, from folk music and popular music to art music.\textsuperscript{134} He was particularly interested in the native music the country had to offer, specifically that of African Americans. In his first published interview with the \textit{New York Herald}, May 21, 1893, titled “The Real Value of Negro Melodies,” Dvořák states:

\begin{quote}
I am now satisfied that the future music of this country must be founded upon what are called the Negro melodies. This must be the real foundation of any serious and original school of composition to be developed in the United States. When I first came here last year I was impressed with this idea and it has developed into a settled conviction. These beautiful and varied themes are the product of the soil. They are American. I would like to trace out the traditional authorship of the Negro melodies, for it would throw a great deal of light upon the question I am most deeply interested in at present.

These are the folk songs of America and your composers must turn to them. All of the great musicians have borrowed from the songs of the common people. Beethoven’s most charming scherzo is based upon what might now be considered a skillfully handled Negro melody.\textsuperscript{135} I myself have gone to the simple, half-forgotten tunes of the Bohemian peasants for hints in my most serious works. Only in this way can a musician express the true sentiment of his people. He gets in touch with the common humanity of his country.\textsuperscript{136}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{134} Dvořák’s residence at 327 East 17\textsuperscript{th} Street was located very close to a transit line. Several church were nearby, including the Church of the Epiphany Roman Catholic church, St. John the Baptist which served German Catholics, Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church, AME Zion Churches in Harlem and Upper Manhattan, and St. George’s Episcopal Church in Stuyvesant Square (a less than four minute walk from his home), where Harry T. Burleigh sang in the choir for fifty years. Dvořák lived on the East Side of Manhattan which had a large German and Irish population. [\texttt{https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3804n.ct001463r}] The popular sheet music industry was located in Union Square, then moved to West 28\textsuperscript{th} Street, the home of Tin Pan Alley. The Rialto theatrical strip encompassed Union Square to Madison Square, and the classical sheet music industry led by G. Schirmer, Inc. has been based in New York City since 1861. See also John C. Tibbetts, “Dvořák’s New York: An American Street Scene,” in \textit{Dvořák in America 1892-1895}, ed. John C. Tibbetts (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1993), 33-52.

\textsuperscript{135} There is no indication of which Beethoven scherzo Dvořák was referring. One may suppose that Dvořák described a Beethoven movement as a “skillfully handled Negro melody” to bolster the value of African American music to an audience not yet willing to accept the idea. Bringing Beethoven into the conversation serves to support Dvořák’s notion that “Negro melodies” are musically sufficient and important.

In speaking of “Negro melodies,” Dvořák implies a connection to “the true sentiment of [the] people.” Dvořák does not comment upon the complicated sociological issues in the United States regarding the African American population. It may be that he was overlooking issues of race and class in an effort to focus on the integrity of the music rather than the circumstances under which it was created or how it was perceived by whites.

It is also possible that as a visitor to this country, Dvořák may not have been cognizant of America’s long history of racial injustice and discrimination. Slavery had ended years prior to Dvořák’s arrival, but centuries of African American oppression could not be erased by the Union’s Civil War victory. Black Codes had been instituted in the South since 1800; and after Reconstruction (1865 to 1876), “Jim Crow” laws went into effect and were not abolished until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. “Jim Crow” laws persisted largely in the South, but surely Dvořák was aware of racial inequality even if he did not mention it in his interviews and articles. Marcy S. Sacks’ *Before Harlem: The Black Experience in New York City before World War I* discusses the black population to New York City from the 1880s to 1910, whose migration from lower Manhattan to Harlem was at least in part a consequence of racism, poor economic standing, and the influx of Irish and German immigrants. Overlooking such social and economic issues makes Dvořák’s equation between “going to the simple, half-forgotten tunes of Bohemian peasants” and African American melodies an overly simplified declaration.

American composers’ neglect of traditional music as a source for inspiration baffled Dvořák. During one of his nine visits to England, an English composer had remarked to Dvořák that the British did not have a distinctive school of music. Dvořák responded that “the composers of England had turned their backs upon the fine melodies of Ireland and
Scotland instead of making them the essence of an English school. It is a great pity that English musicians have not profited out of this rich store.\textsuperscript{137} With his attention focused on America’s neglect of traditional music, he pointed to England as an example. Regarding the United States, Dvořák stated, “I hope it will not be so in this country, and I intend to do all in my power to call attention to the splendid treasure of melody which you have.”\textsuperscript{138}

**DVOŘÁK’S GROWING INTEREST IN AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSIC**

Dvořák’s contact with traditional black music stemmed directly from his students at the National Conservatory. Maurice Arnold (Strothotte) and Harry T. Burleigh were of significance. Of Arnold, Dvořák said, “His compositions are based upon Negro melodies, and I have encouraged him in this direction. The other members of the composition class seem to think it is not in good taste to get ideas from the old plantation songs, but they are wrong, and I have tried to impress upon their minds the fact that the greatest composers have not considered it beneath their dignity to go to the humble folk song motifs.”\textsuperscript{139} Dvořák publically performed Arnold’s “American Plantation Dances” in a four-handed arrangement with the composer; and on January 23, 1894, it appeared on the program of the *New York Herald’s* Free Clothing Fund concert in its orchestral version under the direction of Dvořák at the podium. The performance was dominated by European compositions (Mendelssohn, Liszt, Rossini). Arnold’s suite was the only student piece and the sole work by an American composer. Dvořák was enthusiastic and exclaimed that Arnold’s suite “contained material that he has treated in a style that accords with my

\textsuperscript{137} Dvořák, “The Real Value of Negro Melodies,” 356.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid.
Dvořák’s idea was to capture the African American spirit, which meant one needed to absorb the style and impression of a particular music without making use of direct quotations, just as Dvořák was actively doing. Nineteenth-century critics heard Arnold’s African American influence through complicated syncopations, banjo and fiddle emulations, and a final movement reminiscent of a lively cakewalk. Maurice Peress, however, describes the work as rather tame and overly European in style, especially when compared to the ragtime-influenced music of another Dvořák student, William Marion Cook. Cook would make a historically significant career for himself on Broadway at the turn of the century by promoting and composing for important African American entertainers, including George Walker and Bert Williams. Cook’s education at the National Conservatory was short-lived, as he felt overshadowed by the attention Dvořák gave to Arnold and Burleigh.

Ultimately, the Clothing Fund concert was a charity event, but it also served another important purpose: to showcase the talents of the National Conservatory’s African American student body. Although the program contained works by Europeans, the performers were African American, save one white woman. The finale of the concert was Dvořák’s arrangement for choir and orchestra of Stephen Foster’s “Old Folks at Home” featuring soloists Sissieretta Jones (the ‘Black Patti’) and Harry. T. Burleigh.

Whereas Arnold was able to evoke the spirit of African Americans in Dvořák’s opinion, Burleigh introduced Dvořák to African American music. At Dvořák’s request, Burleigh would visit his office and sing authentic spirituals to him, which he learned from

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his grandfather. Dvořák encouraged Burleigh to preserve this music in notated form. Burleigh was first and foremost a singer who was formally trained in a European style. It is difficult to know if Burleigh sang the spirituals for Dvořák in a traditional manner or if he imposed a European operatic style. In a 1940 recording not commercially available, Burleigh sang traditional spirituals. In an excerpt made available to Thomas L. Riis, Burleigh demonstrated his European training. Riis argues that the recording is “reasonably representative of Burleigh’s singing for Dvořák,” especially since Burleigh became a soloist in the choir at the largely Caucasian St. George’s Episcopal Church a year after he entered the Conservatory in 1894. Given the popularity of Jubilee singing groups and the commercialization of concert spirituals in the early to mid-twentieth century, Burleigh’s 1940 recording may be understood as an example of the professionalization of this genre. Regardless of Burleigh’s performance style, Dvořák was able to hear the rhythmic and scale peculiarities in African American music, which in turn influenced Dvořák’s New World Symphony. Burleigh is one of America’s most respected composers of art songs, but this aspect of his contribution is outweighed by his transcriptions and harmonizations of African American spirituals for choir.

In addition to the knowledge Dvořák gained from his African American students, it is possible that he had access to transcriptions of traditional black music. Slave Songs of the United States (1867) is an early source of collected tunes, but Dena Epstein’s research claims that the collection was not widely known.143 Also, in 1886, two important articles on black music by George W. Cable, which appeared in the widely circulated Century

Magazine, may have passed Dvořák’s desk. A lot of press had been circulated about Dvořák’s notions, and this led numerous Americans to send Dvořák their personal transcriptions of African American folk songs along with their words of encouragement and appreciation.

## DVOŘÁK’S SOJOURN IN SPILLVILLE, IOWA

During Dvořák’s first summer in America, he and his family left New York for the small town of Spillville, Iowa, a sojourn suggested to Dvořák by his assistant, a fellow Bohemian, Josef Kovarik. Spillville had a large Czech population, which seemed a perfect antidote for the homesick Dvořák. During his stay, he had direct contact with an American Indian tribe, the Kickapoo, who performed songs and dances. Simply listening and observing their performances enabled Dvořák to speculate on American Indian musical characteristics. Additionally, Dvořák noted that he had been shown transcriptions of American Indian music, but he did not reveal the source. There is a possibility that Dvořák had seen Theodore Baker’s 1882 dissertation, Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden (On the Music of the North American Indians), but if he had, his assumption that “the music of the Negroes and of the Indians were practically identical” would surely not have been uttered (see chapter 4 for a discussion of African American and American Indian music). Aside from superficial generalizations regarding levels of syncopation, use of pitch repetition, and similar scale patterns, it is unreasonable to declare that African American and American Indian music are identical—not to mention dissimilarities in musical practices among various American Indian tribes. Alice Fletcher published her

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groundbreaking *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* through the Peabody Museum at Harvard in June 1893. If Dvořák was influenced by Fletcher’s *Study* in print or through an article published by Fletcher containing songs harmonized by John C. Fillmore in *Century Magazine* in January 1894, the effect of the American Indian influence on him may be felt more concretely in his later American works. Lastly, Dvořák’s interest in American Indian music could have been piqued by his attendance at Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show with Mrs. Thurber when the Wild West Show visited New York.

Dvořák’s concern with American Indian music was not as extensive as his interest in African American music, despite his admiration for both. After his summer in Spillville, Dvořák offered his thoughts regarding the importance of American Indian music. In an interview about his “New World” Symphony in the *New York Herald* on December 15, 1893, he modified his previous notions regarding the suggested source for America’s music to include the music of American Indians. He stated, “Since I have been in this country I have been deeply interested in the national music of the Negros and the Indians. The character, the very nature of a race is contained in its national music. For that reason my attention was at once turned in the direction of these native melodies.”

**CONTROVERSIAL STATEMENTS ABOUT VERNACULAR MUSIC’S PLACE**

Dvořák felt sympathetically toward music of the “other,” as he, too, may have felt marginalized as a result of his modest upbringing. When nicknamed “the peasant in the frock coat” by Hans von Bülow, he responded by openly acknowledging that “if in my own career I have achieved a measure of success and reward it is to some extent due to the

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fact that I was the son of poor parents and was reared in an atmosphere of struggle and endeavor.” He realized that the circumstances of his upbringing enabled him to become a self-made man. As a youth, Dvořák’s musical activities were regarded as a hobby by his father; he was expected to join the family business as a butcher. At age twelve, Dvořák trained with his father and one year later apprenticed for a butcher in Zlonice where his uncle resided and encouraged his musical interests. With financial backing by his uncle, Dvořák enrolled in the Prague Organ School; however, as money became scarce, Dvořák supported himself by taking on pupils, and later as a professional musician and composer. When he was slated to win the Austrian State Prize for composition the fourth time, Brahms entered his life. Brahms was on the commission and realized that if Dvořák was to make any gains in the musical world, it was necessary for him to publish outside of the small publishing houses in Prague. Brahms recommended that his publisher, Simrock in Berlin, take Dvořák’s *Moravian Duets* and perhaps other works. Dvořák’s success with Simrock led to opportunities elsewhere, including an invitation to conduct his works in England with the Philharmonic Society of London in 1884, and later his venture to the United States. Dvořák’s music was becoming more influenced by Bohemian folk music and this seems to have made his acceptance abroad easier. In addition to the generosity of his uncle and Brahms, Dvořák also credited his success to European governments’ support of the arts, which provided funding for students. Fostering the talent of young musicians was of national interest. In fact, for several years Dvořák received a stipend from the Austrian

148 Ibid.
government. He was saddened that this practice was uncommon in America, but Thurber’s Conservatory supported the philosophy that students from any race or background would be offered the opportunity to pursue their studies in music with the help of scholarships. Much of Dvořák’s early success can be attributed to people who believed in his talent and offered him the opportunity to strive for success. In this way, Dvořák felt connected to underprivileged students who simply needed a chance to prove themselves. The National Conservatory provided that platform. It was also the best place for Dvořák to espouse his opinions regarding the direction of American art music. Because he had been able to find success as a nationalist composer by staying true to his heritage, the same might work for other composers in the United States.

Prominent composers and critics, however, were not shy about voicing their rejection of Dvořák’s platform. It was not the larger issue to which they objected—that American music should look to traditional music for inspiration—but instead, it was the specific categories of music, namely African American and American Indian music, that caused debate. Edward MacDowell retorted, “We have here in America been offered a pattern for an ‘American’ national musical costume by the Bohemian Dvořák—though what Negro melodies have to do with Americanism in art still remains a mystery.” George W. Chadwick’s reaction, “I should be sorry to see [them] become the basis of an American school of musical composition,” is biting. Comments from John Knowles Paine and Amy Beach appeared as well, although Beach offered an explanation of her

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rejection of Dvořák’s proclamation rather than an angry dismissal. Her perspective is clear: “[N]egro melodies of which Dvořák speaks are not fully typical of our country. The Africans are no more native than the Italians, Swedes, or Russians.”152 Beach intended to imply that the traditional music Dvořák supported was not the only traditional music a composer could or should draw upon. Beach’s “Gaelic” Symphony offers a response to Dvořák on her own terms. Since she was not exposed to the music that Dvořák championed, she composed a symphony that drew upon the traditional music of her heritage: English and Irish. MacDowell would do similar work in his Piano Sonata no. 4: “Keltic.” New Englanders, including MacDowell, Beach, and Chadwick, were opposed to the idea of ethnicities that they considered marginal as the basis of a school of music. Their contact with African Americans and American Indians were limited at best. Their heritage had Anglo-Celtic roots, so instead they looked to the folk music with which they had the most contact.153

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, a division between popular music and art music was not as pronounced as it would later become (see chapter 2). By the time Dvořák arrived in the United States, the line between the two categories had been drawn. The elites associated with cultivated music, while everyone else belonged to the realm of the vernacular. Matters of racism in the musical world became more evident. Cultivated composers were faced with the tendency toward an increased presence of folk music idioms, namely from American Indian and African American traditions, in the concert hall.

153 MacDowell’s works rarely referenced African American or American Indian musical idioms. His “Indian” Suite is an obvious exception. MacDowell’s altered opinion and his reasons for working with these musical languages is discussed more fully in chapter 5. Beach’s perspective is very helpful as she calls attention to Dvořák’s mixing musical traditions.
To counter the trend and maintain a sense of elitism, art music composers turned instead to Anglo-Celtic-Scottish influences—a more agreeable approach because the music in question was part of their heritage.

Dvořák’s final statement on the subject of an American school of music was more inclusive of all races. There is not a single American race, so perhaps Dvořák realized over the time of his tenure that America is a pluralistic society. Prior to his departure, Dvořák wrote an article published in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in February 1894. He writes:

A while ago I suggested that inspiration for truly national music might be derived from the Negro melodies or Indian chants. I was led to take this view by the fact that the so-called plantation songs are indeed the most striking and appealing melodies that have yet been found on this side of the water, but largely by the observation that this seems to be recognized, though often unconsciously, by most Americans. All races have their distinctively national songs, which they at once recognize as their own, even if they have never heard them before. It is a proper question to ask, what songs then, belong to the American and appeal more strongly to him than any other?...The most potent as well as the most beautiful among them according to my estimation, are certain of the so-called plantation melodies and slave songs...

The point has been urged that many of these touching songs...have not been composed by the negroes themselves, but are the work of the white man...this matters but little. The important thing is that the inspiration from such music should come from the right source, and that the music itself should be a true expression of the people’s real feelings...[I]t matters little whether the inspiration for the coming folk songs of America is derived from the Negro melodies, the songs of the creoles, the red man’s chant, or the plaintive ditties of the homesick German or Norwegian.154 Undoubtedly the germs for the best in music lie hidden among the races that are comingled in this great country. The music of the people is like a rare and lovely flower growing amidst encroaching weeds. Thousands pass it, while others trample it...The fact that no one has as yet risen to make the most of it does not prove that nothing is there.155

154 At this late stage in Dvořák’s American sojourn, his statements had become more encompassing versus specifically pointing to one category of folk music. Perhaps this was his final effort to encourage American composers to seriously consider any type of folk music as opposed to nothing at all.

Dvořák is not suggesting that American composers use the music of American Indians and African Americans exclusively to form the basis of an American style, but rather that they should not overlook the musical material around them as they strive to utilize the music that means the most to their fellow citizens. Dvořák’s greatest example is his *New World* Symphony; all of the music is original, yet it embodies a folk-like quality. Dvořák took the idea of indigenous American music, internalized it, and filtered it through his Western European training. For Arthur Farwell, America’s leading Indianist composer, it was the importance Dvořák placed on folk music that stirred him most profoundly.

Opposing opinions surfaced in the American press as music critics offered their responses to Dvořák as well. Philip Hale was vocal about denying African American influences in Dvořák’s *New World* Symphony. Harry T. Burleigh was quick to highlight a contradiction. Burleigh wondered why “many of those who were able in 1893 to find traces of Negro musical color all through the (New World) Symphony…now cannot find anything in the whole four movements that suggests any local or Negro influence.” Along a similar vein, William J. Henderson retorted that Hale and his cohorts would probably “continue to insist that Dr. Dvořák never made any study of Negro themes, that he never asserted that upon them might be reared a distinctly American type of music, that he made no endeavor to do anything of the kind, that he never told any New York critic that he did, and that all New York critics are habitual evaders of the truth.”

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156 The melody from the second movement of Dvořák’s *New World* became the spiritual “Goin’ Home” in 1922, helps to underscore the folk-like quality of Dvořák’s symphony.


supporter, Henry Krehbiel had this to add: “They (folk songs) are beautiful songs, and Dr. Dvořák has showed that they can furnish symphonic material to the composer who knows how to employ it. To use this material most effectively it is necessary to catch something of the spirit of the people to whom it is, or at least as it seems, idiomatic…Music is seeking new vehicles of expression, and is seeking them where they are most sure to be found—in the field of folk-song. We have such a field and it is rich. Why not cultivate it?”

Critic James Huneker was the antithesis to Krehbiel. Huneker wrote: “The influence of Dvořák’s American music has been evil; ragtime is the popular pabulum now…And ragtime is only rhythmic motion, not music.” Clearly, Dvořák’s ideology was polarizing, but he sparked a conversation about American music that continues to the present day. Indeed, Dvořák’s emphasis on the importance of African American music has proved true in both art music and vernacular music realms. From the traditional spirituals and work songs, the blues emerged. The blues is one important foundation upon which American popular music was and continues to be built.

The history of music in conservatories and universities in the nineteenth-century shows a gradual change in ideology and trends: the seminal figures who established music departments fought an uphill battle. To assert their worth and acceptance by the public, they strove to emulate the most respected music in this country: the German masters. Towards the end of the nineteenth-century, the National Conservatory continued to teach European methods and compositions; but it also fostered the interest of its students in exploring music that has American roots. Dvořák was a seminal figure in the discussion of

the direction of American art music, and in contemplating its place in society he exposed
basic issues of race, class, and cultural difference. Dvořák’s attention to America’s
vernacular music in the late nineteenth century set the stage for the exploration of
Americanism in music, an endeavor that intensified after World War I as composers
including Still, Copland, and Gershwin wholeheartedly embraced Americanisms in music.
Chapter 4

Americanisms in Music

World’s Fairs were large-scale events filled with impressive spectacles of culture and civilization. The World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893) boasted over twenty-eight million visitors, which was nearly half the population of the United States at that time. For many attendees, the cultural side of the Exposition was their first introduction to the music of such indigenous peoples as the Inuits, Ojibwes, and the Navajos, which they listened to with interest since the music was unlike their familiar European-derived musical practices. The purpose of the Exposition was to demonstrate nineteenth-century progress and social Darwinism. A living anthropological display located at the Midway Plaisance drew a lot of attention; the structure of the exhibit speaks volumes to the contemporary view of cultures outside of the Western world. To demonstrate the “order of human development,” a statue of a Harvard man and Radcliffe woman represented “the most advanced examples of human development.” Further into the exhibit, other nationalities and races were presented, including peoples of the Middle East and Asia. Further down the so-called evolutionary ladder was an exhibit of American Indians, while the lowest rung was represented by an African Dahomey Village. Race relations were viewed from Anglo-American perspectives on societal and cultural evolution. Exposure to the culture and music of American Indians and African Americans, sparked debate as Anglo-American art music composers identified musical markers representative of these cultures. Controversy was due in large part to an understanding

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that these cultures were marginal and thus did not have a legitimate place in American art music.

The following pages aim to identify salient style characteristics of American Indian, African American, and Anglo-Celtic melodies as they were understood by American composers of the period. I intend to focus on sources that were available to art music composers during the second half of the nineteenth-century. Some of the language I use to describe the music may be anachronistic, but the musical elements uncovered in the pieces I examine are clear despite the fact that composers of the late nineteenth century may not always have used the same terminology as that of present-day scholarship.

THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN MUSIC

Interest in the music of American Indians as a source of inspiration for American composers was positive, especially when compared to opinions regarding the use of African American music. The common perception of American Indians was that they were “noble savages.” By the 1890s, the frontier was closed, the Indian wars were over, and the Indians had been relegated to reservations. The distance between white America and American Indians was wide enough that the Indians did not pose a threat. For that reason, American Indian music was considered safe. On the other hand, African American music was almost immediately rejected as a source of national music. Slavery was still on people’s minds, and the failures of Reconstruction were fresh. Tara Browner notes that Edward MacDowell, America’s leading composer, believed that if American materials
were to be used for musical composition at all, those of the Indians would be preferred to those of African Americans.\textsuperscript{162}

MacDowell asked, “If the trademark of nationality is indispensable, why cover it with the badge of whilom slavery rather than with the stern but at least manly and free rudeness of the North American Indian?” These words show that MacDowell saw musical nationalism primarily as a way of celebrating a nation’s virtues. Music based on plantation tunes might be easy to identify as American, but what would it say about the nation’s history and character? Whatever black Americans’ melodies might have signified…they made MacDowell think of slavery…The music of Native Americans pointed in a positive direction: toward a heroic past, an unspoiled continental landscape, and an “American” people of admirable, independent spirit.\textsuperscript{163}

At the time Columbus sailed towards the New World, there were well over three hundred Indian cultures living in what today is the United States. Song traditions of different American Indian nations might not seem very different from one another at first hearing, and to a certain extent, the various Indian nations did share some fundamental musical features. American Indian songs encompass a wide variety of styles, forms, and uses. Almost all of their vocal music is monophonic and can be accompanied by rattles, drums, or other percussion instruments. Melodies generally begin at a high pitch and have a descending profile. The typically descending lines feature conjunct melodic intervals. Repetition of melodic phrases, text, and rhythmic accompaniment are common. For an American composer of the late nineteenth century, these general characteristics were signifiers of an American Indian sound. To further evoke an American Indian flavor, composers also utilized drones, pentatonic scales, pounding, drum-like rhythms, snapping rhythms (Scotch snaps), open fifths, woodwind instruments (particularly the flute, because


the Native American flute was often used by Indian nations for ceremonial purposes and courtship practices), polyrhythms, appoggiaturas, and a preference for minor scales and modal scales.

The systematic collecting of American Indian music did not occur until the 1870s. An important collection of indigenous Indian music appeared as a dissertation by Theodore Baker. Baker was educated in Leipzig and his 1882 dissertation, “Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden” (On the Music of the North American Indian), written in German, would find its way to scholars and American composers. (It was not reprinted or published in English until 1977.) His volume represented the first authoritative and systematic study of notated American Indian music. On the Music of the North American Indian contains forty-three songs, thirty-two of which Baker heard and transcribed during his field research of the Seneca Indians in western New York and various Indian tribes during a visit to the Training School for Indian Youth in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. (The remaining songs were collected by others and sent to Baker.) Baker’s critical analysis of the melodic and harmonic structure of the entire collection is based on the thirty-two songs that he heard live. Baker drew attention to the complexity of American Indian music, but he did not comment on the context and meaning of songs to the Indians.

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164 Michael V. Pisani, Imagining Native America in Music (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 102.
165 It is difficult to determine how widely Baker’s dissertation was distributed. In Robert Stevenson’s “Written Sources for Indian Music Before 1882,” Ethnomusicology 17, no. 1 (1973), he states, “although not widely reviewed when in 1882 Breitkopf und Hartel published Theodore Baker’s Leipzig dissertation, Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden, soon came to be accepted on both sides of the Atlantic as a definitive survey of the prior literature as well as a record of close personal research.” It is documented that Edward MacDowell was given a copy by Henry F. Gilbert (see E. Douglas Bomberger’s MacDowell, 194) and it is presumed that Dvořák consulted Baker’s dissertation as well.
The other widely circulated collection of indigenous Indian music was compiled by ethnologist Alice Fletcher. Her book, *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* (1893) is important in part because it contained John C. Fillmore’s arrangements of her transcriptions. Fletcher lived among the Omaha tribe for ten years. She was not sufficiently confident in her musical abilities to discuss the music critically, but her *Study* includes song classifications and information on the context and meaning of the songs to the individual and the tribe. Fillmore harmonized the monophonic chants to make them more appealing to cultured tastes. He provided an analytical essay in the second section of Fletcher’s *Study* titled “Report on the Structural Peculiarities of the Music.” He organized his essay into seven parts, which covered scales, implied harmony, implied tonality, rhythm, phrasing and motivation, tone quality, and the Indian flageolet. He looked at indigenous Indian music through a Western European lens. In his attempt to uncover the scales used by the Indians, he studied the monophonic melody, picked out the pitches used, and arranged them into a scalar pattern based on Western European models. He noticed the use of pentatonic, major, and minor scales, but also the fact that some songs did not conform to any consistent scalar pattern. Naturally, there are problems with his report, owing to his adherence to a Western European perspective. Fletcher tried to capture the melodies of the Omaha Indians as best as she could, but as with any traditional music rooted in an oral tradition, accurate notation of pitch and rhythm was virtually

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167 Fletcher’s *Study* was intended for a broader audience; it was based upon research and fieldwork while Baker used a “German musicological methodology layered over a non-Western repertory; it contained little tribal-specific cultural information.” (Browner, 266). Baker was influenced by Lewis Henry Morgan’s theory of social evolution in which cultures pass through three stages of evolution: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. In Baker’s dissertation he modeled his transcriptions of Native American melodies on the Greek modes. Baker wrote, “The Lydian, Phrygian and Dorian modes were those constructed first by the Greeks…these oldest modes of the Greeks correspond strikingly with those of the North American Indian.” (Baker, 77).

impossible. Transcriptions are approximations at best. By the 1880s, Musikwissenschaft was becoming more scientific as it progressed from comparative musicology and so-called “armchair analysis” to a legitimate study of non-Western cultures. From this latter perspective, Fillmore’s work may be viewed as a corruption of his sources: as currently understood, the task of ethnomusicologists is not to fix or “correct” the music according to Western standards but to study the music in an effort to understand its structure according to the originator’s cultural standards, what the music means to the culture, and why it has been passed down for generations. Ironically, according to Fillmore, when Fletcher played his harmonizations to the Omaha Indians, they seemed pleased with the result.169 Fletcher sent her Study to American composers, urging them to use the melodies,170 and Fillmore’s Report offered a valuable resource to Western composers who were interested in using Indian music in their own art music. The Report offered insight into which types of scales to use, melodic and harmonic construction, phrasing, and rhythms in an effort to render an American Indian character (Ex. 1).

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170 Pisani, Exotic Sounds in the Native Land, 55.
Example 1. Song no. 12, “HAE-THU- SKA WA-AN,” from Fletcher’s Study showing the pentatonic scale and polyrhythms.

AMERICAN INDIAN MUSICAL MARKERS IN ORCHESTRAL MUSIC

For Americans who more than likely did not have any first-hand contact with American Indian culture, knowledge of Indian music came from printed transcriptions in Baker’s dissertation and Fletcher’s traditional music collection. Other exposure to Indian music and culture could have come from Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show. A problem of the Wild West Show was the stereotypical picture it painted of American Indians with regard to music as well as other aspects of their culture. Suffice it to say, stereotypes

171 Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show was the brainchild of William F. Cody (1846-1917). His Wild West Show was popular for decades, from 1883 to 1914. The Show featured an array of entertainment, including the Cowboy Band who provided music throughout the show, sharp shooters and celebrities, hunts, racing contests, historical reenactments, and a look into American Indian life and culture. Cody was very respectful to the American Indians he hired and he worked hard to preserve their culture and language. American Indians dressed in full regalia and war paint to perform dances and rituals for the audience. Spectator reaction to American Indian displays were lukewarm. A journalist remarked, “The Indian dances were grotesque and funny, but rather tame. The warriors gathered in a circle, stamped their feet and jerked their bodies in time to the monotonous music from a couple of tum-tums, keeping up a falsetto squeaking and looking as hideous as possible.” (Reddin, 79). At times, audiences found American Indian dances laughable (Reddin, 79). Historical reenactments of American Indian attacks on frontier life and war often portrayed Indians as excessively savage and hostile. During each nightly performance Indians lost battles against heroic white men. In exchange for the opportunity to travel and earn a decent salary American Indians who were performers in the Show, to some degree, had to conform to white America’s imagination of their lifestyle.
typically involve gross distortions of reality. Yet for an Anglo-American with little or no contact with diverse cultures, the stereotype could easily represent fact. The music example below serves to demonstrate this point (Ex. 2). Robert Stoepel’s “Pau-Puk-Keewis’s Beggar Dance,” from *Hiawatha: Indian Symphony* (1859), utilizes exaggerated, stereotypical Indian markers including pulsating rhythms, open fifths, minor mode, Scotch snaps, and pedal points, all of which serve to invoke American Indians’ musical practices.


Of course, elements such as these are found in music around the world; but when presented in a certain context, they can take on a specific meaning. Oscar Sonneck, critic and head of the music division of the Library of Congress, wrote “Indian themes will suggest America to the hearer if he knows these themes are borrowed from the North American Indian. If he doesn’t, he will merely gain the expression of something exotic. He will not know the piece is of American origin unless the composer breathes a distinctively American spirit into the work.”

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George Frederick Bristow (1825-98) was an American composer, organist, violinist, and an outspoken advocate for American composers. Bristow’s *Arcadian Symphony* (1872) is a four-movement work with programmatic titles associated with the frontier and American Indians. The third movement, titled “Indian War Dance,” features many of the musical gestures used to evoke an American Indian setting. Bristow wrote in a minor key, exercised pounding rhythms and tremolos to imitate vocal pulsations, used open fifths and octaves to create a hollow sound, and fashioned a melodic line with an overall descending profile. The overly masculine, adrenaline rushing War Dance is idealized in this movement. The most ubiquitous image of American Indian culture is that of a male-dominated warrior society. The musical examples discussed above affirm and perpetuate this stereotyped image.

THE PRESERVATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSIC

For all of their supposed virility and strength, American Indians were still considered marginal with respect to mainstream American society. On the outskirts with them belonged the African American community whose traditional music was another source drawn upon by American composers. “In the Negro melodies of America I will discover all that is needed for a great and noble school of music,” Dvořák is purported to have said in a *New York Herald* interview in 1893.\(^\text{173}\) Despite Dvořák’s enthusiasm for African American music, its use met with more resistance than American Indian music. The explanation of why African American music was opposed by some as the basis of an

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American school of composition may lie in the history of African Americans in the United States.

The history of slavery in the New World dates back to 1501, when Africans were taken from their homelands by the first explorers on behalf of Spain. Slavery was becoming well-established in the West Indies by the 1550s, but did not take hold in the New World until the seventeenth century. Early accounts of slave music were recorded in the personal diaries of New World colonists, but their remarks concentrated on descriptions of the music’s sounds, the dances, and texts of the songs. According to Sir George Grove, printed music of black Americans actually appeared in London as early as 1782. Slave song texts could be found in periodicals and books by the early 1800s. By 1830, some listeners had attempted to preserve the music in Western notation, although the effort was not without problems. Notably, the transcriber may only have had one chance to hear a certain melody, as subsequent hearings might differ drastically from the melody originally sung.

Seven months after the American Civil War began in 1861, Union soldiers occupied the islands off the coast of South Carolina. The Confederate Army and plantation owners fled, leaving their slaves behind. The island’s commodity was cotton, so Union soldiers hired the newly freed slaves to cultivate the land, and they encouraged self-sufficiency. This marks the first efforts of Northerners to attempt reconstruction economically and politically in the South. The following year, the Port Royal Experiment was initiated in which Northern teachers and missionaries were sent to the Sea Islands off

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the coast of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida to establish schools and hospitals for ex-slaves. The Sea Islands are rich with African history, tradition, and slave culture. Black inhabitants preserved African traditions more than was common for black Americans living on the mainland because the islands were isolated (the first bridge connecting to the mainland was not built until 1923), and slaves had less contact with whites (plantation owners stayed on the mainland to avoid malaria). George Gershwin would later visit the islands to research music for *Porgy and Bess*.

In contrast to the history of preservation and transmission of American Indian music, the music of African American slaves was being collected and transcribed in the early 1860s. Lucy McKim, the musically trained daughter of a Philadelphia abolitionist, accompanied her father to the Carolina Sea Islands for three weeks in 1862. This excursion was part of the Port Royal Experiment; McKim’s father was to report his findings to the Philadelphia Port Royal Relief Association. McKim kept a diary of her experiences, and although that document has been lost, extended letters to her adopted sister are extant and provide valuable insight into her impressions of life, culture, and music-making on the islands. The experience left an indelible mark on her and her father. Mr. James McKim published an article in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (August 9, 1862) titled “Negro Songs,” upon his return to Philadelphia. He provided the texts of two songs and remarked upon their modal quality, which he claimed was similar to that of other songs he heard during his three-week stay on the Sea Islands. Categorizing the songs as either major or minor, he emphasized that most were in a minor mode. “I dwell on these songs not as a matter of entertainment, but of instruction. They tell the whole story of these people’s life and character. There is no need after hearing them, to inquire into the history of the slave’s
treatment. Recitals of this kind one will hear enough of, whether he desires it or not; for these people having now, for the first time in their lives, sympathetic listeners, pour out their hearts in narrations which nothing but flint can resist.”

Three months later, Lucy also published an article in *DJM* (November 8, 1862) announcing the publication of a slave song she transcribed called “Poor Rosy, Poor Gal.” The text and character of the song were first introduced by McKim’s father in his *DJM* article. She would subsequently publish another transcription, but her songs did not fare well in the marketplace, most likely due to consumers’ unfamiliarity with the music, its performance style, and dialect.

Although African American traditional music appeared in transcription by Lucy McKim in 1862, the first and largest publication of black music appeared in 1867. The collaborative efforts of William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy (McKim) Garrison produced *Slave Songs of the United States*. *Slave Songs* contains one hundred thirty-six spirituals as heard and transcribed by its three collaborators, unless otherwise noted. It is a valuable resource historically and musically. In the preface, Allen remarks upon the difficulties of collecting music rooted in an oral tradition and maintains that the music within the book is an approximation done to the best of the authors’ abilities. He quotes McKim: “It is difficult to express the entire character of these Negro ballads by mere musical notes and signs. The odd turns made in the throat, and the curious rhythmic effect produced by the single voices chiming in at different irregular intervals, seems almost impossible to place on the score as the singing of birds or the tones of the Aeolian harp.”

Allen also included a section on performance practice. He remarked upon

characteristics of the spiritual singing style, including the incorporation of call and response singing, multiple singers offering slight variations simultaneously to a melodic line (heterophony), and rhythmic play (syncopation). *Slave Songs* are transcribed as monophonic songs with fixed melodic content, but Allen comments that improvisation is also an important element. He notes that no two performances of the songs are exactly the same.

The melody of song number 29, “Rain Fall and Wet Becca Lawton,” is thought to have African origin. This song is characterized by rhythmic vitality, repetition of short melodic phrases to changing stanzas of text, and a preference for the pentatonic scale, all of which are traits that can be found in many other songs from the collection (Ex. 3).

Example 3. “Rain Fall and Wet Becca Lawton,” from *Slave Songs of the United States*

![Example 3](image)

Comparison with another song from *Slave Songs* reveals melodic and rhythmic similarities to the example above. “The Lonesome Valley,” song number 7, features syncopation, short, repetitive phrases to changing texts, and a pentatonic scale (Ex. 4).

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178 Allen, Ware, Garrison, p. vii.
Example 4. “The Lonesome Valley,” from *Slave Songs of the United States*

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Major and minor scales are imposed upon the songs, and hints of a blues scales are found on occasion within this repertoire. Example 5, “Roll, Jordan, Roll,” is the first song in the collection. The variation notated above the transcription indicates a lowered third, and when this is coupled with the lowered seventh scale degree, a blues scale is implied. The blues scale, which may be understood as a blending of the pentatonic scale with the major and minor scales found in Western music, figures more prominently in vernacular black music such as field hollers, cries, and calls. Ultimately, blues scales would form the basis of rural blues music, which began to be cultivated by itinerant African American men after the Civil War.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson of Boston, an abolitionist and distant cousin to Henry Lee Higginson, who founded the Boston Symphony Orchestra, called for preserving African American hymns as early as 1863.\(^{179}\) His June 1867 *Atlantic Monthly*

\(^{179}\) Hare, 54.
article, “Negro Spirituals,” was published five months before *Slave Songs*. Higginson visited the Sea Islands as part of the Port Royal Experiment; he reproduced only the texts of twenty-six songs sung by Civil War soldiers. For some songs he described the musical characteristics and performance while for others he expounded upon the imagery of the texts. His curiosity regarding the “composition” of the songs led him to a conversation with a boatman as he was being transported from one island to another. The boatman explained that a single sentence or a simple observation was all that was needed to inspire others to join in and extemporize upon the situation. “Then he began singing, and then the men, after listening for a moment, joined in the chorus as if it were an old acquaintance, though they had evidently never heard it before. I saw how easily a new sing took root among them.”

Example 5. “Roll, Jordan, Roll,” from *Slave Songs of the United States*

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Despite the efforts of Higginson, Lucy McKim, and her colleagues, attempts to preserve African American traditional music went largely unnoticed—that is, until 1871 and the arrival of the Fisk Jubilee Singers on the scene. This all-African American choir from Fisk University performed throughout the United States; their repertoire consisted of popular songs as well as operatic arias, but interest centered mostly on their performance of spirituals. Traditional African American spirituals were sung on the plantation without instrumental accompaniment or harmony. They were created and sung by the community and voiced the religious convictions of the slaves. Often informed with cryptic meaning, spirituals made allusions to escape plans, rebellion, and the strength of human endurance. The Fisk Jubilee Singers sang arrangements of spirituals, which were harmonized in four parts and sung using a Western European operatic vocal style. Performed in the concert hall, the music was intriguing, and the interest of art-music composers was piqued. (The impact of traditional African American music on art-music composers will be discussed at length in chapter 5.) Reflecting the popularity of Jubilee singing ensembles, anthologies were published and made widely available, including *Cabin and Plantation Songs: As Sung by the Hampton Students* (1874), and *The Story of the Jubilee Singers with Their Songs* (1880).

In the same year as Dvořák’s *New World Symphony* (1893), Richard Wallaschek published *Primitive Music; An Inquiry into the Origin and Development of Music, Songs, Instruments, Dances, and Pantomimes of Savage Races*. Chapter 5 is devoted to the music of the Americas, with emphasis on Indian nations; but the final two pages of the chapter discuss African American music. His compact commentary was detrimental to the

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181 Wallaschek’s book covered “savage races” including Africans, Asians, and Eastern Europeans (Roma).
cause of using African American indigenous music in art music. Wallaschek, an Austrian, had not visited Africa or the United States to collect his data; instead he used transcriptions from *Slave Songs of the United States*. He also chose to ignore the authors’ notes about the notation as an approximation, evidently assuming that the transcriptions were accurate representations. In that respect, Wallaschek found the slave songs to be “very much overrated…mere imitations of European compositions which the Negros (had) picked up, and served up again with slight variations…the spirituals were unmistakably arranged—not to say ignorantly borrowed—from the national songs of all nations, from military signals, well-known marches, German student songs, etc.” For those who did not agree with Dvořák’s views that African American music should be the foundation “for a great and noble school of music,” Wallaschek’s publication only bolstered the case against Dvořák and his followers. It was left for Henry Krehbiel to dispel the negative attitudes of Wallaschek supporters and other detractors of African American music.

For years, Krehbiel had been an advocate for indigenous American music by writing articles in the *New York Tribune* to promote his own opinions and to refute the disparaging remarks made by others. By 1900, he had published numerous articles in an attempt to draw more attention to African American music. Krehbiel’s aim was to create a systematic analytical study of African American traditional music. His *Study in Racial and National Music: Afro-American Folksongs* (1914) is a collection of over five hundred African American traditional songs; some of which were already published transcriptions.

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but he also transcribed some of the songs on his own. His approach to the study of African American music was objective: he discusses the melodic and rhythmic characteristics of the songs, scale patterns, and their variations. Unlike Baker, who contemplated American Indian music from the perspective of cultural evolution and Fletcher’s study, which is more anthropological, Krehbiel’s study is relatively unbiased. It is a valuable primary source and would prove useful to members of the generation after the Second New England School, who were more open to African American music, and particularly to Harry T. Burleigh, who arranged sixteen songs for the book at Krehbiel’s request.

Many Northerners were introduced to black music through the popular-music idiom. In the early 1840s, minstrel shows gained popularity and found new and receptive audiences in the North. Societal attitudes towards African Americans during the nineteenth century relegated their musical culture to the low-brow entertainment of the minstrel show. In contrast to the view of American Indians as “noble savages,” whose musical elements as utilized in art music represented masculinity and strength, the minstrel-show approach to African American music tended to foster oppression. The songs of the minstrel show demonstrate the blending of Anglo-Celtic melodies with aspects considered specifically African, namely call and response, syncopation, and dialect.  

Both Anglo-Celtic and African American traditional music share such traits as pentatonic scales, Scotch snaps, and rhythmic vitality. Although billed as “authentic,” the music of the minstrel show is not distinctively “Ethiopian,” since some of its musical basis stemmed from the Anglo-Celtic fiddle and dance tune style. This is not surprising since the originators of the minstrel show

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were Anglo-American. For people in the North who did not have direct contact with African American music and culture, minstrel music appeared genuine. Even the plantation songs of Stephen Foster misrepresented black culture for a predominantly white audience. The minstrel show and its perversions of black music remained popular in theaters and home music salons throughout the nineteenth century. Musical characteristics of minstrel show tunes have much in common with Anglo-Celtic balladry, which will be discussed below.

THE ANGLO-CELTIC-SCOTTISH INFLUENCE

A wealth of popular music existed in the New World due to the strong Anglo-Celtic-Scottish ballad tradition that settlers brought with them to the colonies. Colonists used ballads from the British Isles as a model in order to create their own songs, which attempted to capture the realities of pioneer life. The United States has a rich history of balladry covering multiple topics, including occupations (lumberjacks, cowboys, shanty boys, etc.), the trials and tribulations of the frontier (migration west, Indian encounters, sickness and death), and current events (robberies, murders, and justice), to name a few. Like most traditional music, American balladry was transmitted orally. In order for people to understand the importance of ballads to a community and understand their longevity, the songs needed to be compiled. Interest in the collection of folksongs began in the 1880s. The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (1882-98), popularly known as the Child Ballad Book, is a collection of three hundred five ballads in five volumes (divided into ten parts).

185 For a brief discussion about the development of American balladry and its transition from imported ballads from the British Isles to the categories of naturalized and native ballads, see chapter 1 from Daniel Kingman’s American Music: A Panorama, 4th Concise ed. (Boston: Schirmer, 2012).
compiled by James Francis Child (1825-1896). Child viewed ballads as a literary creation and undertook his research in libraries; he gathered what he considered to be the oldest English-language ballads.\textsuperscript{186} His approach to managing the voluminous data he collected was systematic. Child gave each ballad a name, a number, a list of text variants, and the source (manuscript, print, collector, or reciter, if known).\textsuperscript{187} Child accompanied each ballad entry with a headnote that explained the differences among text versions, summarized the ballad’s plot, and offered bibliographical references.\textsuperscript{188} The first nine parts do not include musical notation for the ballad texts, a fact that makes part ten so significant.

Part ten was completed by Child, but it was edited by George Lyman Kittredge and published posthumously. Within this part, Child did not include additional ballad texts; instead, he offered additions and corrections to the published texts from the previous nine parts. Part ten also includes an “Index of Published Airs,” which lists one hundred seventy-seven tunes, followed by “Ballad Airs from Manuscript,” which contains fifty-five mostly Scottish melodies in musical notation. In all, Child knew of or had access to one hundred eighty-eight tunes for the three hundred five ballads in his collection.\textsuperscript{189}

The most popular, and oldest, ballad in Child’s collection is “Barbara Allen.” Because it originated in the British Isles, possibly Scotland, and was adopted by New World colonists virtually unchanged from its original, it qualifies as an imported ballad. “Barbara Allen” also serves as an example of the ballad formula most often utilized and preserved by succeeding generations. Normally, traditional songs feature a strophic setting

\textsuperscript{186} Crawford, \textit{An Introduction to America’s Music}, 369.
\textsuperscript{188} Brown, 72.
\textsuperscript{189} Brown, 77.
with syllabic text declamation. The melody of “Barbara Allen,” despite the multitude of 
existing variants, is strophic, and the text unfolds in ballad meter, which consists of an 
eight-syllable line alternating with a six-syllable line in an iambic meter (Ex. 6). Again, 
just as in African American traditional music, the Scotch snap rhythm of the text 
declamation is prevalent.

Example 6. Stanza from “Barbara Allen”

Oh, MOther, MOther MAKE my BED  
Make it LONG and NARrow  
Sweet WILLiam DIED for LOVE toDAY  
I’ll DIE for HIM toMORROW

It was not until 1959 that a scholar would add significantly to Child’s voluminous 
catalog. Bertrand Harris Bronson compiled all available tunes for each of Child’s ballads 
with their text. He annotated and organized the tunes with editorial commentary describing 
the history and development of each tune. Such endeavors of preservation meant that 
people would no longer need to rely on their memory or lose significant numbers of tunes 
to the deceased. But one must not regard the tunes as written in stone; they represent 
approximations originally sung by untrained singers who oftentimes did not sing the tune 
twice in the same way.

Fiddle tunes are a category of American traditional music most often associated 
with rural America. Fiddle tunes were associated with dance practices, particularly the reels 
and hornpipes from the British Isles, and their American relative, the hoedown. Most fiddle 
tunes share similar characteristics, including duple meter and binary form, as demonstrated 
in the example below (Ex. 7).
Ryan’s Mammoth Collection of 1050 Reels and Jigs, published by Elias Howe in Boston, 1883, was compiled by Howe’s employee, William Bradbury Ryan. Howe owned a successful publishing company, which focused largely on musical instruction books. *Ryan’s Mammoth Collection* is made up of Irish tunes known in the Boston community at that time.\(^{190}\)

Example 7. “Soldier’s Joy”\(^{191}\)

Collections of American Indian, African American, and Anglo-Celtic balladry provided composers with valuable resources that they could consult if they were interested in pursuing the path set forth by Dvořák. The following chapter examines musical compositions by Dvořák, MacDowell, and Chadwick that demonstrate the use of these musical idioms.

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\(^{191}\) Kingman, 14.
Chapter 5

Dvořák’s Exhortations and the New England School’s Response

In the northeastern part of the United States, concert music was dominated by members of the so-called Second New England School who were active from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. The composers Horatio Parker, George W. Chadwick, and John Knowles Paine, to name a few, lived in or around the Boston area, had similar professional résumés, and shared the same ideas regarding the direction of American art music. On the whole, Americans were happy to look to Italy for opera and to Germany for instrumental music; and judging from the music produced by the most famous composers of the day, it is not surprising that the tradition in American music was essentially German in orientation. Members looked to past German masters of music, i.e., Mozart, Haydn, Bach, and Beethoven, as a foundation for their musical style.

The arrival of Bohemian composer Antonín Dvořák, whose opinions regarding the importance of indigenous musical practices were discussed in chapter 3, sparked controversy as he became the center of America’s late-19th-century musical nationality debate. Dvořák lived in New York from 1892 to 1895. As Director of the newly formed National Conservatory of Music, he recommended that composers assert a national style that was influenced by the music of African Americans and American Indians. He tried to sway American composers to look to music from America for inspiration, rather than look to Europe. Protest was immediate. Second New England School composers were averse to the opinion that American music should be based on the music of socially and politically marginal groups. They also resented the fact that a European, a guest in their country, claimed he knew where Americans should find inspiration better than the Americans themselves.
Edward MacDowell agreed with his conservative contemporaries: “We have here in America been offered a pattern for an ‘American’ national music costume by the Bohemian Dvořák.” Members believed that serious art music had reached its height with the German masters, and they did not want to use African American or American Indian music for creative motivation. They all felt that if American art music was to be taken seriously, it should follow European models; yet each member reacted to Dvořák’s suggestion in his own way. I will examine three composers, George W. Chadwick, Edward MacDowell, and Antonín Dvořák, each of whom demonstrated a different approach to incorporating American attributes in their works. Through the examination and analysis of selected orchestral and chamber music, I will point out relevant style features of each using Jan LaRue’s style analysis method—specifically the examination of elements of sound, harmony, melody, and rhythm—to determine distinctions among the composers’ individual voices.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD CHADWICK: YANKEE COMPOSER

Compared to other members of the Second New England School, George W. Chadwick (1854-1931) demonstrated a distinctive American compositional style long before Antonín Dvořák’s arrival to the United States in 1892. Chadwick’s musical Americanisms stemmed from his familiarity with both American popular and traditional music, and New England hymnody. His compositional output from 1895 to 1909 is most demonstrative of his American musical style due to his widespread use of pentatonic, 192 Tara Browner, “Breathing the Indian Spirit” Thoughts on Musical Borrowing and the “Indianist” Movement in American Music,” American Music 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 267.
hexatonic and gapped scales, syncopated rhythms, and traces of Anglo-Celtic, African-American, and American Indian idioms. Some works from his formative years (1874-1894) already show his interest in the rhythmic vitality and modal scales often found in America’s popular and traditional music. Chadwick’s familiarity with this music can to some extent be attributed to his modest upbringing. It is probable that Chadwick had more exposure to American popular and traditional music, and New England hymnody due to his childhood in the factory town of Lowell, Massachusetts. The rhythmic energy of fiddle tunes, minstrel tunes, and Anglo-Celtic ballads must have seeped into his creative subconscious (for more on the musical characteristics of these genres, see chapter 4). Chadwick’s mother died soon after his birth; his father, a carpenter turned insurance broker, was opposed to his son’s aspirations for a career in music, so George created his own opportunities. After dropping out of high school in 1871, the young Chadwick financed his own education and entered the New England Conservatory in 1872 as a special student. He eventually studied abroad in Leipzig and Munich. After his three-year sojourn in Germany, Chadwick had returned to Boston in 1880.

In addition to Chadwick’s acquaintance with American popular and traditional music he was also cognizant of current trends. An examination of Chadwick’s American-inspired piece, Symphonic Sketches, demonstrates certain musical characteristics, which, incidentally, can also be found in some of his nonspecific works such as the Sinfonietta and Suite Symphonique. I will demonstrate that Chadwick’s

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193 Bill F. Faucett, George Whitefield Chadwick: The Life and Music of the Pride of New England (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012), 186. In a discussion of Chadwick’s Symphonic Sketches, Faucett remarked that several critics found similarities in form and orchestration to music by Wagner and Strauss, in addition to Debussy in a portion of “A Vagrom Ballad” (Lento misterioso).
194 In Chadwick’s Memoirs, Diaries and Sketchbooks he wrote that he intended to make Sketches “American in style—as I understand the term,” cited in Faucett, Chadwick: The Life and Music, 181.
American voice was innate to his music, not forced or conjured; and in an effort to ascertain Chadwick’s musical Americanisms (see Fig. 1), I will analyze pertinent features of style in his Second Symphony, Fourth String Quartet, and Symphonic Sketches. (As noted in chapter 4, various traits that may reasonably be described as Americanisms are by no means exclusively the property of American music. It is the particular context in which they appear—for example an open-fifth drone to accompany melodic figures that feature Scotch snaps—that may lend them a peculiarly American color).

Figure 1. Chadwick’s Americanisms observed in select instrumental works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pentatonic, hexatonic and gapped scales</th>
<th>Symphony no. 2, String Quartet no. 4, Symphonic Sketches, Suite Symphonique, and Sinfonietta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mediant relationships</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-diminished and diminished seventh chords</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augmented sixth chords</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syncopation and hemiola</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch snaps and dotted rhythms</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call and response</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotation</td>
<td>String Quartet no. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time signature changes</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abrupt mood changes</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open textures (parallel motion and voice doubling)</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass and woodwind emphasis</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-sectional codas</td>
<td>Symphony no. 2, String Quartet no. 4, and Symphonic Sketches</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chadwick’s Symphony No. 2 in B-Flat Major, op. 21, was composed in Boston between 1883 and 1885. He did not originally conceive the work as a symphony. The first and second movements were initially written as independent compositions. The piece that would become the second movement, a scherzo, was composed and premiered one year before he wrote what was later to be the first movement (1884), originally titled “Overture
in B-Flat” or “Introduction and Allegro.” He then composed two additional movements to create a complete symphony. According to Nicholas Tawa, Chadwick’s Second Symphony “was immediately welcomed as the long-awaited and unquestionably ‘American’ symphony, in its melodies, rhythms, and overall spirit.” Tawa goes on to state that Chadwick did not consider himself a pioneer of an American style; instead, he was more interested in the universality of music and broad acceptance by his audience and peers. “If his personal style embraced what were considered ‘Americanisms’ that was fine, so long as they were not deemed the end-all-be-all of his creativity. Given his nature, he could not help but introduce Americanisms into his music. Their inclusion was as much innate as calculated.”

Interestingly, seven years prior to Dvořák’s controversial proclamation made in a New York Herald article (1893), suggesting that American art music composers should find inspiration in this country’s indigenous roots, audiences in 1886 (the first complete performance of the Second Symphony) did not associate Chadwick’s style with the music of African Americans or American Indians, or with the popular music of Stephen Foster. Instead, critics found the symphony to bear a Celtic accent. After the second movement’s first performance as an independent work in 1884, reviewers remarked upon its “quasi-Irish humorousness” and its “pleasing Scotch flavor.” (Chadwick’s own Celtic lineage has been traced to 1631, which may help to explain contemporary critics’ partiality to Irish and Scottish sounds.) Geographically speaking, New England composers had more exposure to British and Anglo-Celtic

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197 Tawa, 120.
influences than African American or American Indian.\(^{199}\) After all, the Anglo-Celtic-Scottish tradition had had strong roots in the New England area for centuries. Therefore, it seems natural that nineteenth-century audiences would have identified an Irish or Scottish flavor in Chadwick’s music. However, as a result of Dvořák’s article and his influence, critics from the late nineteenth century onward came to insist on more than just Anglo-Celtic-Scottish musical markers; and from this vantage point, opinions regarding Chadwick’s influences vary to the present day. One contribution of his that is not debated is his development of a personal musical style that became identifiably American without leaning obviously or decisively toward one ethnicity or another.

CHADWICK’S SECOND SYMPHONY

The formal structure of Chadwick’s Second Symphony is rather conservative in that three of the four movements are in sonata form (movement 3 traces an ABCDA design). Movements 1, 3, and 4 are united motivically through material presented initially by a solo French horn (mm. 1-5) in the D-minor introduction to movement 1 (Ex. 1). The horn-call motive is presented monophonically with fermatas at the conclusion of each short phrase. The third time the call occurs, it is lengthened by an arpeggiated finish built upon a D minor pentatonic scale (mm. 3-5).

Example 1. French horn call (mm. 1-7), Chadwick Second Symphony/ I

\(^{199}\) Faucett, 195.
The lingering quality of the fermatas begs for a response; and thus the lonely call is answered in D minor, first by the flutes, who are then echoed by the violins in a call and response pattern (mm. 5-8). Chadwick’s interest in orchestral effects is revealed at this moment. The flutes and violins are sounding in octaves, and in order to give the violins a more flute-like appeal, Chadwick requires natural harmonics, which add a special color. A pastoral mood is evoked through Chadwick’s instrumentation and pitch choice. Also, the sparseness of the texture enhances the image of a vast, open landscape. To ears familiar with Dvořák’s *New World* Symphony, there is an uncanny resemblance in both mood and rhythm between the opening measures of Chadwick’s Second Symphony and the principal melody from Dvořák’s *Largo*. But the similarities end there. A sudden dynamic change at measure 9 gives way to rapidly rising and falling eighth-note scalar passages played in octaves by the strings and oboes in a fiery stretto call and response. This passage is also rhythmically charged by the syncopated dotted-note accompaniment in the bassoon and horn. There is an emphasis on pentatonic scales and D major. A modulation to B-flat major, the symphony’s tonic, occurs at measure 26, but D major quickly returns (m.34) and remains for a prolonged period. Throughout the slow introduction, the orchestration remains sparse as pentatonicism and syncopated rhythms abound. A return of the introductory French horn call will travel from one instrument to the next to usher in the exposition, which will establish the key of B-flat major twelve bars later (m. 50).

Theme 1, based upon the slow introduction’s French horn call and rapid scalar passages, gives way to lyrical material in the strings beginning in measure 54 (Ex. 2).

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200 It is documented that Dvořák knew Chadwick’s Second Symphony, in Victor Fell Yellin’s *Chadwick*, 96.
Example 2. Lyrical extension of Theme 1 (mm. 53-59)

The expressive theme has not lasted long when fragments of the French horn call return at measure 66. The orchestra now becomes restless, and it is only a matter of time before the primary theme returns (m. 72), although its material is now altered and less aggressive. Chadwick is creating a logical transition to the secondary key area (F major) and a contrasting Theme 2 (m. 104). The new melodic material is reminiscent of an Anglo-Celtic ballad: It begins with an anacrusis and has a natural, descending stepwise profile in four-bar phrases. An arpeggio at the conclusion of the last phrase spans an octave, giving the melody a sentimental close and a natural transition to the upper register of the woodwinds’ response. As in the slow introduction, Chadwick evokes a pastoral setting through instrumentation, whose effect is further enhanced by the sparseness of the orchestra’s hemiola accompaniment, which acts as a drone.

Example 3. Theme 2, French horn, (mm. 105-114)
The development section (mm. 189ff.) is not unusual harmonically, nor is it lengthy. Chadwick explores B-flat major and the submediant, G major. He develops the musical events of Theme 1, including the French horn call motive, the rhythmically active first theme and the contrasting theme (cf. m. 54). He develops the rapid scalar passages associated with Theme 2, but does not develop the ballad-like theme itself. A false recapitulation begins at measure 286 with its emphatic French horn call, but the key has not yet reached B-flat major. Scalar passages build tension rhythmically and dynamically over strong F major harmonies prior to the real recapitulation in B-flat major at measure 294. The themes from the exposition return, but Chadwick alters the orchestration when Theme 2 is reintroduced. Instead of a forlorn French horn, a trumpet changes the mood of the theme with its bright timbre (m. 341). As the recapitulation progresses, tensions build as eighth notes ascend in the strings while hemiolas in the woodwinds create rhythmic confusion against the first-beat accents in the lower strings. Chadwick favors multi-sectional codas, the first of which begins at measure 422, “Assai animato.” This section is built upon the French horn’s call motive, scalar passages, and hemiola. Coda 2, “Presto” (m. 452), features quick, ascending eighth-note scales, which lead immediately to coda 3 (m. 462) in cut time. The tempo has progressively quickened three times over the course of thirty measures to bring the movement to a vibrant and triumphant close.

Within the first movement, Chadwick has revealed many elements associated with his musical style, most of which can be found in his later multi-movement orchestral and chamber works. Regarding the sound component, Chadwick explores the wide range and timbral effects of the violins, including natural harmonics and sul G (m. 227), and the inclusion of the piccolo (m. 420). Texturally, his orchestration is thin and transparent due
to his voices oftentimes doubling in unison or octaves. Chadwick creates complexity through his manipulations of rhythms rather than through counterpoint. His music is wildly unpredictable because melodies, rhythms, tempo, and dynamics change quickly from one section to the next within a single movement. Change occurs without notice and at times rather abruptly. Harmonically, Chadwick emphasizes pentatonic scales (as in the introductory horn call in mm.1-5 and its subsequent occurrences: mm. 50-53, 78-81, 294-297), and half-diminished seventh chords (for example mm. 37, 44-45, where they serve as substitute dominants to emphasize the arrival of the tonic key). When they appear in the development section, however (mm. 213-221) they sound more coloristic than functional. Fully diminished seventh chords serve to destabilize the harmony (e.g., m. 9, initiating a run of chromatic harmonies; also mm. 213-221). Augmented sixth chords (mm. 213-221) are nonfunctional and lead to the chromatic descent of mm. 222-226); and mediant key relationships are prominent (the movement explores D major/ D minor, B-flat major, F major, G minor). Chadwick concentrates on the outer voices of the orchestra, particularly the violins and flutes, to carry the melody, while his use of brass and percussion is limited. His melodic profile is often scalar, and important themes remain relatively stepwise and conjunct. He has a preference for multi-sectional codas (usually in the outer movements), which drive towards an energetic close. Chadwick’s sense of rhythm is invigorating and attention-grabbing. Motoric rhythms via eighth and sixteenth notes propel the music forward. Rhythmic contrasts abound through syncopated patterns, Scotch snaps, hemiolas, and cross-rhythms. Each new section or significant melody brings with it a new rhythmic profile.
Chadwick’s Second Symphony does not have an American program or any overt reference to an American musical voice. And yet it does give voice to what may be understood as Chadwick’s innate American accent, thereby demonstrating his Americanisms were natural and not conjured. This is important to note, as the Second Symphony makes it clear that whether Chadwick intends to do so or not, his nationality shines through. The remaining orchestral and chamber works I will consider were written during the years 1895 to 1909, a time when Chadwick came into his own as a composer as he discovered and developed a true compositional voice in which Americanisms arose either deliberately or unintentionally.

**CHADWICK’S FOURTH STRING QUARTET**

Composed in 1896, Chadwick’s String Quartet no. 4 in E Minor has been described as one of his “most American works, and indeed at times it sounds at least as characteristically American as the better known *Symphonic Sketches*, although it contains no element of programmaticism.” Chadwick’s American musical style features are present in the first movement through his persistent use of melodies based upon hexatonic and pentatonic scales, hymn-like passages, call and response, syncopation, hemiola, and a preference for mediant relationships. The opening movement introduces a viola melody whose similarity to the opening of Dvořák’s “American” Quartet of 1894 is readily noticeable. Dvořák’s Quartet was premiered in Boston in that year by the Kneisel Quartet,

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201 Chadwick is a byproduct of his New England upbringing. It is my hypothesis that the characteristics of American vernacular music seeped into his creative subconscious. America is a multiplicity of musical styles, so is Chadwick’s musical style, which is composed of pentatonic and hexatonic scales, folk-like melodies, open harmonies, rhythmic syncopation, and Impressionistic qualities, including parallel motion and thin orchestral textures.

a group of musicians who were members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Chadwick also shared a professional relationship with the Kneisel Quartet; in fact, his Fourth Quartet was dedicated to the group. There is no evidence that Chadwick had attended a performance of Dvořák’s “American” Quartet, but it is likely that his association with Kneisel’s group meant that he would have attended one or more concerts. It is also not known whether Dvořák’s “American” Quartet inspired Chadwick to write his own. It is surely significant, however, that Chadwick had copied a brief excerpt from Dvořák’s “American” Quartet into his compositional sketchbook in 1894.\textsuperscript{203}

The opening viola melody introduces the concept of pentatonic scales and eighth-note rhythms that will pervade the entire movement. The viola’s theme is like a song without words; the rich, dark sound of its folk-like melody is presented monophonically, and is followed by a chorale-like harmonic accompaniment. The instruments’ intervallic relationships favor octave and fifth doublings and leaps by fifth. As a result, the harmonies sound open and widely spaced (Ex. 4).

The melodic and harmonic resources used by Chadwick had precedents in the music of Yankee composers, including William Billings (1746-1800). Chadwick was a capable composer, but similar to his compositional forefathers, there is a sense of naïveté in the music’s simplistic treatment of melody, voice leading, and harmony. The opening measures of Chadwick’s Fourth Quartet evoke the image of a religious setting due to the melody’s unhurried presentation and its chorale-like response. The change to an exuberant time signature (cut time) and corresponding change of tempo (to \textit{Allegro}) occurs at measure

\textsuperscript{203} Ibid, 174.
12. The entrances of the voices are staggered and the melody (Theme 1) is derived from the opening pentatonic melody (Ex. 5).

Example 4. Opening, Chadwick Fourth String Quartet/ I, mm. 1-9

Example 5. Theme 1, mm. 13-16

Within this section Chadwick is exploring his possibilities for melodic, rhythmic, and textural manipulation. He also briefly explores the effect of contrasting string technique: pizzicato followed by arco and unpredictable sforzandi. These abrupt contrasts give
Chadwick his unique American voice. Critic Henry T. Parker remarked upon the embodiment of the typical American persona in Chadwick’s *Symphonic Sketches* when he wrote about the tendency of “the American temperament to turn suddenly serious, and deeply and unaffectedly so, in the midst of its ‘fooling,’ to run away into sober fancies and moods, and then as quickly turn ‘jolly’ again.”\(^{204}\) His observation works equally well for the Fourth Quartet. A *Tranquillo* tempo marking introduces Theme 2 (m. 40), whose melodic and rhythmic profile harks back to the mood of the hollow, chorale-like opening (Ex. 6). However, the second violin is restless and provides a fragment of the *Allegro* theme (cf. m. 12ff). That is all that is needed for the second violin and viola to follow suit at the start of the development section (m. 59). The cello, however, plays a lyrical, *cantando* melody, set off polyphonically against the three upper voices (Ex. 7). Here the music presents two diametrically opposed rhythmic profiles simultaneously.

Beginning at measure 63, two musical dialogues ensue: the outer voices play the *cantando* melody in canon, while the inner voices, also in canon, persist with the *Allegro* eighth-note figures (cf. m. 12ff). Despite the compositional complexity, the texture remains thin and transparent. The recapitulation (m. 109) is developmental as well. Chadwick recalls the melodic and rhythmic layering techniques that he employed in the development. He then offers a multi-sectional coda beginning at measure 216. A change of time signature and tempo mark the beginning of Coda 1, whose material is derived from Theme 1. A double bar at measure 232 begins Coda 2, also derived from Theme 1. Coda 3 (m. 254), marked *più mosso*, bringing the movement to an energetic close.

\(^{204}\) Ibid, 181.
Example 6. Theme 2, mm. 37-45
The viola’s pentatonic melody from the opening measures pervades the entire movement, and Chadwick explores the melody’s possibilities through augmentation and diminution as well as by overlaying it with contrasting melodic and rhythmic material. The wide range of musical vocabulary employed by Chadwick is reminiscent of an Anthem from a Yankee Tunebook. Anthems by William Billings and his contemporaries were complicated pieces because of their diversity of compositional resources and techniques: multiple textures, open harmonies, octave and fifth doubling, mood shifts from active to calm, diverse rhythmic play from homorhythms to hemiola and syncopated passages, as well as Scotch
snaps and trochaic dotted rhythms. Traditionally, Yankee Anthems were for voice, and Chadwick treats his quartet like a four-part choir.

The remaining three movements also demonstrate American musical qualities. Movement 2’s principal theme is composed in a hymn-like, four-part chorale style featuring much parallel motion amongst the voices. Movement 3, in ternary form, features contrasts of musical style and tempo. The primary theme (Giocoso, un poco moderato), played by violin I, is a jaunty, pentatonic melody reminiscent of a fiddle tune. Its dactyl rhythms prove prominent until a different theme beginning with an anacrusis (m. 34) introduces dotted rhythms. An alternation of these melodies will ensue until the Trio section (m. 177). The Trio’s pentatonic melody is singable and lyrical; coupled with the Tempo Tranquillo marking, it evokes a lullaby. A double bar line at measure 250 brings the return of A and the movement’s conclusion. As in movements 1 and 2, Chadwick employs a thin texture between the voices; his counterpoint is not thick or dense, and the harmonies are open and consonant.

The final movement, a theme and variation form with a fugal section, is a tour de force. The principal theme is simple and scale-wise in profile. It is cast in E minor, but the leading tone is lowered, not raised as expected. This lowered seventh is another stylistic trait of Chadwick’s, one that gives his music a traditional, American folk-like quality.\textsuperscript{205} Additionally, the upper three voices present the theme in unison, which helps give the melody the character of New England psalmody; and in fact, Chadwick inscribed a biblical

\textsuperscript{205} Norm Cohen’s \textit{Folk Music: A Regional Exploration} (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005) remarks upon the presence of Mixolydian scales (as well as pentatonic and hexatonic scales) found in Anglo-Celtic folk music, 77-79.
reference on his manuscript with the words, “And I shall shake.” The reference becomes prophetic as Chadwick traverses unpredictable changes in mood and tempo.

Beginning at measure 115, Chadwick exercises his compositional prowess with a double fugue whose first subject is based on the principal theme, now, presented by the viola; one measure later, the violin offers subject 2. The rhythmic contrast between subjects creates drive and forward motion. Although it begins like a textbook German fugue, the old world European quality is soon overtaken by Chadwick’s Americanisms via open harmonies, thin textures, and voices doubling in octaves. The movement concludes with a *Presto* section that seems logically to demand rapid eighth-note passages; but Chadwick goes in the opposite direction instead by favoring quarter-note and whole-note durations. The conclusion of the Quartet is not fiery or exuberant but rather shows restraint. Yellin sums up Chadwick’s Fourth Quartet nicely: the entire work runs the gamut of American music from New England psalm singing to nineteenth-century romanticism.206 Chadwick “did not find his American melodic material in a library. He wrote the way he sang, the way his folks sang in Nathaniel D. Gould’s singing school…and the way all the other Fittses and Chadwicks had sung for generations.”207

**CHADWICK’S SYMPHONIC SKETCHES**

Chadwick composed six symphonies, but only three are titled “symphony” in his catalog. According to Yellin, Chadwick possibly stopped using “symphony” as a compositional designation because he did not want his multi-movement orchestral works to be compared to the symphonies that came before him. The symphonic genre was

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207 Ibid, 108.
considered lofty and serious by his contemporaries, whereas Chadwick was diffusing the seriousness of the genre with aspects of the vernacular. Perhaps this was his way of continuing to write multi-movement orchestral works without being held to the symphonic standards of the day. In effect, Chadwick had found a loophole.

Symphonic Sketches (1895-1904) is a four-movement programmatic work for orchestra. In this work, Chadwick provides titles for each movement and paints musical images with his orchestra. He prefaces each movement with a short epigraph of his own creation (with the exception of movement three, where he borrows a quote from Shakespeare’s A Midsummer Night’s Dream). Quite intentionally, Chadwick demonstrates Americanisms in the outer movements.\(^{208}\) By this point in his career, Chadwick’s music was “considered characteristically American, but in his Sketches he was determined to confront head-on the recent controversies over what is or is not stylistically American. Although he did not explain his compositional methods with any specificity...he nevertheless determined to make them “‘American in style—as I understand the term.’”\(^{209}\)

The first movement, “Jubilee,” was composed in 1895. Boston Transcript critic Henry Taylor Parker remarked in a review from 1908 that he “heard in “Jubilee” echoes of “Negro tunes,” and he delighted in the music’s “high and volatile spirits...the sheer rough and tumble of it,” concluding “The music shouts because it cannot help it, and sings because it cannot help it, and each as only Americans would shout and sing.”\(^{210}\) A full array of Chadwick’s Americanisms is featured, including call and response, Scotch snaps, a rhythmic quote from the chorus of Stephen Foster’s “Camptown Races,” syncopation and

\(^{208}\) Faucett, Chadwick: The Life and Music, 195.
\(^{209}\) Ibid, 181.
hemiola, pentatonic scales, time signature and mood changes, open textures via parallel motion and voice doubling, a multi-sectional coda, percussion, brass fanfares, and an emphasis on the woodwinds. This movement was so popular that John Philip Sousa arranged it for his brass band.

The exposition begins with a spritely fanfare, enlivened by a battery of percussion, in A major. Transitional material in C minor incorporates a pentatonic melody, pitch repetitions, and Scotch snap rhythms. A modulation to the dominant would seem logical for a contrasting second theme, but instead the key changes to C major upon Theme 2’s arrival at measure 58: just as Chadwick had done in previous works, his second theme is in the mediant. It begins with horn fifths, followed by a lyrical, folk-like melody in the violins (m. 63), accompanied by a habanera rhythm in the cello (Ex. 8).

Example 8. Theme 2, Chadwick, Symphonic Sketches/ I, mm. 62-67

Within the development section, Chadwick introduces a new, syncopated melody (m. 126), and then subjects this melody to further rhythmic complexity with Scotch snaps. The arrival of the recapitulation (m. 157) is grand yet displays no surprises regarding melodic material, apart from a fresh modulation in Theme 2 to F Major. A coda in five
sections follows. Section 4 (m. 282) is especially interesting because it features a recasting of the second theme in an overtly sentimental manner (Ex. 9).

Example 9. Coda Four, mm. 282-289

Coupled with this sonorous rendition of the melody, a habanera rhythm creates vitality and propulsion and offers a lively contrast to the music above. Chadwick’s sense of humor is evident as he sets two incongruously diverse musical styles against one another. The sentimental affect overtakes as the coda appears to move toward a soft and calm close. And yet tension is building, and in typical Chadwickian fashion, he diverts to a final coda, *Presto*, (m. 315) to make a dashing conclusion.

The middle movements are not explicitly American in style according to Chadwick’s summation of his work mentioned above. However, perhaps subconsciously, the composer does endow them with an American accent. The second movement, “Noël,” was composed in 1895 as a musical embodiment of Chadwick’s love for his second son, Noel. A pastoral setting is portrayed by the oboe and English horn’s quasi-pentatonic, ballad-like melody (for characteristics of balladry, see chapter 4). It is sentimental in its mood and evocative of the *Largo* movement from Dvořák’s *New World*. A pedal point under the melody establishes a folk tune feel. At times, Chadwick uses the entire string
ensemble to create a dense, full sound; but then to create contrast, his orchestration
becomes open and vast as he utilizes unison and voice doubling. His emphasis is on the
outer voices of the strings and woodwinds. Brass usage is very sparse, and there is no
percussion.

The third movement, “Hobgoblin,” was composed in 1904. Here Chadwick’s
Americanisms are apparent through his use of syncopation, cross rhythms and polymeters,
an upbeat tempo, and boisterous dynamics. The Shakespearian epithet refers to Puck in A
Midsummer Night’s Dream: “That shrewd and knavish sprite called Robin Good-fellow”
sets the mood of the movement. Chadwick’s own words to describe the movement include
“the rascally imp,” “mocking,” and “disconcerting.” Henry T. Parker described it this
way: “Bluff music with an unmistakable sturdy American tang. Mr. Chadwick has taken
his boy-fairy out of the English farmsteads to set him in American farm houses.”
Although presented as a Scherzo Capriccioso, the movement is in sonata form.

The introduction begins in F major with a monophonic French horn call answered
by ethereal violins and flutes, plus a twinkling triangle. Theme 1 begins at measure 42 and
features sweeping eighth notes and triadic movement, as well as a hocket exchange
between the strings and woodwinds. In true mischievous fashion, the introductory material
reappears at measure 66—the listener has been tricked into thinking the movement was well
under way—followed once again by Theme 1 (m. 95) played this time by the violins, flute,
and piccolo in octaves. Theme 2 (m. 143), in C major, is derived from the introductory
French horn call, but expanded upon melodically and rhythmically to include syncopation.

211 Daniel Kingman, American Music A Panorama, 2nd concise ed. (Belmont: Thomson Schirmer, 2003), 349.
212 Faucett, Chadwick: His Symphonic Works, 113.
The development explores Themes 1 and 2. The orchestral texture is thin and transparent due to the accent on parallel motion and voice doubling. Rhythmic irregularities are represented in the form of cross rhythms (eighth notes against triplets) and polymeter (quadruple against triple). The Recapitulation begins at measure 319, but it is not straightforward. Instead, Chadwick subjects the listener to further tricks and musical mischief: Theme 1 ensues, but the French horn call returns (m. 370) to interrupt the musical momentum, while hemiolas disrupt any semblance of rhythmic stability. The coda builds tension melodically and rhythmically, as the strings take up a variation of the French horn call with hemiolas. The movement closes with rapidly descending scales, which come to a halt on the tonic.

The fourth movement, “A Vagrom Ballad,” was inspired by Chadwick’s taking notice of vagabonds through his train’s window as he travelled from Boston to Springfield. According to Bill Faucett, this movement is the most important regarding the usage of Americanisms.213 Marked Alla Burla, it demonstrates Chadwick’s sense of humor as it indulges in elements of musical farce. For example, Chadwick employs solos by unusual instruments, including a bass clarinet (in the measure 9cadenza ) and a xylophone (for a Bach quote in (m. 190),214 Military-style brass fanfares interrupt the musical flow, strings strum like banjos, and “ragged” rhythms (an allusion to ragtime’s popularity), pentatonic scales, and the Lento section’s Impressionistic parody215 are added to the mix.

213 Faucett, Chadwick: The Life and Music, 185.
214 Yellin, 122.
215 Faucett, Chadwick: The Life and Music, 185.
CHADWICK’S AMERICAN SOUND

As demonstrated in the works discussed above, Chadwick’s individual style is rendered distinct through his use of syncopation, cross rhythms, and dotted note values; frequent and sometimes abrupt changes of mood, key signature, and tempo; pentatonic and folk-like melodies; and sparse accompaniments, with voice leading in unison and in parallel motion. These, I believe, are the crux of Chadwick’s American sound. It would be an oversimplification to state that individually or even collectively the musical elements in his arsenal are sufficient to create an American sound. Rather, it is his treatment of those elements and his choices regarding the accompaniment, the texture, orchestral effects, and the voice leading that combine to produce a characteristic American sound. Included among these features are the Latin-American rhythms by which Chadwick was fascinated. Such rhythms intrigued composers from Gottschalk to Copland and beyond in their efforts to paint musical portraits of the West. Lastly there is Chadwick’s Impressionistic language, which includes movement in parallel motion, open, hollow sounds, voice doubling and movement in octaves, and textural transparency; all of which are in opposition to the dense, thick textures and counterpoint found in orchestral works by German Romantics.

EDWARD MACDOWELL: AMERICA’S LEADING COMPOSER

Edward MacDowell (1860-1908) was born in New York City and spent his childhood in a prosperous Lower East Side neighborhood.\textsuperscript{216} Since his ancestry was Northern Irish and Scottish, it was natural that at a young age he should become captivated with Celtic lore and ancient and medieval Celtic literature. His fascination would continue

into his adult life as several of his works were inspired by such literature. As a youth, he demonstrated musical proficiency, which prompted his mother to embark with her son to Europe for further study in 1876. He studied at the Paris Conservatory at the same time as Debussy, but was dissatisfied with French instruction. MacDowell travelled to Germany to study and to begin his career as a composer; he would remain in Germany until 1888. He then spent the next eight years in Boston, before taking a position at Columbia University in New York in 1896.

MacDowell’s musical style was largely German-Romantic, and his tonal language was on a par with the new German School of Wagner and Liszt. His music speaks with a cosmopolitan voice, even when he is trying to evoke other vistas. Notably, when one examines the “markers” of musical Americanisms as they manifested in Chadwick’s works, they are not evident in MacDowell’s music, even when he was inspired by American subjects. One exception is his “Indian” Suite, op. 48, in which he purposely and overtly used American Indian melodies from Theodore Baker’s dissertation as a basis of melodic invention. The Suite provided a model for other composers who wished to treat indigenous American melodies. Below, analyses of the “Indian” Suite and selected character pieces inspired by American topics will be presented.

Although MacDowell’s orchestral works do not typically betray Americanisms, his songs and piano pieces do show American traces following his return to the United States in 1888. His orchestral works and concertos are German influenced (with exception of the “Indian” Suite). MacDowell’s sets of character pieces, especially Woodland Sketches, Sea Pieces, and Fireside Tales, were inspired by his New England landscape, but they tend to resemble European character pieces more than American portrayals.
For MacDowell, nationality did not have a place in music, because anyone has the capability to imitate a national style. Instead, MacDowell was more interested in nationalism through universality. For example, his set of character pieces, *Woodland Sketches*, was inspired by his New Hampshire surroundings. The music does not tell a specific story, but rather evokes his “response” to the object/subject. As explained by his wife, Marian MacDowell, “(His) writing was never descriptive in a realistic sense; it was the expression of a mood which might be awakened by a sense, a poem, an idea or an experience...His music was seldom pictorial or imitative. It presents the spirit of a picture, rather than a picture itself.” He was more concerned with reaching a broad spectrum of listeners than alienating them by musically depicting objects or scenes that people had not directly encountered. MacDowell wanted his audience to enjoy his music whether they had been to New Hampshire or not. “He used American materials because they had value to him...the Woodlands of MacDowell’s *Woodland Sketches* happened to be in New Hampshire, but he did not want to limit its appeal...he felt no need to tout New Hampshire...it should move a German as much as a New Englander.”

**MACDOWELL’S FIRST SUITE FOR ORCHESTRA**

To assess MacDowell’s musical language before Dvořák’s arrival, his First Suite for Orchestra, op. 42 (1890-91) will serve as a starting point. The First Suite is a five-

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219 Tawa, 133.
movement programmatic work. Although MacDowell utilizes hemiola and syncopation, the same devices used by Chadwick, the outcome is different for MacDowell. To begin with, MacDowell’s orchestral textures are dense, and there is much more counterpoint in comparison to Chadwick’s orchestral works discussed above. Additionally, the movement titles are in German, not English. The movements are rather brief, lasting only three to five minutes each, a trait that places this work more along the lines of a set of character pieces for orchestra than a typical orchestral suite of the late nineteenth-century.

The first movement, “Haunted Forest,” begins mysteriously in A minor with the principal melody in the cellos and double basses, accompanied by a tonic pedal in the French horns and timpani. The melody is transferred to the upper woodwinds as string tremolos linger underneath. A double bar line, followed by the marking Allegro furioso (m. 35), initiates a fury of fast-paced chromatic runs. The principal melody, scored the same as the opening, returns briefly at measure 171 to close the movement. The second movement, “Summer Idyll,” evokes a pastoral setting through a 6/8 time signature and a heavy emphasis on woodwinds and strings. A pedal tone in the French horn is heard against pizzicato strings, from which a lilting melody will grow at measure 4, initiated by the first violin. In the same manner, staccato winds will initiate a repetition of the strings’ music at measure 9. The swaying melody passes through the orchestral voices with a pleasing accompaniment of call and response between the strings and woodwinds (mm. 15-22). The rhythmic interplay between these two orchestral families over the duration of the piece creates a carefree and rhythmically spry ambiance. The third movement, “In October,” begins with a French horn call for two measures, which is then echoed. It is an autumnal

In its original version the Suite was in four movements. “Im October” was added in between movements 2 and 3 in 1893.
call to action for the orchestra. The movement traverses several meter and tempo changes, and MacDowell’s transitions from one musical idea to the next are seamless. The fourth movement, “Shepherdess’ Song,” has a lyrical melody with an emphasis on woodwinds and strings. Lush harmonies accompany the expressive melodic line. The final movement, “Forest Spirits,” is in three parts (ABA). The A material features spritely winds and running strings, and a syncopated melody, while B is approached by a chromatic descent. MacDowell marks this section *Misterioso*. In contrast to the upbeat nature of A, this section is slower (the half-note = 54 bpm) while polymeter (2/2 against 6/4) creates rhythmic unease. The only hint of musical Americanism appears in this final movement. The A material features a folk-style, syncopated melody in violin 1, introduced at measure 49. Its syncopated melody is coupled with only a drone, which helps give the melody an American folk-like flavor. The second violins and violas double the first violin’s melody in octaves at measure 65, further contributing to an American quality.

Overall, MacDowell’s treatment of orchestration and counterpoint seems to be taking a page from his former teacher, Joachim Raff (Franz Liszt’s assistant and orchestrator from 1850-53) and Liszt’s tone poems. Raff was deeply inspired by nature as well, as six of his nine program symphonies allude to the outdoors. Raff’s music was wildly successful in Europe and the United States, especially his Third Symphony, “Im Walde” (1869). In MacDowell’s First Suite, syncopated melodies abound, but it is what happens in between the principal voices—the dense and active accompaniments—that causes his music to have a German sound in my opinion. To become Chadwickian in style as I see it, MacDowell would have needed to utilize more voice doubling and less contrapuntal activity.
MacDowell’s Second Suite for Orchestra, “Indian”

MacDowell was America’s most renowned composer, and his Second “Indian” Suite, op. 48 (1895) is the best known and most successful example of art music based on American Indian melodies by an American composer. Each movement draws on authentic American Indian songs as transcribed and published by Theodore Baker in his 1882 doctoral dissertation, “Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden” (On the Music of the North American Indians). MacDowell had hoped that the suite would provide a model for his contemporaries’ treatment of indigenous music. Rather than lifting the native melodies and dressing them in European harmony, which MacDowell considered to be music made by “recipe” or “tailoring,” MacDowell altered the material and used it on his own terms. The themes retain some of their characteristics when first presented, but they are soon expanded upon and developed. As discussed in chapter 4, Theodore Baker’s approach to the study of American Indian music differed from the work of scholars at the close of the century. He did not provide any cultural research in his dissertation and did not examine the music in its natural context. This, in effect, justified MacDowell’s strategy to extract the music and elaborate upon it freely.

Most of MacDowell’s contact with American Indians came from Baker’s dissertation and from his own imagination. Those of MacDowell’s generation tended to idealize the American Indian way of life. An enlightening article by Kara Anne Gardner discusses anti-modernism, “a backlash response to industrial progress,” among nineteenth-century urban dwellers who were seeking refuge from the hustle and bustle of

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city life. An idealized view of the American Indian appealed to their escapist imagination, promising a return to simplicity and nature. This romanticized version of the American Indian found its way into many art forms, including MacDowell’s “Indian” Suite. The term “Hiawathaesque” derived from Longfellow’s 1855 epic poem, “The Song of Hiawatha,” is used to describe this type of idealized typecasting. Nineteenth-century, European Americans viewed American Indian culture as under-evolved. The prevailing thought was that given enough time, their culture would eventually catch up to Western civilization. MacDowell’s “position was entirely in keeping with social Darwinist theories as well as with the concepts of “cultural evolution” whereby aboriginal peoples around the globe existed in the present as representatives of the European past.”223 To some degree, American Indians existed as a sort of living history for those of European descent. Within the third movement of the “Indian” Suite there is a struggle between the “noble savage” and the “wild primitive.” To evoke the “noble,” MacDowell used lyrical lines, while the “primitive” is represented by excessive repetition, syncopation, and dramatic, percussive outbursts. Through the lens of cultural evolution one might understand MacDowell’s primitive theme to represent the American Indians as Europeans’ past while the noble savage idea pointed to the notion of American Indians’ evolution toward Western civilization. This is not the case. According to MacDowell, the third movement, “In War-time,” evokes the images of the Thorfinn Karlsefi Saga: a war between two different cultures, the Vikings vs. the Indians.

Although the third movement is in D minor, there are large sections that are harmonically ambiguous: MacDowell’s use of the non-functioning dominant chord makes

223 Browner, 270.
the piece sound more modal than tonal, and the extensive chromaticism makes it harmonically unsettling. The Norse theme, derived from an authentic American Indian song, is balanced with 4+4 phrases and dance-like rhythms. Example 10a is the transcription from Baker’s monograph; the opening measures from “In War-time” (Ex. 10b) show MacDowell’s deviations from the original.

Melodically, Baker and MacDowell have the same ascending and descending shape in conjunct motion with few large leaps. Although notated in 2/4 rather than 4/4 time, MacDowell’s theme follows the same rhythmic shape as his model. In measure 5, MacDowell deviates from the transcription and inserts a new descending chromatic line. In his Critical and Historical Essays, he explains the differences between folk music and barbaric music: Barbaric music is the most primitive type, in which melodies consist of one note repeated incessantly (Primitive theme). The next phase, savage chanting, is a precursor to folksong (Norse theme).

Example 10a. Baker, Song 38
Example 10b. MacDowell, mm. 1-9 (Norse theme)

Savage chanting contains two elements: a wild howl and a raising of the voice to evoke strong emotion. The howl, which consists of a “descending scale of undefined notes,” is first introduced in m. 5, and it will be expanded upon throughout the course of the movement. MacDowell probably considered the opening melody an example of folksong, given that he understood savage chanting to be folksong’s forerunner. The original American Indian tune has been modified to demonstrate the Vikings’ own cultural evolution. Regarding the instrumentation of the first theme, MacDowell sets the melody in the flute, which has connotations of nature and pastoral images. The expressive marking is quite telling as it sets the scene for this imminent war: “With rough vigor, almost savagely.”

The second theme is more evocative of American Indian music, owing to its simple, repetitive rhythm and narrow melodic range, and pentatonic basis. It more than likely represents the primitive, as its musical components fit MacDowell’s description of barbaric music. The clarinet, playing in its low range, sounds aggressive and resolute. This theme follows Baker’s transcription with more accuracy rhythmically, melodically, and intervallically (Ex. 11a and b).

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By measure 58, the war between cultures is under way; nervous trills are punctuated by repetitive pitches grouped in thirds, and the rising and falling dynamic level increases the excitement. For nearly thirty measures, the conflict builds to a frenzy. Tension mounts, and the struggle persists until measure 132, where the Norse theme gains some control as it fragments the opening melody (cf. mm.1-9) and sets it against fragmentary sixteenth notes of the Primitive theme (cf. mm.17-24).

The sound of the timpani heralds the end of the battle as the instruments fade and only the strings remain, with a chromatically descending line derived from the repetitive
sixteenth notes of the Primitive theme. Here, in effect, the two themes are making a compromise as they blend together as one and the volume gradually decreases from $fff$ to $ppp$ over the course of thirty-seven measures. Measure 184 introduces a new tempo marking, “Slow,” as MacDowell foreshadows the fourth movement (“Dirge”) by playing its melody. Clearly, this is a moment of reflection as the warriors of both cultures mourn the loss of their comrades.

The first to recover from their wounds are the Vikings as the sparsely accompanied Norse theme returns in the cello line. Fragments of the Primitive theme coexist with the Norse theme, but the former loses its hold as the latter makes a triumphant return in full force at measure 262. MacDowell creates a sense of frenzy as the tempo increases, but the more “civilized” Norse theme wins out over the primitives in the end.

The movement is composed of only the two themes, of which only the Norse theme is developed and expanded upon while the Primitive theme consists of the continual repetition of its rhythmic component (two sixteenths beamed to an eighth-note) and the persistent one-note recurrences. It certainly conveys the stereotypical connotations of American Indian music. It is true that the Norse theme also uses paired sixteenth notes, but the recurring pattern is reversed (an eighth-note beamed to two sixteenth-notes); therefore, when the rhythm is fragmented it has the capacity to represent both cultures. There may be a suggestion here that for MacDowell, American Indian music has potential for growth. One may borrow from their musical culture, but then develop and expand in order to elevate the music to civilized standards. A certain nineteenth-century understanding of cultural evolution is thus validated and reflected in MacDowell’s suite. All of this runs contrary to Dvorak’s suggestion, since instead of American folk music as
a source for inspiration, MacDowell is using it to show in what ways it can be treated thoughtfully within a European genre.

The “Indian” Suite represents an anomaly in MacDowell’s compositional output, as he did not draw upon American Indian music so heavily in subsequent works. This is not to say that he never again evoked American Indian images from time to time, but even these instances are few. In any event, compositional devices intended to evoke those images actually transcended American Indian life and found their way into works that meant to depict American life in general. Traits such as harmonic simplicity demonstrated by open chords, pentatonic scales, and melodies that feature note repetition contribute to MacDowell’s idea that such American-Indian related features are more universal. Thus the example below from MacDowell’s character piece “To a Wild Rose” from Woodland Sketches, op. 51, uses extended chords and open harmonies, plus note repetition—style traits that give this piece a generic American quality, although these are the same features found in his distinctly “Indian” suite (Ex. 12).

Example 12. MacDowell, mm. 1-8

“To a Wild Rose,” mm. 1–8

With simple tenderness. (a = 88 M.M.)
Perhaps the most prominent example of universality comes from movement IV (“Dirge”) of the “Indian” Suite. The melody is a Kiowa Song of a Mother to Her Absent Son (Ex. 13a and b).

Example 13a. Baker, Song 23

Example 13b. MacDowell, mm.1-7

MacDowell regards the text as the song of a mother who mourns the loss of her son. He does not localize this emotion to an Indian mother, but refers to it as “world-sorrow” instead. The motive has the ability to mean something in all places at all times. The
characteristic of the “Dirge” motive is the descending melodic shape: a half step to a tritone followed by a whole step to a major third. It was first used in *Sonata tragica*, op. 45, for solo piano. MacDowell began working on the “Indian” Suite at the same time as the sonata, and indeed the two compositions betray similarities. Later mature works also incorporate the dirge theme, as in his sets of character sketches, *Sea Pieces*, op. 55 and *Fireside Tales*, op. 61. That none of the pieces in either set has anything to do with American Indians once again demonstrates that MacDowell did not identify this motive, its emotional content, or its rhythmic and melodic features exclusively to American Indian subject matter. In sum, it was never MacDowell’s intention to create an American national style of music through his use of American Indian melodies, but rather to create music that had widespread appeal and accessibility.

ANTONÍN DVOŘÁK’S INTEREST IN AMERICAN MUSIC

During his three years in the United States, Antonín Dvořák wrote ten major works. Questions regarding Dvořák’s musical “Americanisms” have been debated since his arrival. In his first published article (*New York Herald*, May, 21 1893) as the Director of the New Conservatory of Music, Dvořák wrote:

I did not come to America to interpret Beethoven or Wagner for the public. This is not my work and I would not waste any time on it. I came to discover what young Americans have in them and to help them express it…The new American school of music must strike its roots deeply into its own soil.\(^\text{225}\)

He qualified his statement with “In the Negro melodies of America I discover all that is needed for a great and noble school of music.” Dvořák was most interested in the music of African Americans, but he found importance in American Indian music as well. Although he did not draw upon American Indian music much, at the premiere of his *New World* Symphony (December 1893), he expanded his views to include American Indians. Prior to his departure from the United States, he broached the subject of nationality again in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* (February 1895). He admitted that his original assertions were based upon insufficient knowledge of America’s music. This country is a melting pot with a myriad of races and ethnicities, therefore, “The germs for the best in music lie hidden among all the races that are comingled in this great country.”

Dvořák’s desire to surround himself with ethnic American music as a source of inspiration was recounted in the *Chicago Tribune*. As Jack Sullivan has observed, “his method was to study black, Creole, and other indigenous melodies until he became ‘thoroughly imbued with their characteristics’ and was able to ‘make a music picture in keeping with and partaking of those characteristics.’ The ultimate goal was to ‘grasp the essence and vitality of the subject’ and recreate that essence in his own themes.” His exposure to African American music was through two types of “Negro melodies” popular in New York at the time: European-style concert arrangements of spirituals, and imitation “plantation” songs by Stephen Foster and other white songwriters. At the Conservatory,

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226 Quoted in Tibbits, 349.
227 Tibbits, 349.
Dvořák taught several black students, including Harry T. Burleigh, and it was through Burleigh that Dvořák was able to hear interpretations of traditional black music. Burleigh was a talented singer, but his renditions were two generations removed. As with most traditional music, one’s interpretation is merely an approximation of the original. But again, Dvořák was not interested in literal quotation. Rather, he intended to capture the spirit of this music. During a summer in Spillville, Iowa in 1892, he was introduced to a Kickapoo Indian tribe and heard their music firsthand. It is also documented that Dvořák attended Buffalo Bill’s “Wild West,” where he had seen and heard American Indian performers.\textsuperscript{231} Through his familiarity with traditional African American and American Indian musical characteristics, he did notice shared elements, particularly regarding the use of pentatonic scales and rhythmic vitality. Such observations caused him to remark in an interview with the \textit{New York Herald} that he had found the music of Negroes and Indians virtually identical.\textsuperscript{232} There are musical common denominators, but his phrase “practically identical” does not do either category of music any justice. With such a sweeping generalization, rather unintentionally, Dvořák supported MacDowell’s claim that nationality can be imitated.

Dvořák never claimed to be an American composer;\textsuperscript{233} he merely surrounded himself with America’s music and assimilated. Yet he was European born and trained, so his musical ideas of America were filtered through his European background. Dvořák’s interest lay in the “markers” of American music, which include Scotch snaps, pentatonic

\textsuperscript{233} Tibbitts, 352.
and gapped scales, lowered seventh scale degrees, and vibrant syncopations. Dvořák scholars admit that such musical elements had appeared in his music prior to his American visit, but conclude that these features were used more frequently and persistently in his American works, particularly in his New World Symphony, the “American” Quartet, the “American” Quintet, and the Sonatina. Dvořák also remarked that the music he wrote in America could not have been written had he not visited the United States.

FROM THE NEW WORLD

Dvořák’s Symphony no. 9, From the New World, op. 95 (1893), was composed in New York. He remarked that the symphony’s inspiration, specifically regarding the second and third movements, stemmed from Longfellow’s epic poem The Song of Hiawatha (1855). Dvořák had read the poem in a Czech translation in Bohemia years before he came to the United States, and he reread it during his stay in America. He contemplated an opera on the subject, but that project never came to fruition. Dvořák’s New World is possibly his best known and most performed symphonic work; it is also the subject of much scrutiny. Since its premiere in 1893, the piece has been met with critical acclaim in some circles and disdain in others. Henry Krehbiel, after a lengthy interview with the composer, had published an extensive analysis of the symphony, with examples, in the New York Daily Tribune in December 1893. Krehbiel took a strong stand in favor of the American attributes of the symphony. Conversely, the Musical Courier art and music critic, James Huneker, was vocal in his assertions that the symphony contained nothing American. He wrote:

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234 Tibbits, 351.
235 Ibid, 352.
“Dvořák’s is an American symphony: is it? Themes from Negro melodies; composed by a Bohemian, conducted by a Hungarian and played by Germans in a hall built by a Scotchman. About one third of the audience were American and so were the critics. All of the rest of it was anything but American—and that is just as it should be.”236 Conservatives were appalled by Dvořák’s promotion of black music as a basis for an American style. Harsh verbiage was used by influential critics who denounced blacks as limited and unable to contribute to the world of art. Huneker was especially vicious: “If we are to have true American music it will not stem from ‘darky’ roots.”237 Such commentary was motivated by racial politics and seemed to be more concentrated on what the symphony represented than on Dvořák’s skills as a symphonist.

In any event, “the New World’s American accent has bedeviled commentators ever since. No one could claim that it sounds altogether ‘American,’ its technique and construction are plainly Germanic and Dvořák’s own signature remains Bohemian.”238 True, the symphony’s technique and construction are Germanic—traditional symphonic forms are employed, and cyclic unity creates cohesion, while Dvořák’s Bohemian signature is felt through his predilection for the woodwinds (English horn and piccolo) and supplementary percussion (triangle).239 Unlike Brahms, whose orchestral textures are dense and emphasize the lower timbres of the orchestra, Dvořák’s scoring tends to be relatively light. Dvořák favored the outer voices of the orchestra instead, an approach that helps give his music buoyancy and transparency. He and his Czech compatriots “tend to

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236 Sullivan, 8-9.
237 Sullivan, 11.
sound lean and brash, even strident. This brighter complexion goes hand in hand with Czech music’s stronger and more varied rhythmic component—rooted in dance and in the peculiar accentuation of the language—as well as its often pastoral character, typified by particularly colorful exploitation of woodwind timbres.”\(^{240}\) Reading David Hurwitz’s summation of Dvořák’s musical style, I cannot help but notice similarities with Chadwick. Despite the fact that they use many of the same tools, Dvořák is missing the distinct American trait of musical unpredictability that is so innate in Chadwick. The topic of Dvořák’s Czech-American accent will be explored through an examination of the middle movements of Dvořák’s *New World*.

The second movement, *Largo*, was inspired by the burial of Hiawatha’s companion, Minnehaha.\(^{241}\) The movement begins with a chordal, hymn-like passage in the lower woodwinds and brass family, which dovetails into the strings providing a rhythmic preparation to the English horn’s solo. Dotted rhythms are the prominent figure. Underneath the English horn’s pentatonic melody (m. 7), a choir of strings plays slow moving harmonies as well as drones. The strings are muted and sound very much like a wordless choir supporting the emotional melody above (Ex. 14). Compared to Chadwick, whose counterpoint is typically sparse, Dvořák’s string line is divided to create thicker chords, which gives the accompaniment a fuller, richer sound. Moreover, the largely step-wise melodic arch Dvořák created is singable, and the four-bar phrases are clear. All of these traits help to establish a folk-like character. The English horn’s pentatonic theme is evocative of American Indian melodies, and his choice of a woodwind instrument also supports an American Indian character. Common in American Indian instrumental music,

\(^{240}\) Ibid, 14.

\(^{241}\) Clapham, *Antonín Dvořák*, 86.
the flute’s main association is with love songs. Dvořák originally scored the opening melody for flute and clarinet but eventually decided to utilize the English horn with the aim of emulating Burleigh’s vocal timbre.\textsuperscript{242} Dvořák stated that he had “written original themes embodying the peculiarities of the Indian music,”\textsuperscript{243} but a case for African-American influences can be made equally well, as Dvořák himself asserted that the symphony was meant to suggest American Indian tunes just as

Example 14. Opening, Dvořák, \textit{New World Symphony} II, mm. 1-10

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much as Negro spirituals.\textsuperscript{244} Based upon the melody’s rhythmic and singable melodic profile, and the use of a pentatonic scale (as found in many traditional spirituals), one can understand the ease with which the principal theme could be used as the basis of a concert spiritual. In 1922, this movement was arranged as “Goin’ Home,” with original text by Dvořák’s former student, William Arms Fisher.

The middle portion of the movement, beginning at measure 46 (\textit{Un poco più mosso}), is an elegy depicting Hiawatha’s lament at Minnehaha’s grave.\textsuperscript{245} The melodic emphasis is placed upon the flute and oboe in unison. This sound, combined with pentatonicism and repetitive notes, clearly suggests an American Indian flavor. The melody’s Americanness is also felt in the use of lowered seventh scale degrees. Dvořák’s orchestration in the earlier part of the movement had been very sparse, focusing on the upper woodwinds and the outer voices of the string family. An unexpected new theme at measure 90 interrupts the movement’s transparency and mood. A lively dance-like tune in sixteenth-note sextuplets and triplets brings comic relief to Hiawatha’s lament. The full orchestra, having reached \textit{fortissimo} (m. 96), supports a brief fragment of the principal theme from the first movement. The triumphant moment is short-lived, as the English horn reappears (m. 101), together with the return of a thin orchestral texture.

Movement three’s opening, is quite obviously ‘Indian’ music with its pentatonic starkness, spare chording, and relentless tom-tom beat.\textsuperscript{246} In fact, Dvořák told the \textit{New York Herald} (December 15, 1893) that it represented ‘the scene at the feast in Hiawatha where the Indians dance’\textsuperscript{247}—which would be the Dance of Pau-Puk Keewis at Hiawatha’s

\textsuperscript{245} Paul Stefan, \textit{Anton Dvořák}, trans. Y.W. Vance (New York: The Greystone Press, 1941), 211.
\textsuperscript{246} Horowitz, 6.
\textsuperscript{247} Antonín Dvořák, \textit{New York Herald} (December 15, 1893), quoted in Horowitz, 6.
wedding. The Scherzo begins with repetitive notes (a fragment of the principal theme’s rhythmic cell) that builds tension prior to the introduction of the principal theme at measure 13 (Ex. 15). The upper woodwinds play the theme in canon while the strings provide a drone.

Example 15. Theme 1, Dvořák New World Symphony/ III, mm. 12-23

The kettledrums enter apprehensively (m. 22), while the strings take over the principal theme and move towards the inclusion of the entire orchestra beginning at measure 42. A contrasting theme (Poco sostenuto, m. 68) in the brighter key of E major features a pentatonic scale, rhythmic displacements via hemiola, and the evocation of a rustic waltz. Here Dvořák’s music evokes the festive dance of Longfellow’s poem:

First he danced a solemn measure,  
Very slow in step and gesture,  
In and out among the pine trees,  
Through the shadows and the sunshine,  
Treading softly like a panther.  
Then more swiftly and still swifter,  
Whirling, spinning round in circles…

The Trio section assumes the demeanor of a Bohemian dance (Ex. 16). John Clapham defines its character as that of a sousedská, a slow, triple-meter dance. An ostinato pattern in the strings enhances the folk-like character. The works concludes with a coda, which incorporates quotations from the first movement.
Debate regarding Dvořák’s use of Bohemian or American allusions and materials in his Ninth Symphony has been lively ever since the symphony’s premiere. Aspects of its melodic and rhythmic treatment can be found in both cultures, as well as in many others around the world. Dvořák’s intention was not to create a national music for America. He was opposed to the idea of nationality because it presumes superiority. Dvořák was a vehement patriot, but not a nationalist. Just as MacDowell’s “Indian” Suite was composed as a musical example for composers working with indigenous material, so too is Dvořák’s *New World*. To support Michael Beckerman’s conclusion that the symphony is a “musical
landscape,” whose subject is American as “painted by a Czech.”248 The title of the symphony warrants discussion. That title was in fact an afterthought. According to his assistant, Dvořák came up with the title just as it was to be delivered to Anton Seidl. Whenever the subject arose regarding its specific meaning, Dvořák responded that all it meant was “Impressions and greeting from the New World.”249 In that light, it is easy to appreciate the importance of both Czech and American influences. Jeanette Thurber, the founder of the National Conservatory, made this statement about the New World’s genesis:

On the whole, Dvořák seemed happy in his new surroundings, although he suffered much from homesickness, being intensely patriotic. He passed two of his summers in Iowa, at Spillville, because of the number of Bohemians living there. Anton Seidl was probably right in declaring that the intense pathos of the slow movement of the New World Symphony was inspired by nostalgia—by longing for home. It was at my suggestion that he composed this symphony. He used to be particularly homesick on steamer days when he read the shipping news in the Herald. Thoughts of home often moved him to tears. On one of these days I suggested that he write a symphony embodying his experiences and feelings in America—a suggestion which he promptly adopted.250

DVOŘÁK’S STRING QUARTET, “AMERICAN”

Dvořák’s “American” String Quartet, op. 96 (1893), was composed during a summer-time visit to a predominantly Czech community in Spillville, Iowa. There, he met with the Kickapoo Indian tribe. Regarding his “American” Quartet and subsequent Quintet, op. 97, Dvořák said they were both written with “Indian spirit.”251 The Quartet premiered in Boston in January 1894 by the Kneisel Quartet.

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248 Horowitz, 6.
249 Clapham, Antonín Dvořák, 88.
Dvořák utilized pentatonic scales, lowered seventh scale degrees, syncopation, and dotted rhythms characteristically found in American popular music and the music of African Americans and American Indians (See chapter 4). His use of repeated notes is evocative of American Indian music. And yet, Dvořák’s Czech accent can still be heard, according to Jermil Burghauser, compiler of Dvořák’s Thematic Catalog, who found Bohemian folk songs that inspired Dvořák. It was not in his nature to draw on quotations; instead, he created his own ideas about traditional material by emulating their character. In my opinion, Dvořák’s “American” Quartet does not sound American at all, even though the melodies do have a folk-like character. In direct comparison to Chadwick’s Fourth Quartet, whose music is steeped in Americanisms, Dvořák’s style is denser in texture with more counterpoint and interplay between voices.

Dvořák’s “American” Quartet follows a typical four-movement structure. Movement 1 is in sonata form. Trills open the quartet, and possibly evoke a pastoral image of sunrise for the listener. This is followed by Theme 1 in the viola, which has a folk-like character due to its pentatonic scale and rhythmic syncopations. The melody is presented over a tonic pedal point, which adds to the pastoral atmosphere. To bestow an American personality on the theme, Dvořák gives it the liveliness and rhythmic complexity of a minstrel show tune. Theme 2 (m. 44) is also folk-like and in the style of a Stephen Foster plantation melody or folk ballad (See chapter 4). Its melody is sentimental and highlighted by slow-moving harmonies initially. The development section (m. 64ff.) ensues, and Dvořák develops the first theme. At measure 96, *sul G* is specified, an effect that conveys a deeper, more dramatic sound. A fugue ensues, then call and response exchanges give the music further African American flair. The recapitulation (m. 112ff) presents a new theme
in the cello (m. 123), which is then transferred to the first violin. The expressive melody creates a pointed contrast to the other rhythmically active voices. The movement comes to a close with the violins coming together by playing in octaves (mm. 175-76), followed by the violins and viola in unison, with the cello an octave below.

Movement 2 begins with a pedal point and a slow lyrical melody that has a descending profile. It is stated twice, and the cadence is slightly varied by ornamentation on repetition. The lyrical melody sounds American Indian in style with its descending quality and repetition of pitches (m. 3). Intervals of thirds and sixths bound, generally contributing to a very consonant sound; pedal points add to the folk-like, pastoral flavor. Movement 2 features syncopation and an African-American folk style, including call and response. The dance-like final movement has repeated notes, syncopation, and employs hemiola. Theme 1, built upon a tetrachord, unfolds in two-bar phrases in a call and response fashion. Despite the “Indian spirit” Dvořák hoped would shine through in the quartet, the rhythmic complications point more toward an African American spirit.

THE AMERICAN VOICES OF CHADWICK, MACDOWELL AND DVOŘÁK

Upon examining selected works by Chadwick, MacDowell, and Dvořák, it is clear each approached “nationality in music” differently. Chadwick’s American accent was the most innate. His widely spaced intervals, voice doublings, and voice leading offered a model for Copland in the 1940s, whereas MacDowell’s music, which Copland said he knew and studied, taught the next generation to move beyond the mere quotation and “music by tailoring” of Arthur Farwell. The works Dvořák wrote in the United States demonstrate his admiration for indigenous and popular music cultures, while maintaining his affinity for his homeland.
Chapter 6

The Next Generation: The Indianist Movement

For centuries, composers in the cultivated tradition have drawn upon both real and imagined portrayals of American Indians in operas, ballets and orchestral music. Michael Pisani has chronicled musical works inspired by American Indian topics dating as far back as 1608. Pisani’s resources offer insight into the fascination Europeans and Americans have had with American Indian culture up to the present day. In 1791, Chateaubriand’s written depictions of American Indian life during his visit to America piqued the interest of his contemporaries. His “vicarious identification with the American wilderness” was “so emotionally convincing and spiritually persuasive that his writings exerted a deep and enduring impression both in Europe and America.” Longfellow’s 1855 epic poem, “The Song of Hiawatha,” considered the first epic poem based upon North American material, inspired American and European composers alike to create symphonic and vocal works based upon the subject of Hiawatha and his love for the ill-fated Minnehaha. It was decades before Longfellow’s landmark poetic saga, however, that the Bohemian born Anthony Philip Heinrich (1781-1861) initiated the use of American Indian material in musical compositions.

Heinrich settled permanently in the United States in 1810, making a livelihood in Philadelphia as a theater musician. At the relatively late age of thirty-six, he decided to pursue composition and taught himself to write music. He moved westward to begin his career as a composer and became quite taken by the wilds of America. Heinrich resided in

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the woods of Kentucky from 1817 to 1823 in relative isolation, and thus earned the nickname “The Log Cabin Composer.” Relying upon his own creativity with little outside influence, he was well aware of his originality as a composer. Fond of experimenting with sound and timbre, he described his music as “full of strange ideal somersets and capriccios.”254 The venerable John Sullivan Dwight concurred that Heinrich’s music was “bewildering...wild and complicated.”255 Among critics and audiences of his day, Heinrich was well respected. In 1822, *Euterpeiad* critic John Rowe Parker gave Heinrich the lofty moniker “Beethoven of America.” For Parker, Beethoven was a nonconformist, composing music of the future. Beethoven’s music was unpredictable and unencumbered. In Heinrich’s music, Parker found parallels to Beethoven, writing “(Heinrich) seems at once to have possessed himself of the key which unlocks to him the temple of science and enables him to explore with fearless security the mysterious labyrinth of harmony.”256 Parker concluded his review by proclaiming that Heinrich “may be justly styled the Beethoven of America.”257

Heinrich was influenced by natural surroundings in the wilds of Kentucky. His orchestral oeuvre is largely programmatic, based upon topics pertaining to American history, landscapes, patriotism, and American Indian legends. He was well read in American Indian folklore and commented on his personal interactions with American Indians. He lived during the Jacksonian era when American Indian tribes were being forcibly relocated; their plight is reflected in his music.258 Heinrich composed eight large-

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255 Ibid.
257 Ibid.
258 Chase, 268.
scale works for orchestra on American Indian subjects and several other instrumental and vocal pieces. He did not quote preexisting American Indian music but rather composed with the inspiration of its spirit, just as Dvořák would suggest roughly seventy-five years later. Heinrich’s musical output is far more than Indianist works, but his contributions to this specific topic are worthwhile to investigate. He was innovative in respect to his use of American Indian subjects, but unfortunately Heinrich’s music fell into obscurity by the Civil War. His pioneering efforts would lie dormant until the turn of the twentieth century.

ARTHUR FARWELL AND AMERICAN INDIAN MUSIC

In the late nineteenth-century, interest in American Indian music would arise again and manifest itself in what became known as the Indianist movement (1890-1920), led by several American composers eager to respond to Dvořák’s call (chapter 3). Chief among them was Arthur Farwell (1872-1952). Farwell was a Midwesterner who moved to Boston to study engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, from which he graduated in 1893. He had never heard a symphony orchestra before he enrolled in college, and as his interest in music grew, he abandoned his engineering career to pursue the arts. Farwell had studied with George W. Chadwick and received encouragement from Edward MacDowell to continue his musical endeavors. Like many of his contemporaries, Farwell travelled to Germany to study music; he then proceeded to Paris. Upon his return to America in 1899, he found employment in academia, first at Cornell University,

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259 Ibid.
then at the University of California Los Angeles and Berkeley, and finally Michigan State College.  

In 1900, Farwell was working with Indian music and spent time in the Southwest studying tribal melodies and dance rhythms. He also found source material in transcriptions by ethnologists Alice Fletcher and John Fillmore’s *Omaha Indian Music*, and later through the recordings and research of Frances Densmore. Most of Farwell’s Indianist works were written before 1910.

Regarding his Indianist pursuits, Farwell fully acknowledged Dvořák’s impact upon his musical direction. “I had taken Dvořák’s challenge deeply to heart, and worked in the field of Indian music, not with the idea that this or any other non-Caucasian folk music existing in America was the foundation of a national art, but because it existed only in America and its development was part of my program to further all unique and characteristic musical expression that could come only from this country.” Farwell typically chose to maintain an original Indian melody in its entirety in the interest of authenticity, and underpinned the melodies with the European harmonic language typical to his era. He wanted to create music that was a reflection of American life; he wrote, “It must have an American flavor. It must be recognizably American, as Russian music is Russian, and French music is French.”

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261 Davis, 93.
262 Ibid.
Although Dvořák’s impression upon Farwell was strong, the latter's use of American Indian music was not exactly what Dvořák had in mind. As explored in chapter 3, Dvořák suggested that composers embody the spirit of traditional and vernacular American music, not literally borrow from it. Farwell borrowed from preexisting music because his compositional intention was to let the music speak for itself. Prior to each composition, he provided a lengthy preamble explaining how the music fit into American Indian society; he focused on connections to legend and mythology as a means to maintain the original melody’s integrity. For Farwell, this was not a body of music to cut and splice in an effort to manufacture American music. Instead, he valued the music’s intrinsic beauty and aimed to let the music guide him. In the process, he underpinned the American Indian melodies with European harmonies, but his decisions were based upon the essence of the melody itself. It seemed a divine endeavor; and if the original American Indian melody was created through spiritual means, Farwell regarded his own harmonizations from that same perspective. Similar to an American Indian who receives a song from the spirit world, Farwell saw himself as a vessel through which the music could speak. Unlike MacDowell’s “Indian” Suite, Farwell’s music was not offering an example of how to use borrowed material as a springboard for development. In sum, Farwell did not abide by Dvořák’s proposal, yet he did accomplish Dvořák’s objective of finding inspiration in the spirit of the music!

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WA-WAN PRESS

The life of a composer is seldom easy during any era, including the present. Once a composer creates a piece, two monumental obstacles present themselves: finding an
audience, and getting published. Farwell believed that American composers needed more publicity and exposure; but in the shadow of German musical domination, this was a challenging task. Finding it difficult to get his own music published, created a solution to that problem single-handedly by establishing the Wa-Wan Press in 1901. Located in Newton Center, Massachusetts, the press became an outlet for composers who gravitated towards traditional and vernacular American musical influences. Recognizing that there was little chance of having their music printed by the commercial publishing companies, the Wa-Wan Press centered on promoting American music by American composers. Farwell eventually sold his printing press to G. Schirmer in 1912 to allow for other compositional and career pursuits; but during his eleven-year tenure, the Wa-Wan Press published music by thirty-seven composers, including no fewer than ten women. Reflecting Farwell’s absorption in American Indian life, the press took its name from a traditional Omaha ceremony (Wa-Wan is the Omaha Indian word for “sing,” or “to sing to someone.”) Certainly this was an appropriate name for a publishing company, but Farwell later came to regret this choice because it often led people to an incorrect assumption about its publishing mission. Given its American Indian name, it was thought that the Wa-Wan Press was concerned exclusively with American Indian inspired music. Like Dvořák before him, Farwell did not intend to make it seem as though American Indian music alone was the basis of a national school. In fact, Farwell also promoted and “(g)radually expanded his scope to include Black, cowboy and prairie melodies.”

Although Farwell is remembered as an Indianist composer and the founder of the Wa-Wan Press, deeper investigations into Farwell’s long life reveal that his Indianist

266 Davis, 93.
period was quite brief. Farwell’s biographer, Evelyn Davis Culbertson, classifies twenty-five works in his entire output as “Indianist,” of which eleven are for voice. This part of his life represents a very small fragment of his lifelong advocacy for American composers, which spanned from 1898 to 1952. Along the way, his Indianist music and endeavors to promote and publish American composers reached far beyond Newton Center, Massachusetts. Lesser known are Farwell’s important four nationwide lecture-recitals, his tireless efforts to democratize music, his role in community music making, his editorial position at Musical America, and the hundreds of articles he wrote pertaining to the state of American music.

FILLMORE AND FARWELL: AMERICAN INDIAN MELODIES

Farwell’s first collection of American Indian-inspired music, American Indian Melodies, op. 11, was published by the Wa-Wan Press in 1901. The collection comprises ten solo piano pieces, in the manner of character pieces. Farwell explained that most of the melodies come from Fletcher and Fillmore’s A Study of Omaha Indian Music collection, which contains ninety harmonized songs by Fillmore (chapter 4). I found five melodies original to Fletcher’s collection. Farwell attributes song 6 (“Inketunga’s Thunder Song”) to a recording by Fletcher, but he does not mention the sources for the remaining four songs. In dismissing Fillmore’s harmonizations, Farwell thought they were too diatonic and did not enhance the natural beauty of the original melodies. He acknowledged that

268 Farwell Song 1 “Approach of the Thunder God,” (Fletcher Song 11 “Hae-Thu-Ska Wa-An”), Song 2 “The Old Man’s Love Song,” (Song 88 “Be-Thae-Wa-An”), Song 4 “Ichibuzzhi,” (Song 24 “Hae-Thu-Ska Wa-An: Dance Song”), Song 8 “The Song to the Spirit,” (Song 57 “Funeral Song”), Song 10 “Choral,” (Song 41 “Choral. Wa-Wan Wa-An: After Pipes are Raised”).
those harmonizations were pleasing to the American Indians when performed for them by Fillmore, but Farwell felt a better approach was to let the music speak to him directly. I have chosen three examples from Farwell’s collection to examine in comparison with Fillmore’s in an effort to determine the harmonic and interpretative differences in their treatment of the original melodies. (Since Fillmore’s harmonizations were composed first, I will begin my analysis with his interpretation.)

As mentioned in chapter 4, Fillmore’s “Report on the Peculiarities of the Music” is an extensive introduction to his harmonizations in which he discussed the musical elements of the American Indian tunes, including scales, implied harmony, implied tonality, rhythm, and phrasing in addition to such topics as motivation, tone quality, and the Indian flageolet. He noticed that while “a great majority”\(^{269}\) of the melodies were pentatonic, others seemed to conform to major or minor scales. He includes the titles and song numbers of melodies that did not conform to a scale pattern he could discern. Although Fillmore was convinced that a latent sense of harmony existed among the American Indians, he found that applying tonality was nearly impossible based only upon a melody’s pitches. He offers several examples in which he maps out a melody and makes a note of any omitted pitches. If the omitted pitches do not serve the written pitches with tonal logic, he alters the omitted pitches with accidentals to ensure that the written melody fits neatly into a Western scale pattern.\(^{270}\)

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\(^{270}\) See Fillmore’s explanation of Song Nos. 17, 41, 45, 47, 56, 67, and 72 in his “Report,” 63-66.
Song no. 11 in the Fletcher/ Fillmore collection, “Hae-Thu-Ska Wa-An,” appears as song no. 1, “Approach of the Thunder God,” in Farwell’s *American Indian Melodies*. In the settings by both Fillmore and Farwell, the original pentatonic melody (built on E) is presented in the top voice. Fillmore sets the work in F-sharp minor, and by measure 5, he has modulated to B minor for the remainder of the piece. It is unclear why he began in F-sharp minor, since the pitch G-sharp is absent from the first five measures. Without a G-sharp, it seems unnecessary to set the work in F-sharp minor. Instead, it is more logical to set the piece in B minor. Equally confusing is his lowering of the G-sharp to a G natural when it first appears in measure 5; he repeats this accidental for each appearance of G throughout the work. Fillmore does modulate to B minor on beat 2 of measure 5 and he will conclude the work in the new key. Perhaps his decision to begin in F-sharp minor ensured his opening triad on the tonic. But the harmonic progression in measures 1 to 5 is tonic to subdominant, which presents weak harmonic motion. Fillmore does not deviate from the three primary chords: tonic, subdominant, and dominant, which are persistently presented as block chords. Fillmore’s eighth-note bass line accompaniment is intended to evoke drums, as noted at the beginning of the piece, and the parallel octaves occurring periodically in the bass line give the presumed drum beat a hollow and primitive sound (Ex. 1).
Example 1. Fillmore’s “Hae-Thu-Ska Wa-An,” opening.

Farwell’s lengthy introduction to *American Indian Melodies* explains the meaning of each piece and the motivation for his harmonization. He does not supply a narrative for this set of character pieces, but one can be inferred. The ten pieces follow a trajectory from war and death to spiritual communication and transcendence. The five songs from Fletcher’s collection offer a condensed account of my implied narrative. Of particular interest is Farwell’s artistic approach. He writes,

> Even as it is, it is quite possible, in fact dangerously easy, to render these melodies in such a way as to make them appear quite meaningless, and on the other hand, it is possible, and dangerously difficult, to so render them that they shall carry certain conviction. Each is a problem, to be worked out by itself, and the surest method of procedure is to study the spirit and temper of the American Indian. Miss Fletcher’s book gives detailed versions of the legends here merely hinted at, a consideration of which will materially assist in revealing the proper mode of expression.\(^{272}\)

\(^{271}\) Perhaps Farwell is making reference to Fillmore’s overly diatonic harmonizations and lack of dynamic inflection. Farwell will attempt to make the music more meaningful through his harmony which includes diminished seventh chords and modulation, as well as dynamic shading which helps to shape the melodic line.

\(^{272}\) Farwell, 3.
The first work in the collection is “Approach of the Thunder God” (Ex. 2). Farwell explains its mythological background and offers the performer insight to its performance. He notes, “the leader awaits the command of the God of War. It should proceed not too rapidly, in deliberate rhythm, should carry with it a feeling of a dark and terrible, but thoroughly controlled force.” The work is marked “Mysteriously, with suppressed agitation.” Farwell’s rendition of the original melody is in B minor. His harmonies are not adventurous as he mostly revolves around the tonic, subdominant, and major and minor dominant chords. At times, he creates harmonic tension through diminished seventh chords that act as dominant substitutes resolving to the tonic. The harmonic motion is slow and moves in block chords. Parallel octaves occur periodically, and the predominantly eighth-notes rhythms are an effort to evoke drum beats as indicated in the score. Thus in some respects Farwell’s setting resembles Fillmore’s arrangement, although notably, Farwell’s dynamic shading does much to breathe life and emotion into the music. Nearly half of the chord progressions and voice leading are taken verbatim from Fillmore’s work, (transposed to B minor). The harmonies that are dissimilar give greater tension and propel the piece forward. Farwell’s use of the pedal is intended to blur the harmonies, as the performer is instructed not to lift the pedal until the next chord is struck; the pedal should be depressed immediately afterwards as “(t)his overlapping harmonic effect is necessary to a proper flow of sound.” Farwell does not include the Omaha Indian text in any of his settings.

273 Ibid.
274 Fillmore’s tempo marking is “Mysteriously”. Farwell’s addition of “suppressed agitation” adds heightened emotional intensity to the piece.
275 Farwell, 7.
Example 2. Farwell’s “Approach of the Thunder God,” opening.

Fillmore’s song number 88, “Be-Thae-Wa-An,” is in G major (Ex. 3). Harmonically, the piece consists of primary chords moving slowly in a stagnant dotted half-note rhythm, a setting that keeps the listener’s attention focused on the principal line. The melody offers a few instances of syncopation but is not complicated rhythmically as the meter alternates between passages in triple and compound duple time. The prevailing four-part chordal texture helps give the piece a delicate and simple, hymn-like character.

Farwell uses this melody for song 2, “The Old Man’s Love Song” (Ex. 4). Also set in G major, but his harmonic treatment is more sophisticated than Fillmore’s through his use of diminished and extended (i.e., ninth) chords, which help give the song more expressive depth by comparison to Fillmore’s restriction to primary triads. “It is a tribute song to the spirit of Love and Beauty in the world,” Farwell writes, “This song with its pastoral musings wafts like the breath of a zephyr over the grasses of gentle hilltops, and it is not inferior in its idyllic quality, to the music which Wagner conceived for the ’Flower-maidens’ in Parsifal.” The melody glides gently above the half- and quarter-note rhythms of the accompaniment, the meter alternates between triple and compound duple, the pedal is used extensively to create a seamless flow, and dynamic and tempo markings work to

276 Ibid, 3.
breathe life into the work. “The Old Man’s Love Song” suggests a thoroughly nineteenth-century Romantic character piece as a result of its colorful harmonies, dynamic shading, tempo fluctuations, and overall expressive detail.

Example 4. Farwell’s “The Old Man’s Love Song,” opening.

Fillmore’s song number 24, “Hae-Thu-Ska Wa-An,” is a dance song (Ex. 5). The original melody is in the upper voice and the accompaniment is marked by persistent eighth-note motion with accents on each beat. Set in A-flat major, the work begins with a five-measure pedal point on the dominant. Consistent with Fillmore’s settings cited above, he centers his harmonic progressions on the primary chords. He writes in a four-part block-harmony style. At times, the harmonies in the bass line are widely spaced, which creates an open and hollow sound below a melodic line that moves largely in thirds.
Example 5. Fillmore’s “Hae-Thu-Ska Wa-An,” opening.

Farwell’s song 4, the war dance “Ichibuzzhi,” (Ex. 6), named for a revered warrior, was performed in front of his tent. Farwell describes the piece as a “vivacious call to action. There is much humor in this song, reflected from the genial nature of the beloved and quaint, but valorous hero, Ichibuzzhi himself. It is totally devoid of savagery, despite its aboriginal method of accompaniment, beating upon drums, or with sticks. The song is characterized by vivacity and energy.” Farwell’s setting, in E-flat major, prolongs a tonic pedal point for sixteen measures. In comparison to Fillmore, Farwell uses many of the same pitches to harmonize his voices. The pervasive eighth notes evoke drums, with accents on each beat. Although Farwell uses just block chords, his harmonies are more complicated and fuller than Fillmore’s. In contrast to Fillmore, who interrupts the persistent eighth-note motion in the bass from measure sixteen on, Farwell maintains eighth-note consistency throughout. As suggested by Farwell, the work is humorous in the abrupt nature of its conclusion, as the eighth notes create a motoric rhythm that just simply stops without

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277 Ibid, 4.
warning. Again, Farwell uses the pedal to blur harmonies and to create a thick harmonic foundation. In sum, although Fillmore’s voice occasionally shines through, the three pieces examined show how Farwell does achieve his goal in letting the melody dictate (to some extent) the underpinning harmonies and accompaniment.\textsuperscript{278}


\begin{quote}
\textbf{FARWELL’S WESTERN TOURS}

By 1903, Farwell had completed several compositions based upon Indian themes. He had a desire to travel to the American West in order to better understand the musical conditions of this country; additionally, he wanted to try out his Indianist works in front of an audience, and also to hear American Indians sing.\textsuperscript{279} Farwell realized that recitals of his
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\textsuperscript{278} The first measure of Farwell’s songs nos. 1 and 2 imply a dominant to tonic triad. Song 4 emphasizes E-flat (mm. 1-3) under which he applies a prolonged tonic pedal (16 measures long).

Indianist works, accompanied by explanations of the relevant legends and mythology, could be a marketable venture.\textsuperscript{280} From 1903 to 1907, he made various conference appearances and performed four lecture-recitals. His “western tours” took him across the country from upstate New York to California. His lecture “Music and Myth of the American Indians and its Relation to the Development of American Musical Art” was designed to promote his compositions and ideology regarding the significance of American Indian music. During his travels he met many composers working within American Indian musical idioms, one of whom was Charles Lummis, a leading authority on the music of Southwest Indians. Farwell met Lummis when the former’s lecture-recital tour stopped in Los Angeles in January 1904. This encounter would lead to an opportunity for Farwell to learn more about American Indian music later that summer. Lummis had invited Farwell to return to Los Angeles to help complete a study of the Spanish Californian and Indian music for the Archaeological Institute of America.\textsuperscript{281} He also spent time transcribing music from phonograph recordings and live singing. During each subsequent lecture-recital tour out west, Farwell continued to transcribe Indian songs for the Institute. By his fourth and final recital tour, Farwell’s mission had changed. He prepared a new lecture-recital titled “A National American Music,” which he hoped would synthesize his philosophy of America’s music. His rationale ranged from whether a national style of music was desirable to attempts to define the “American Spirit.” He also raised issues regarding America’s folk music and whether folk music rightly belongs in the realm of national art. Farwell remarked upon the importance of his new endeavor as part of an effort to reveal the true cultural climate in which American composers lived and worked. He intended to look “more

\textsuperscript{280} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{281} Ibid, 115.
closely into American conditions, particularly with regard to the publication situation, and the matter of American willingness to give a hearing to American works. The result of this quest was, if depressing, also illuminating in pointing toward the actions he believed must be taken.  

Farwell’s mission echoed William Henry Fry’s “Declaration of Independence in the Arts” (chapter 1) in many ways. Farwell did not dismiss European models, and he remarked upon their importance; however, he believed that American composers should “walk on our own feet” and that their doing so deserved recognition.

COMMUNITY MUSIC MAKING

Farwell’s efforts towards the democratization of music occurred in 1910, when he became Supervisor of Music in the Parks of New York City. His desire to level the musical playing field and make art music more available and friendlier for the mass American public coincided with his ventures in community music making. In his 1914 article, “The New Gospel of Music,” Farwell espoused “the message of music at its greatest and highest is not for the few, but for all; not sometime, but now; that it is to be given to all, and can be received by all.” Farwell understood that art music has the ability to move our souls, to educate and edify; however, he did not think that art music was intended only for those of a certain social class or education level. Unlike John Sullivan Dwight’s in years prior, Farwell did not take an elitist approach to music. For Farwell, the community music-making movement made it possible for the public to take a part in making a national

282 Ibid, 120.
The community music trend allowed everyday people an opportunity to gather and create music collectively. Farwell, whose choir in New York boasted over one hundred members, gathered in the park, sang music, and performed free concerts. There was no audition process, so all were encouraged to join, regardless of musical skill level, age, or gender. The gatherings were successful, achieving Farwell’s chief objective in bringing people together to experience music.

Farwell’s well-received “Song and Lights” Festival concert combined the forces of amateurs and professionals. The program was ambitious and included European art music as well as original compositions by Farwell. The audience (and amateur musicians) would be exposed to the cultivated tradition without having it forced upon them. Contrary to Dwight, who claimed superiority over those unfamiliar with cultivated music, Farwell tried very hard to dispel the stigma attached to art music. His free concerts in the park afforded all citizens the opportunity to enjoy music in a more attractive, familiar setting than a museum-like concert hall. People would be educated and inspired by the art through their attendance. Farwell’s efforts in the community music movement would grow from a localized endeavor to a nationwide venture during World War I. The War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities was interested in instituting singing in army training camps, so they looked to Farwell’s New York Community Chorus for help.285 Farwell promoted the importance of the community music movement as a means to bring “to the people of the nation a new message of unity, of patriotism, of brotherhood in song,

285 Culbertson, 185.
and of universal expression in beauty and joy.” 286 As an editor for *Musical America*, Farwell had yet another outlet in which to disseminate his ideology. He wrote hundreds of articles, including a series of autobiographical commentaries titled “Wanderjahre of a Revolutionist.” He did not write music criticism for the magazine but instead focused his attention on making music accessible to every citizen.

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286 Ibid.
Chapter 7

A Summary of Americanisms in Music from 1860 to 1910

George W. Chadwick, Edward MacDowell, and Antonín Dvořák represent three strands in the complicated tapestry that is American art music. Sometimes the threads overlap and at times they interlock. Each composer found inspiration in America’s traditional and popular music worlds, but they used their findings in individual ways. As discussed in chapter 5, works by Chadwick reveal a natural American accent as they convey the influence of New England psalmody and popular music in an authentic and effortless way. His sense of rhythmic play, open harmonies, and orchestration seem to foreshadow Aaron Copland’s American sound. In comparison to Chadwick, MacDowell’s works align more with western European musical traits than American, for it was MacDowell’s aim to emphasize the universality of music as opposed to accentuating a distinctive American voice. His “Indian” Suite in particular demonstrates a kind of manufactured American style that confirms all indications that Americanisms in music were not his usual practice or part of his innate compositional voice. As noted in chapter 5, the “Indian” Suite was an anomaly in MacDowell’s output, a work in which his use of quotation as a stepping stone for further musical development served as a model for composers who were likewise inclined to use pre-existing material. Works in his oeuvre that were inspired by American subject matter were approached from the standpoint of universality first. His orchestral pieces demonstrate the dense orchestration of Brahms and the harmonic adventurousness of Wagner. And although Dvořák was inspired by the spirit of American music, his efforts to adopt an American accent sound understandably feigned in comparison to Chadwick and MacDowell, for reasons examined in chapter 5.
The debate over nationality in music stemmed largely from the question of what it means to be an American. Searching for the answer to this question is perplexing, if it can be answered at all, for there is no single American culture to draw upon. Musical quotation and borrowing would seem to be a logical place to begin, but “tailoring,” in the words of MacDowell, is a dubious pursuit. Dvořák’s statement that the music “should breathe the spirit” touches the crucial point in making the idea of national identity work. In that sense, Chadwick was the most successful: Dripping with Americanisms, his music is a virtual embodiment of Dvořák’s suggestion. Ironically, Chadwick was “breathing the spirit” long before Dvořák came along. For some listeners, nationalism may depend on context, in which case the ethnicity of the composer or the existence of a programmatic title would prove helpful. But as Arthur Farwell declared, American composers cannot avoid nationalism, even if they try. “A true live American cannot write a composition which shall be wholly devoid of nationalism. If he does not put an Indian song or other ‘American’ folk song into it, its nationalism will consist in some freedom and revolution from European methods of expression….We cannot escape our nation.”

HENRY F. GILBERT LOOKS TO AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSIC

Composers continued to look to African American and American Indian idioms. Some followed the path initiated by Farwell (musical quotation, see chapter 6), whereas others would rise to the challenge of “breathing the spirit.” Henry F. Gilbert (1868-1929) was one who perpetuated Farwell’s brand of Americanisms. Gilbert, a former student of

MacDowell’s and a colleague of Farwell’s, represents an amalgam of the two endeavors. He was perhaps the one of the first American to draw upon African American spirituals in an orchestral piece. Like Farwell, Gilbert was upset by the hostility critics and composers alike directed toward the use of so-called low-brow music. Farwell and Gilbert were enthusiastic students of the music of American Indians and African Americans, even transcribing some of the music for themselves and incorporating it into their pieces. Gilbert saw folk music as the true source of a national idiom. In 1915, he declared that “American composers need to kick over the traces of European tradition, and to treat American subjects, to use fragments of melody having an American origin as the basis of musical structure.” Some of his most important works include the Comedy Overture on Negro Themes (1911), based upon riverboat songs and spirituals, and Negro Rhapsody (1915), which also drew upon spirituals. Gilbert’s most ambitious work based on traditional material was his symphonic poem The Dance in the Place Congo (1906-1908). The work was inspired by an 1886 article written by George Washington Cable, an American novelist known for his portrayal of Creole life in New Orleans in a realistic way. Gilbert’s Dance draws its melodic material from the Creole melodies quoted by Cable. Of particular interest to Gilbert were Cable’s illustrations of the “bamboula” dance. The bamboula originated in Africa and was brought to the Southern United States via the slave trade. A bamboula is a type of drum constructed from bamboo that was used to accompany dancers. Filled with energy, the frenetic bamboula dance features leaps and tumbles.

290 Ibid, 34.
Descriptions from Congo Square in New Orleans report that the dance could last for hours; dancers would frolic to the point of exhaustion and then be dragged from the circle, at which point other dancers would take their place.\footnote{See George Washington Cable’s article “The Dance in Place Congo,” Century Magazine (February 1886), esp. 522-526; Benjamin H.B. Latrobe Impressions Respecting New Orleans (New York, 1905) cited in Eileen Southern The Music of Black Americans: A History, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed. (New York: WW Norton & Co., 1997), 136-137; William Wells Brown, My Southern Home: Or, The South and its People (Boston: A.G. Brown, 1880) cited in Southern The Music of Black Americans, 137.} Gilbert’s \textit{Dance} begins in a melancholy mood, which then gives way to a quotation of a bamboula melody (the same melody used by Gottschalk in his \textit{La Bamboula} nearly sixty years earlier) that is triumphant and lively. A quieter, more lyrical section follows, then the bamboula melody returns with even more passion. A solo tolling bell seems to call the night’s festivities to an end; and amid a swirl of descending chromatic waves, the work concludes on a distinctly sorrowful note. Gilbert’s \textit{Dance} is evocative of a specific slice of slave life when the enslaved were momentarily able to give artistic expression to their African heritage.

\textbf{CHARLES IVES: FROM TRADITION TO INNOVATION}

As Gilbert’s example suggests, Americanism in music must be more than mere quotation of traditional melodies. Composers must try to capture the elusive “spirit” of the country through their art. Syncopated rhythms, pentatonic scales, and folk-like melodies are among the available manifestation of Americanism in music, but composers must assert their own American personalities to make it all sound authentic. A composer who energetically asserted both his nationalism and his unique personality in his music was Charles Ives (1874-1954). Although Ives’s genius was eventually recognized, a curious fact of his career is that he went virtually unnoticed by the musical community around him.
until long after his most important works were written. As critics ultimately acknowledged, Ives was successful in writing truly American music for three reasons: 1) indigenous material came naturally to him; it was already a part of his vocabulary; 2) his world-view rested upon American traditions and literature; 3) he was the most talented composer of his generation.²⁹³

Given his ideological distance from the Second New England School and other late nineteenth-century composers, Ives may seem an unlikely figure to include in this study. And yet he did enjoy a link to the previous generation through his former teacher, Horatio Parker (although, perhaps ironically, Ives himself, along with numerous commentators,²⁹⁴ placed Parker at the opposite end of a creative spectrum). Ives’s music had been appreciated at least to some extent by musicians and composers decades before his music began to make an impact in the public sphere after World War II. Ives’s greatest champions were modernist composers of the mid-twentieth century, namely Henry Cowell and Conlon Nancarrow. Perhaps they identified Ives as a maverick whose conscious manipulations of musical elements pointed to possibilities for music of the future. As a result, his connection to Parker would be severed and perceptions of his musical influence would lean towards the avant-garde. Conversely, J. Peter Burkholder and Nicholas Tawa offer compelling

connections between Ives and the Second New England School, and especially to George
W. Chadwick.

Ives does appear to have more in common with Chadwick than with other members
of the Second New England School: both were from small New England towns, and both
let their music ring with the influences of their upbringing. Ives was first introduced to
popular music by his father; and as a youth he wrote many pieces of popular music,
including marches. It was not until he was a student at Yale, under the tutelage of Parker,
that he was introduced to the classical music world in a systematic way; and the forms of
music he learned in his college years made an impact on the music he wrote throughout his
life. Ives downplayed the relationship, yet it does appear that Parker was more encouraging
of Ives than either Ives or others let on. In the course of his studies with Parker, Ives learned
by modeling the works of past masters. He studied the songs of Schubert, Brahms, and
Schumann, and the symphonies of Beethoven, Dvořák, and Tchaikovsky, to name a few.
Ives’s growth from a musical imitator to a composer with a unique and original American
voice may be traced through an examination of certain aspects of compositional process in
his first three symphonies,\textsuperscript{295} beginning with the First Symphony (ca. 1897-1902) and its
resemblances to Dvořák’s \textit{New World}.\textsuperscript{296}

Dvořák’s symphony was composed four years prior to Ives’s First, and the
inspiration Dvořák sought in American music must have intrigued the younger composer.

\textsuperscript{295} Symphony no. 4, A Symphony: New England Holidays, and the Universe Symphony were intentionally
excluded from this discussion. Symphony nos.1-3 are effective in demonstrating Ives’s progression towards
an individual style.

\textsuperscript{296} For a more in depth discussion of the similarities and differences between Ives’s first symphony and
Dvořák’s ninth symphony, see J. Peter Burkholder, “Ives and the European Tradition,” in \textit{Charles Ives and
the Classical Tradition}, eds. Geoffrey Block and J. Peter Burkholder (New Haven: Yale University Press,
1996), 22-25.
Ives’s symphony was the product of his student days at Yale; in fact, this work was his thesis project in Parker’s class. It demonstrates Ives’s ability to model, yet it also shows his efforts towards finding an independent voice.

Ives’s homage to the New World is especially evident in movement 2. Dvořák’s Largo and Ives’s Adagio are both structured in ABA’ form; both are cast in minor; and Ives’s folk-like English horn melody is clearly a nod to the second movement of the “New World.” Ives does assert his individuality through his treatment of the A theme. Here, while paraphrasing Dvořák’s melody, he changes the rhythm, eliminates repetitions, and omits some notes, even while maintaining the general contour and effect of the melody. Dvořák’s English horn melody has a three-part design (aba) and is composed of four-bar phrases. Ives also constructs his melody in an aba format, but his phrase structure is more complicated, with its asymmetrically designed eight-bar phrase in F major (its articulation suggests a 6+2 scheme rather than 4+4). The b material that follows is in C major, and is scored for strings and woodwinds, without the English horn. This span unfolds in two 4+4 phrases, making it four times longer than Dvořák’s. The English horn concludes the Adagio molto (sostenuto) with its eight-bar phrase again in F major. In sum, this movement shows that Ives was willing to acknowledge the European roots of symphonic writing, but he also asserted his individuality through his treatment of the melodic ideas. In comparison to Dvořák’s Largo, Ives removes melodic redundancy by elaborating upon his primary theme. His asymmetrical phrases, new melodic and rhythmic motives also point to Ives’s originality.

Ives’s Second Symphony (1902-1907, rev. 1909) paraphrases American vernacular music, including such familiar songs as “America the Beautiful,” “Camptown Races,” and “Turkey in the Straw,” as well as religious hymns and sentimental parlor songs. Vernacular music tends to be catchy and repetitive, with regular phrases and simple melodies and harmonies. Given such musical limitations, popular melodies cannot easily support the weight of a symphonic theme through mere quotation or borrowing. Evidently recognizing that symphonic themes must grow and develop, Ives alludes to his sources without making direct quotations. For example, movement 2 paraphrases the abolitionist song “Wake Nicodemus,” the collegiate song “Where Oh Where Are the Pea-Green Freshmen?”, and the religious hymn “Bringing in the Sheaves.” Ives’s paraphrase of “Pea-Green Freshmen” materializes as the movement’s second theme. The original song is a strophic setting of ten four-line stanzas. Each line of text is composed of two-bar phrases, so that each stanza comprises eight phrases. The original lyrics are repetitive as well: the first line of every stanza is restated three times, followed by a concluding musical response. The tune makes its first appearance at measure 72. Here Ives retains the melody and phrase structure of the first stanza, so it is easily recognizable. His setting sounds sentimental and nostalgic as a pair of oboes in thirds play the melody over a single viola, whose accompaniment is derived from the melody. The violins will continue the viola’s countermelody but will add musical density by moving in thirds. The entire eighteen-measure passage (which is repeated) is thinly orchestrated, and the harmony is consonant. Following the second ending, Ives uses the melody for further development through processes of fragmentation and augmentation. He isolates the rhythm of eighth-note followed by a quarter; and as if overly eager, it enters too early while the other voices allude to the first two phrases of the melody (mm. 95-117).
The melody becomes more chromatic, and eventually Ives transforms it so that only a hint of the original remains. He tricks his listeners: they think they recognize the tune, and there is a level of familiarity, but it’s hard to place it exactly. Such an approach to paraphrase helped turn simple melodies into substantial symphonic themes. In this respect, the Second Symphony celebrates both European and American musical concepts, as the forms and compositional processes he adopted were European while the musical language he spoke was American.

The Third Symphony represents a synthesis of romantic elements and aspects of Ives’s individual style. Ives borrowed his principles of development from European models.298 As J. Peter Burkholder notes, “If the Second Symphony shows Ives introducing the character of an American melody into European form, the Third shows him investing American tunes with all the seriousness and profundity of the greatest art music.”299 One way in which Ives asserts his individuality is by working out certain musical ideas in reverse. Thus instead of presenting themes and subjecting them to fragmentation and development, he begins with fragments and develops them into themes. In the composer’s own words, “The working out develops into the themes, rather than from them.”300 The 1990 published edition of Ives’s Third Symphony features a preface by Kenneth Singleton that offers valuable information regarding the chronology of the work as well as Ives’s opinions about the symphony and his reaction to winning the Pulitzer Prize in 1947. Of

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299 Ibid. 31.
equal importance is Singleton’s publication of the hymn tunes and his illustrative tables showing Ives’s use of the tunes in this three-movement work.

The final movement, “Communion,” meditative and nebulous, is saturated with chromaticism, and one can almost hear the themes growing out of the fragmented music. Here Ives’s source tunes include “Azmon” by Carl G. Glazer (1828) and “Woodworth” by William B. Bradbury (1849). The movement begins with fragments of the two melodies, and as the music progresses, Ives expands upon the “Woodworth” melody while “Azmon” falls by the wayside. Allusions to the tunes are by no means ubiquitous: although the movement is not lengthy, the first clear statement of the “Woodworth” melody does not appear until measure 49 and lasts for just eight measures. The coda, measures 56-62, extends the “Woodworth” melody before closing with the distant chime of church bells. Ives’s approach to this symphony is fresh and original yet also nostalgic.

An important connection to Ives’s nineteenth-century New England musical forefathers was his commitment as a Transcendentalist. He leaned towards Henry David Thoreau’s philosophy that any sound, or even the absence of sound, can be musical, and in this regard one can see the influence of Ives on John Cage. Ives also adhered to Ralph Waldo Emerson’s notion of the over-soul. By ‘over-soul,’ Emerson means a spiritual state of mind in which one is closest to God because of one’s reliance on intuition. Understanding is signified by rationality and the adherence to a moral code. Ives translated Emerson’s concept of the over-soul and understanding into musical substance and manner. For Ives, substance comes from the over-soul and represents the character of the music and its ability to challenge the listener, whereas manner is music’s superficial beauty and is derived from what one knows. His musical voice was innovative through
his use of dissonances, polyrhythms, polytonality, and written-in musical mistakes, all of which suggest that Ives relied upon his intuition to compose because he consciously broke the compositional rules of Western musical tradition. Some of his works, including *The Unanswered Question* and his Piano Sonata no. 2, *Concord, Mass.*, 1840-1860, demonstrate his transcendental beliefs. Unlike John Sullivan Dwight, Ives did not think music was meant solely to edify and educate. Ultimately, he believed music was for the people, even though, as noted above, the general public took little notice of his music until after World War II.

**DANIEL GREGORY MASON: PROLIFIC WRITER ABOUT MUSIC**

Daniel Gregory Mason (1873-1953) was mentioned by Ives in his *Essays Before a Sonata* (1920) as an individual who was doing the most for American composers and American music.\(^{301}\) Mason, a fellow New Englander, came from a long line of important American musicians, including his father Henry Mason, his uncle William Mason, and his grandfather Lowell Mason. Mason is considered by Nicholas Tawa to be a Boston Classist,\(^{302}\) and his musical approach was conservative; he worked in traditional forms and generally preferred diatonic harmonies. For two years he studied with John Knowles Paine at Harvard, and later with Chadwick. He also studied in France under Vincent D’Indy for several years, beginning in 1913. Mason was not impressed with modern music: he did not like avant-garde trends, nor was he fond of most of the Impressionistic style of Debussy. He admired Brahms and Beethoven, and devoted several well-respected articles and books

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to their music. Mason also contributed to music literature through his music appreciation texts. His impact upon the musical generation after the Second New England School seems to rest more on his writings than his musical compositions. He wrote nineteen books about music between 1900 and 1918 (books to which Ives would have had access), including contributions to the fourteen-volume *The Art of Music: A Comprehensive Library of Information for Music Lovers and Musicians*, of which he was also editor in chief. Volume 4 of this collection is of particular interest because it is devoted to the history of American music. Mason was dedicated to music education, believing in the public’s need for culture, which he hoped would be gained by an increasing familiarity with great composers and their masterworks. As time progressed, Mason’s writings and his reputation would begin to fade, for reasons that have not entirely been determined. According to Burnet C. Tuthill, “there was a time when Daniel Gregory Mason was known as the most widely read author in America of books about music and composers.” Mason’s most controversial books about American music were not published until after Ives wrote his *Essays*. In *The Dilemma of American Music* (1928), Mason referred to American composers as “polyglot parrots” and urged them to find their own voice through eclecticism; and in *Tune in, America*, subtitled “A Study of Our Coming Musical Independence” (1931), he criticized Toscanini and other “imported” conductors for neglecting American music. Mason’s *Contemporary Composer* (1918) was one of the texts Ives may have encountered prior to 1920. This is one of several books Mason devoted to worthwhile composers, and it

303 Mason acted as editor in chief; he did not write chapters for volume 4.
306 Longyear and Tawa, “Gilbert, Henry F.”
contained an entire chapter dedicated to the state of American music. In the *Contemporary Composer*, the first chapter, “Democracy in Music,” discusses the social issues of capitalism and industrialization. The next four chapters cover individual composers: R. Strauss, Elgar, Debussy and D’Indy. The final chapter, “Music in America,” provides a platform for Mason to state his opinion that American music should be diverse as well as individual. Mason also wrote that American composers should practice an enlightened eclecticism by extending their reach beyond a single musical method or paradigm. He warned composers not to dismiss European music of the past and present, believing that a composer who focused only upon drawing influences from American Indian, African American, and American popular styles was doing a disservice to the art of music and the composer himself. Mason wrote:

> For it is indeed the peculiar good fortune of the young American composer that he finds spread out before him, as the models through the study of which he is to acquire an important part of his technical equipment and of his general attitude towards the arts, the masterpieces of the various European countries, among which he may pick and choose as his individual taste directs, and without being hampered by those annoying racial and national jealousies from which the most intelligent European cannot quite free himself. What he may acquire of the special virtue of each school—the delicacy and distinction of the French, the solid structural power of the German, the suave and rich coloring of the Russian, the austere dignity of the English—is limited, not by the accident of birth, but only by his own assimilative power. No element in his complex nature need be starved for want of its proper food. He is placed in the midst of the stream of world influences to make of himself what he will and can.\(^{307}\)

Mason articulated the stages an artist must pass to encompass enlightened eclecticism and individuality. Rather than merely hearing or reading about musical masterpieces, the composer needs to study them ardently. Through analysis comes synthesis, from synthesis

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to assimilation, from assimilation, creation follows.\textsuperscript{308} Ives’s development as a composer followed the same trajectory.

In considering the question of American musical influences, Mason used ragtime as an example. He argued that although the style is popular, it is not necessarily a reflection of America wholeheartedly since the United States is composed of a multitude of musical influences from American Indians to other popular music styles. He asked composers to be sincere in using American musical references, for only then will the music reveal the individuality of its creator. Mason is not opposed to musical borrowings, but they should bear the imprint of the composer’s original voice. To demonstrate his point, he looked to Edward MacDowell as an example. Mason was not favorable regarding MacDowell’s use of harmony, which he described as “limited and monotonous,” or his weak polyphony and narrow range of emotion; however, he praised his sincerity and affirmed that despite any shortcomings, MacDowell sounds his individual voice.\textsuperscript{309}

In Mason’s own music he only rarely included vernacular references, and their incorporation was not used to label the work American. For example, his \textit{Quartet on Negro Themes} (1918-1919) uses the African American spiritual “Deep River” in two movements and makes reference to other spirituals throughout the work. Mason used these tunes because they were native melodies, and he liked their simplicity.\textsuperscript{310} He did not proclaim that using the vernacular references was an attempt at Americanisms in music. In a letter to J. T. Howard in 1930, Mason stated his conviction that “for better or for worse American music is necessarily eclectic and cosmopolitan, and that the kind of distinctiveness to be

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\item \textsuperscript{308} Mason, \textit{Contemporary Composers}, 282.
\item \textsuperscript{309} Ibid, 275-276.
\item \textsuperscript{310} Tuthill, 50.
\end{enumerate}
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looked for in it is individual rather than national.”

Overall, Nicholas Tawa’s opinion (in *Mainstream Music of Early Twentieth Century America: The Composers, Their Times and Their Works*), wrote that Mason “tried to express his faith in the musical traditions and the Yankee vision of America he had inherited. That he worked sincerely within that tradition and labored to encompass the ideals of New England within viable musical forms cannot be doubted.”

It is curious to think that although Ives considered Mason an important figure in American music, the notoriously conservative Mason probably would have had misgivings about Ives’s music due to its sometimes radically modern idiom. Mason does, however, write that he respects Ives. Although he does not mention Ives’s musical style in any substantial way in his later writings about music, one can surmise that he valued Ives’s knowledge and appreciation of past musical masters. Also doubtless important for Mason was Ives’s manifest sincerity in his use of American references and musical subjects. Regardless of his personal opinion of Ives’s music, Mason certainly seemed capable of appreciating what he and other American composers were doing in an effort to advance the field of musical composition.

**FINAL THOUGHTS**

Dvořák, MacDowell, and Chadwick represent the first notable attempts by major composers to address the ultimately open-ended question of whether and in what way Americanisms in music can be identified. Dvořák hoped to inspire American composers to

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311 Tawa, “Gilbert, Henry F."
313 Kushner, 191.
look to the music of their own country for musical material so that in the end, an American school of composition might arise. MacDowell’s success as a composer whose talent enabled him to stand alongside his European peers could serve as a model for other Americans. MacDowell sought to stamp out mediocrity in American music and eliminate the segregation between American composers and their European counterparts. Chadwick’s music confirmed that composers could infuse their music with the spirit of their own America in a natural and subconscious way.

Thoughtful discussions about Americanisms in music were just beginning to materialize in the late-nineteenth century. The topic was new, and it was perhaps inevitable that some of the allegedly American qualities embedded in the music of Dvořák, MacDowell, and Chadwick might end up sounding like folk music from other parts of the world. Dvořák’s “New World” is a case in point: contemporary critics heard Eastern European, Irish, and Scottish sounds before talk turned to the American Indian and African American influences (see chapter 5). The formation of a distinctive American sound would still be several decades away. To this day, there is a lacuna in public knowledge of the repertoire by American composers active between 1910 and 1918, although Nicholas Tawa’s *Mainstream Music of Early Twentieth Century America* (1992) does help fill the gap between the Second New England School and the generation born at the turn of the twentieth century. His book sheds light on such overlooked composers as Frederick Shepherd Converse, Henry Hadley, Charles Wakefield Cadman, and Charles Tomlinson Griffes, each of whom worked towards musical independence from Europe. In the aftermath of World War I, the United States became an economic superpower, and it is possible that this emergent status raised awareness worldwide that America could make
substantial contributions in all areas, including the arts. American composers who were active after World War I, including Aaron Copland, George Gershwin, and William Grant Still, achieved international fame for their musical endeavors and originality. Displaying their American music influences freely, they perhaps helped make it increasingly acceptable for American composers to forge their own distinctive paths.
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