

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: ASPECTS OF AMERICAN MUSICAL LIFE AS
REFLECTED IN *THE NEW MUSIC REVIEW AND*
CHURCH MUSIC REVIEW, 1901-1935

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cology

The early twentieth century was a time of growth and important change in American musical life. However, many aspects of our national musical culture during this period remain largely unexplored. Among these is *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* (NMR) which from 1901 to 1935 offered a detailed chronicle of American musical life in some 404 issues and in over 16,000 pages. During its thirty-year publication run, the NMR was one of the most important music journals published in the United States and one that enjoyed “a high reputation for its able editorials and the excellence of its contributed articles.”

This dissertation examines the central and, in the main, previously unexplored topics treated in the journal’s feature articles including attempts to define an American musical identity, the promotion of American music and composers, and the history and development of the organ and its music in the United States — i.e., efforts to standardize the organ console, the controversy over unification of organ pipes, transcriptions, service

playing, programs, and accompaniment for motion pictures and choirs. The journal also treats the history and accomplishments of the American Guild of Organists, problems relating to early twentieth-century American sacred music, the purposes of church music, musical reforms in the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches, the education of the clergy, congregation, choirmaster and organists in their responsibilities for the implementation of sacred music, and the selection of church repertory, especially hymns and anthems.

There are four appendices: the first summarizes the NMR's articles on choral music, the second summarizes the NMR's articles on music education, the third lists the NMR's biographical sketches, and the fourth provides a descriptive list of the journal's contributors.

ASPECTS OF AMERICAN MUSICAL LIFE AS REFLECTED IN
THE NEW MUSIC REVIEW AND CHURCH MUSIC REVIEW, 1901–1935

By

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Illustrations	v
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
<i>The New Music Review and Church Music Review</i>	3
State of the Literature.....	16
Conclusion	28
Chapter 2: American Music	30
What is American Music?.....	32
Neglect of American Music and Ideas for its Renaissance.....	42
American Music and Composers Abroad	49
Chapter 3: Church Music Reform.....	57
American Sacred Music	57
State of Sacred Music at the Turn of the Twentieth Century	59
Problems with Sacred Music as Identified by NMR Contributors	65
Purposes of Sacred Music	72
General Ways to Improve Sacred Music	79
Chapter 4: Church Music Reform in the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches .	84
The Roman Catholic Church	84
The Episcopal Church.....	89
Choral Communion Service of the Episcopal Church	92
Revival and Reform of Plainsong.....	102
Anglican Chant	105
Singing of the Psalms.....	108
Chapter 5: The Church Musicians	111
The Clergy	111
The Congregation.....	112
The Choirmaster and/or Organist.....	117
Education of Church Musicians.....	122
The Choir	126
The Boy Choir.....	129
Chapter 6: Church Music Repertory	138
Chapter 7: The Organ in the United States	155
Developments in Organ Building	158
Organ Standardization	164
The Unit Organ	181
Tonal Structure and Voicing.....	186
Selection of an Organ.....	190
Chapter 8: Organ Repertory.....	194
Transcriptions	195
Selection of Repertory and Program Planning.....	203
Organ Accompaniment	213

Chapter 9: The American Guild of Organists	217
Purpose of the Guild	221
Accomplishments of the Guild	225
AGO Examinations.....	233
Conclusion	239
Appendix A: Summary of Articles on Music Education.....	243
Appendix B: Secular Choral Music	257
Appendix C: Biographical Sketches	265
Appendix D: Contributors to <i>The New Music Review and Church Music Review</i> ..	280
Bibliography	289

List of Illustrations

Illustration 1: First issue of <i>The Church Music Review</i> (November 1901)	7
Illustration 2: First issue as <i>The New Music Review and Church Music Review</i> (December 1904-January 1905).....	7
Illustration 3: The Standard Pedal Board.....	171

Chapter 1: Introduction

In his review of Katharine Ellis's book *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France*,¹ Richard Langham Smith wrote, "Books studying important periodicals as windows on national history are likely to proliferate now that the Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale gets its claws into more and more."² This dissertation offers one such example.

The early twentieth century was a time of growth and change in American musical life.³ Choral societies were established,⁴ opera companies were created,⁵ concerts of chamber music gained prominence,⁶ and orchestra performances grew in number,⁷ as did music festivals, which provided opportunities for performances of contemporary choral works.⁸

Early twentieth-century orchestras, choirs, operas companies and other musicians in the United States and Europe performed music written by American-born composers

¹Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue Et Gazette Musicale De Paris, 1834-80* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). The book evolved from Ellis's dissertation.

²Richard Langham Smith, "Stop Press," *The Musical Times* 137, no. 1837 (March 1996): 23.

³The *New Music Review* often mentioned smaller cities with active musical cultures, including Hartford, Connecticut and Worcester, Massachusetts.

⁴Among these were the MacDowell Chorus and the Schola Cantorum of New York.

⁵For example, Hammerstein established the Manhattan Opera Company in 1906.

⁶Performances by newly created groups such as the Flonzaley Quartet, Olive Mead Quartet, and Boston Symphony Quartet supplemented chamber music performances by established string quartets such as the Kneisel Quartet.

⁷In New York, orchestras from Boston and Philadelphia began to perform, in addition to regular concerts by the New York Symphony Society and the New York Philharmonic, whose concerts began increasing in number during 1909.

⁸The prominent Worcester Festival in Massachusetts and Norfolk Festival in Connecticut featured many premiere performances, including F. S. Converse's *Job*, Grainger's *Marching Song of Democracy*, Horatio Parker's *Dream of Mary*, and Jean Sibelius's *Alottaret*.

more frequently than during the nineteenth century, including well-received works by Horatio Parker, George Chadwick and Frederick Converse. Many active American composers, such as Daniel Gregory Mason, F. S. Converse and Henry Gilbert, took interest in the musical expression of nationalism and in establishing a definitive American music. Beginning in the 1910s, some younger American composers wrote music in the modernist style (for example, Leo Ornstein, Henry Cowell, Aaron Copland and Virgil Thomson); their works would receive attention and some success before World War II. Composers of the earlier generation, who thought the modernist style of music attracted notice through special effects rather than intrinsic musical quality, often held works by these younger composers in disdain. At the same time the younger generation of composers considered the music of the earlier generation conservative and derivative, as it followed models established by European musicians during the Romantic era.

Music education developed during this era, as music became an integral part of the course of study at many public schools. Schools implemented new methods for teaching music, making greater attempts to educate instructors and supervisors, and the influence of the Music Teachers' National Association, established in 1875, grew substantially. American colleges and universities created new opportunities to study music at the university level at the end of the nineteenth century, with programs at Yale University, Columbia University, Oberlin College and other institutions of higher learning. Their curricula varied widely. The first decades of the twentieth century saw increased efforts to bring music appreciation programs to the general public, as well as to students.

In the late nineteenth century, sentimental hymn tunes, solo quartet choirs and secular music prevailed in church services. Reform of sacred music in the early twentieth

century led choirs to replace solo singers, dignified hymn tunes to replace those considered “sentimental” crowd-pleasers, and sacred music to replace secular music in worship services. The quality of church music continued to improve with the revival of Renaissance service music and the composition of new sacred music following the ideals of the Anglican Church’s Oxford Movement and the *motu proprio* in the Roman Catholic Church. The American Guild of Organists (AGO), established in 1896 in New York City, encouraged high standards for music in church services. Public festival services featured AGO members performing contemporary sacred compositions of exceptionally high quality and in accord with correct liturgical practice. The AGO also sponsored educational lectures and public organ recitals.

The organ enjoyed increasing popularity in the first decades of the twentieth century; organists such as Edwin Lemare and Samuel Baldwin attracted thousands of people to their recitals to hear not only music written for the organ, but also transcriptions of orchestral music. Mechanical and tonal innovations of the instrument developed rapidly, and the number of organs built in the United States rose yearly.

Originating in the United States, ragtime and jazz gained attention both here and in Europe. Yet this new music caused controversy in the art music world; some composers embraced these styles as a true American music and added elements of jazz to their own compositions, while others thought jazz and ragtime inappropriate representatives of American music discrediting them and their influence in art music compositions.

The New Music Review and Church Music Review

The New Music Review and Church Music Review (NMR), an early twentieth-century journal that remains largely unexplored, offers a detailed chronicle of American

musical life for thirty-five years, from 1901 to 1935. During this period, the NMR was one of the most important music journals published in the United States and one that enjoyed “a high reputation for its able editorials and the excellence of its contributed articles.”⁹

The New Music Review and Church Music Review was published monthly in New York City from November 1901 until September 1935;¹⁰ its 34 volumes¹¹ and 404 issues comprise more than 16,000 pages. The H. W. Gray Company, originally an American distributor for the English publisher Novello, Ewer & Co., founded the journal, continuing to publish it after becoming an independent firm in 1906.¹² The journal’s Statement of Ownership, printed first in 1916 and sporadically thereafter, cites H. W. Gray as the editor of the journal;¹³ statements from the 1920s through the journal’s termination list Geoffrey H. Gray as the “business manager.”¹⁴ H. W. Gray, G. Edward Stubbs, M. Randall, Randall’s wife (referenced, but unnamed in the journal) and S. A. Trench¹⁵ owned the publication. Others listed as owners during portions of the journal’s publication run

⁹*Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4th ed., ed. H. C. Colles (New York: MacMillan, 1942), s.v. “Periodicals, Musical.”

¹⁰The journal’s title changed to *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* with volume 4 in November 1904; until then it appeared as *The Church Music Review*, with the title page reading *The Church Music Review and Official Bulletin for the American Guild of Organists: A monthly periodical devoted to the interests of organists & choirmasters & oratorio societies*.

¹¹Each volume included issues from December to November, with the exception of those from 1901 through 1904, which included those from November through October.

¹²Though independent, the H. W. Gray Company continued to represent Novello in the United States after 1906.

¹³While the NMR’s Statement of Ownership lists Mallinson Randall as one of the journal’s owners, a contemporary edition of *Grove’s Dictionary of Music* also cited him as an editor of the NMR. *Grove’s*, s.v. “Periodicals, Musical.”

¹⁴The Statement of Ownership first appears in the July 1916 issue, and then usually in the June or December issues of subsequent years.

¹⁵Following Trench’s death in 1929, the Statement of Ownership lists the estate of S. A. Trench instead of Trench himself.

were Frederick S. Converse, H. Binney, F. B. Miles, Ada M. Surette and Walter Henry Hall.

Though inconsistent, the number of pages per NMR issue is usually between thirty and forty-four, with longer issues common during the years 1906 to 1912. Eight to ten of the first and last pages are devoted to advertising for music companies and organ builders, except during the Christmas season when those pages increased to as many as fifteen. Throughout the journal, the vast majority of pages are divided into two columns, and the size of type varies; in news sections and for some long articles, small type is employed to conserve space. The journal measures 27.5 centimeters in height and 19.8 centimeters in width.¹⁶ Photographs, diagrams and musical examples often accompany the feature articles, which are usually four pages in length but vary from two to eight pages.

In a typical month, *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* contains (i) an editorial section, (ii) feature articles, (iii) the review sections “Concerts of the Month,” “At the Opera,” and “Foreign Notes,” (iv) the “Facts, Rumors and Remarks” section, which contains news, (v) the “Ecclesiastical Music” column, (vi) the American Guild of Organists section, (vii) sections of concert programs, (viii) church service lists from various congregations, (ix) reader correspondence, (x) the “Reviews of New Music” section, and (xi) the “Suggested Service List,” providing repertory suggestions for choirmasters. During the journal’s first decade, musical supplements and regional columns entitled “Chicago News” and “Boston News” also appeared.

¹⁶Approximately 10.75 inches by 8 inches.

In 1901 the journal begins as *The Church Music Review* with the aim “to advance the cause of good music in our churches”;¹⁷ articles pertaining to sacred music and its improvement are thus regular components throughout the run. For most of its issues the NMR also serves as the AGO’s monthly bulletin, and the affiliation naturally led to the journal’s inclusion of articles about the organ and organ performance. The picture of musical life in American churches that emerges from the NMR’s feature articles and other contributions is one of the journal’s special characteristics.¹⁸ At the end of 1904, the scope of the journal expanded to include secular music, and the title changed to *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* to reflect the enlarged focus. Until the beginning of World War I, the journal emphasizes reviews of musical performances in New York, but as performances declined during the war, those performance reviews decrease in prominence. Secular subjects become the focus of the feature articles, with diminished importance placed on articles about church music; in total, fewer than twenty-five percent of NMR feature articles concern sacred music. The “Foreign Notes” and “Facts, Rumors and Remarks” sections highlight secular concert life, while other sections, such as the “Ecclesiastical Music” column and the AGO section, emphasize developments in the area of sacred music.

¹⁷*The Church Music Review* 1, no.1 (November 1901): 1. Hereinafter, citations to *The Church Music Review* are abbreviated “CMR,” and citations to *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* are abbreviated “NMR.”

¹⁸“As musical culture spread in the 1870s, numerous publications appeared dealing with particular interests. The movement, European in origin, towards the revival of church music and sung services led in the United States of America to the publication of several church music magazines, such as *Caecilia* (Regensburg, 1874-76; New York 1877-) the journal of the American Cecilia Society, *The Catholic Choirmaster* (1915-64), the journal of the Society of St. Gregory of America, incorporated in 1965 into *Caecilia*, and *The Church Music Review* (1901/02-1934/35) of the American Guild of Organists.” *Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online)*, s.v. “Periodicals ii. Continental and national surveys 2. America ii. United States of America” (by Imogen Fellinger and Julie Woodward), <http://www.grovemusic.com/> (accessed September 27, 2005).

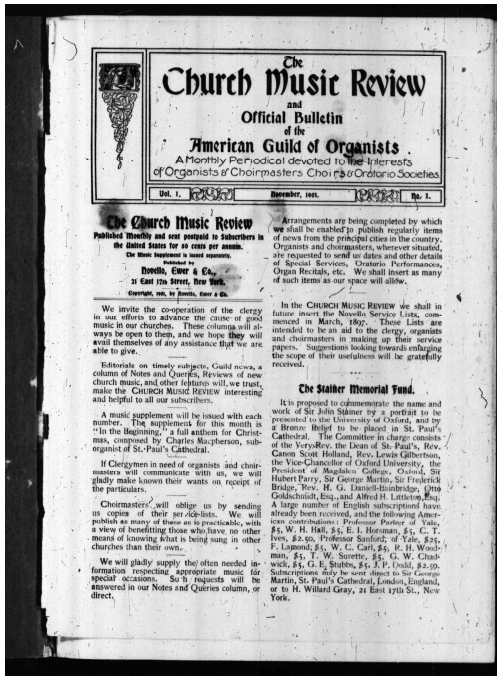


Illustration 1: First issue of *The Church Music Review* (November 1901)



Illustration 2: First issue as *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* (December 1904-January 1905)

The “Editorials”¹⁹ section features the editor’s opinions and remarks on a variety of musical matters, including reactions to musical gossip, other critics’ reviews and recent or forthcoming performances and books. Aside from the sporadic statements of Ownership, the editor is unnamed, and the NMR identifies contributors only if they sign their articles. The substance and style of the “Editorials” give the impression of having been written by a single author, and as no other editor is ever identified, H. W. Gray is a strong candidate. Gray encouraged American composers by publishing many of their works, especially organ and choral music. Gray was the secretary-treasurer of the Oratorio Society of New York for many years, and was a founder of the AGO.

¹⁹This section was entitled “Current Topics” in the journal’s early years.

The numerous feature articles found in each issue of the NMR treat a wide range of musical topics.²⁰ The dominant subjects considered are American music and musical life, sacred music, organ music, the AGO, choral music, musical education, and musical appreciation. Within each topic, major themes emerge.

Issues relating to the development of American Music explored in the journal include the struggle to define American music, its characteristics, the use of Native American music, and the importance of folk-song to nationalist music. Contributors — often American composers — identify reasons for the neglect of American music written at the beginning of the twentieth century and offer proposals for its promotion and development. The journal illustrates changing foreign influences on American music students as articles describe the popularity of studying in Germany before World War I, and then the shift toward France during and after the war.

The NMR exhibits great concern for sacred music reform, especially regarding the use of appropriate service music and the need for greater congregational participation. Many articles examine sacred music's history and development to identify suitable musical characteristics for service music and to clarify changes that should be made in current practices. Articles treat, for example, the purpose of sacred music, the restoration of plainchant and the choral service, the growing use of both mixed choirs and boy choirs, and the challenges of eliminating secular music from the service. Other articles offer suggestions for organists and choirmasters as they strive to improve their choirs and their congregations' expectations.

²⁰The NMR often lists titles of feature articles in a contents section at the beginning of each issue, frequently omitting the authors. There are indices for some volumes of the journal listing the year's articles in alphabetical order by title.

Articles also explore developments in organ building, including progress toward the creation of a standard pedal board, the question of standardization, changes in the console and tonal design, and the debate over the Unit Organ built by Robert Hope-Jones. Other contributions document a controversy over the use of transcription, and practical advice for organists about proper service playing, accompaniment, and recital programming is plentiful.

The journal documents the development and goals of the American Guild of Organists, with focus on their accomplishments in raising the standards of church music. Articles and notices explain the process and need for AGO examinations that test the proficiency levels of organists and choirmasters to certify that members have adequate skills to hold church positions. Pleas addressed to members and their churches promote cooperation between clergy and musicians, as well as proper working conditions for organists. The AGO continually strives for improvement in service music, and its success is noted in accounts of members' work the Guild's and outreach to new members and clergy.

The NMR reports in many articles the prolific dissemination of music through American choral societies, and reveals the importance of American festivals — with their numerous participants and “sold out” performances — to musical life. Descriptions in feature articles demonstrate that the choral societies premiered new works in the United States, often commissioned by patrons of the festivals. Feature articles in the NMR describe model choral societies and the difficulties the societies faced.

Many authors show concern for the growth of musical education at school and community levels. They underscore the need for standard curriculum and requirements at the grammar school, high school and collegiate levels. Articles elucidate new methods

for teaching music in public schools, emphasizing the need for students to learn musical fundamentals in elementary school and then enjoy a wider selection of music courses in high school. Authors stress that students should not learn singing by rote, but should learn to read music, appreciate its expressive qualities, and sight sing. Contributors to the NMR are early advocates of musical appreciation, recognizing its importance and espousing the journal's reformist ideals. In fact, the series of articles on musical appreciation by Thomas Whitney Surette and Daniel Gregory Mason became one of the first music appreciation textbooks — widely circulated in several editions.²¹

Many feature articles are, in effect, biographical sketches; in all, more than 140 articles examine the lives and works of both American and European composers and performers. Twelve treat American composers, including Frederick Stock, Charles Martin Loeffler, Edward MacDowell, David Stanley Smith, Henry Hadley and William Wallace Gilchrist; twenty-one feature prominent American organists important to the development of American sacred music, including Channing Lefebvre, Norman Coke-Jephcott, Clarence Dickinson and T. Tertius Noble. Biographical sketches of composers such as d'Indy, Ravel, Debussy and Satie reflect growing interest in French music, while those on Elgar, Davies, Bantock, Delius, Coleridge-Taylor and Holbrooke exhibit continued interest in England's active musical life. The NMR's articles on German and Italian musi-

²¹The series ran from July 1906 through December 1908. The H. W. Gray Company published the textbook *Music Appreciation* in 1907; the collection of the Library of Congress contains few books on appreciation published before this one (based on a search of texts under the subject heading "music appreciation" by date). Keene describes the book as the most influential for teaching appreciation, and notes that H. W. Gray published fifteen editions of the text from 1907 to 1924. James Keene, *A History of Music Education in the United States* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1982), 240. From December 1908 through June 1909, the NMR published another series of appreciation articles by Mason, entitled "Orchestral Instruments and What They Do."

cians, in contrast, feature historical figures, including Bach, Beethoven, Haydn and Mozart.

The NMR's feature articles also consider aspects of musical history, such as the development of notation and musical form, the evolution of musical instruments, and early music in America. Articles about contemporary issues scrutinize the roles of conductors and prima donnas in concert life, and report on technological developments including "talking movies," music on the radio, and electronically generated music. Regarding opera, prominent subjects are Wagner reception and the controversy between bel canto and Wagnerian singing. Issues discussed in articles related to aesthetics include the value and goals of music, progress in music, and changing public tastes. Other articles consider the need for criticism, the role of the critic, interpretation and subjectivity in music, emotional expression in music, and the association of music and poetry.

Thousands of concert reviews of performances in New York City and the surrounding area appear in the NMR, with concerts in Boston and other larger cities reviewed occasionally. From 1905 through 1914, the journal includes reviews of most major concerts during the New York winter season. Among the featured orchestras are the Philharmonic Society of New York, the New York Symphony Orchestra, the Russian Symphony Orchestra, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Philadelphia Orchestra. String quartets such as the Kneisel Quartet, the Boston Symphony Quartet, the Flonzaley Quartet, and the Olive Mead Quartet are often reviewed, as are choral society concerts by the Oratorio Society of New York, the Musical Art Society, and the Mendelssohn Choir of Toronto. Each month, the NMR offers a number of concert reviews of performances by well-known solo artists such as Mme Gadski, Mme Schumann-Heink, Ossip

Gabrilowitsch, Alexander Scriabin, Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler, Josef Hofmann, Ignaz Paderewski and David Bispham. Following the concert reviews, the “At the Opera” section focuses on performances of the Metropolitan Opera Company, the Manhattan Opera Company and the Chicago Opera Company.

The “Foreign Notes” section, usually comprised of numerous short notices organized by individual cities, imparts news and reviews of musical activities in Europe and elsewhere. Gossip about well-known artists, news of forthcoming events, and obituaries are found in the “Facts, Rumors, and Remarks” section; when present, the “Notes” section contains notices of musical events and miscellaneous information. Sections listing choral society programs and miscellaneous concert programs from many communities in the United States often fill pages.

The section entitled “News of the American Guild of Organists” reports on the organization’s growth, activities, chapter events, and convention highlights. Separate sections follow, providing specifications for new organs and many programs from organ recitals throughout the country.

Reflecting its bias toward New York, the NMR offers only brief news and reviews of events in Chicago — dealing with musical groups such as the Apollo Club, Evanston Musical Club and Chicago Orchestra — and Boston — the Cecilia Society, the Handel and Haydn Society and Boston Symphony Orchestra.²²

An average NMR issue contains twenty to thirty short reviews of musical works and books in the “Reviews of New Music” section. Amounting to thousands of reviews over the life of the journal, in this section alone the NMR introduces its readers to a large

²²The “Boston News” and “Chicago News” sections appeared only through 1906.

body of newly published music. The reviews focus on sacred music, organ music and choral music. The majority of the works reviewed were published by the H. W. Gray Company, the journal's publisher, but the NMR also reviews music from other publishers, such as Arthur P. Schmidt, Oliver Ditson Company, Carl Fischer, Theodore Presser and J. Fischer and Brother. Each issue also prints a list of music published during the preceding month. A musical supplement offers a new composition every month for the first decade of the journal's run, most often consisting of a choral anthem, but occasionally featuring sacred solos and secular choral works.

Beginning in 1906, G. Edward Stubbs becomes the journal's most regular contributor, other than the unnamed author of the "Editorials." Stubbs contributes a monthly "Ecclesiastical Music" column concentrating on church music reform, exploring topics related to service music, the choral service, boy choirs, congregational singing, English traditions, musical festivals, and other issues of interest to organist-choirmasters. Stubbs served a long tenure as choirmaster/organist of St. Agnes' Chapel, Trinity Parish; taught at the General Theological Seminary; and was, like Gray, a founding member of the AGO. He also authored a respected book on training boy choirs.

The feature articles, often signed, are written by prominent figures in the musical world; the journal provided a venue for American writers, but there are also articles by English contributors. Daniel Gregory Mason (1873-1953), a composer of orchestral and piano works, author and teacher at Columbia University, penned over 100 articles for the NMR. His writings include series on the appreciation of music, the "great masterpieces" and modern composers; he also reviews the Berkshire Festival of chamber music. Henry F. Gilbert (1868-1928), also an American composer, writes about developments in

American music, Native American music, and issues concerning contemporary composers.²³ Oscar Sonneck (1873-1928), a prolific writer on American music and an important innovator for the Library of Congress as director of its music division, discusses early concerts and opera in America, music and the first presidents, the Library of Congress, and Anton Beer-Walbrunn.

A number of American critics well-known for their work in other publications also contributed to the NMR. Richard Aldrich (1863-1937), a critic for the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Times*, writes about productions in New York, the Worcester Festival, Grieg, MacDowell and Mendelssohn. Olin Downes (1886-1955), a critic for the *Boston Post* and the *New York Times*, reviews Converse's operas and discusses Sibelius. Philip Hale (1854-1934), critic for the *Boston Herald* and author of program notes for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, provides news about musical events in Boston, as well as articles on modern French composers. William James Henderson (1855-1937), critic for the *New York Times*, and the *New York Sun*, discusses singing, opera, and the composers Loeffler, Wagner, Broekhoven and Wullner. Henry Edward Krehbiel (1854-1923), a critic for the *New York Tribune* and author of books about music appreciation and opera, writes about the history of church music in New York, Beethoven, the Worcester Festival and the Cincinnati Festival.

A number of English critics also contributed to the NMR. Herbert Antcliffe (1875-1964), musicologist and writer for the *London Times* and *New York Herald Tribune*, writes many biographical sketches of English composers and discusses contemporary music. Ernest Newman (1868-1959), critic for the *Manchester Guardian* and the

²³Arthur Farwell (1872-1952), a composer, also writes about the use of folk-song and the influence of nationalism on the composer.

London *Sunday Times*, writes about contemporary composers and vocal music. John F. Runciman (1866-1916), critic for the *Saturday Review*, discusses modern composers, Franck, Bach and municipal English orchestras. George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) discusses and reminisces about music criticism. The foreign critic and author Michael D. Calvocoressi (1877-1961) contributes articles about Russian music and other contemporary composers.

A number of important organists and organ builders also made significant contributions to the NMR. The English builder Robert Hope-Jones (1859-1914) explains his innovations in wind supply for the organ and his Unit Organ Orchestra, dismissing standardization of the instrument. Ernest M. Skinner (1866-1961), an American builder of many large and important organs, discusses transcriptions, standardization, the pedal board and American contributions to organ building. Edwin H. Lemare (1866-1934), an English concert artist who held posts in the United States, addresses the development of the organ and its console. Peter Christian Lutkin (1858-1931), Walter Henry Hall (1862-1935) and Wallace Goodrich (1871-1952), all American conductors and important university educators, treat issues relevant to sacred music, such as training organists and boy choirs. In total, more than 240 authors contributed feature articles to the NMR. In the main, the journal represents the voice of the educated, New England elite. The Anglican viewpoint is represented most often in articles about sacred music as many contributors were active in the Episcopal Church or were British organists that relocated to the United States.

State of the Literature

American Music

General histories of American music by authors such as Gilbert Chase, Charles Hamm, H. Wiley Hitchcock and Kyle Gann pay little attention to the early twentieth century, other than the modernists.²⁴ These histories focus on individual composers, rather than offering a comprehensive overview of musical life, and they neglect many important and influential American composers from the era. John Tasker Howard treats the era by classifying composers by their birth decades; he includes biographical sketches of a wider range and number of composers, but draws few conclusions about the era as a whole.²⁵ Thus, these studies, while informative and essential, fail to deliver an account of American musical life during the period.

The NMR, in contrast, provides a large and detailed view of contemporary music life. Information on performances of music, lesser known composers of the era, trends in musical life, sacred music, organ music, and the early growth of music education (which general histories of the period tend to neglect) abounds in the NMR.

The literature rarely mentions musical institutions and performance groups important during the era; Joseph Horowitz fills the lacunae somewhat with his *Classical Music in America*,²⁶ but he focuses on the larger institutions: the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic, the Chicago Orchestra, the Metropolitan Opera and the

²⁴Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987). Charles Hamm, *Music in the New World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983). H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969). Chase treats Ives and the New England School, and Hamm treats MacDowell, Gilbert, Farwell, Ives and Copland.

²⁵John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music: Three Hundred Years of It* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1954).

²⁶Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005).

Manhattan Opera Company. The NMR, along with its many reviews and reports of events by these organizations, considers a large number of additional performance groups, including choral societies, music manuscript societies,²⁷ smaller orchestras, chamber music groups and recitals by solo artists. Through its reviews and concert programs, the NMR records detailed reflections on musical life not only in New York, but also around the country and, to a lesser degree, in Europe.

Much critical material exists on musical modernism in the United States. For example, books by Carol Oja and David Nicholls examine the composers involved with the modernist movement;²⁸ studies by David Metzger and Nicholas Tawa comment on the modernists' capacity to come to the forefront and then claim control of the art music world.²⁹ The conservative American composers of the period, however, are comparatively neglected, as are their ideas about music. The NMR focuses on the conservative perspective and its composers, who were also important in leading musical education and American sacred music in the early 1900s. Far from unthinking reactionaries, the conservatives worked to establish, develop and promote an American music.

Despite the fact that conservative or mainstream American composers were interested in the expression of a national idiom in their music, studies dealing with national-

²⁷These include the Manuscript Music Society of Philadelphia and the Manuscript Society of New York.

²⁸Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). David Nicholls, *American Experimental Music, 1890-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Oja discusses the modernists and their struggle to gain acceptance, focusing on Ornstein, Varese, Antheil, Ruggles, Cowell, Crawford, Copland, Thomson and Gershwin. Nicholls treats the lives of individual composers such as Ives, Seeger, Ruggles, Crawford, Cowell and Cage.

²⁹David Metzger, "The Ascendancy of Musical Modernism in New York City, 1915-1929" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1993). Nicholas E. Tawa, *American Composers and Their Public: A Critical Look*. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1995). Tawa discusses how the modernist movement estranged the general American public from new music. He mentions concurrently existing traditional composers and discusses how the modernists gained greater acceptance.

ism in music treat the modernists more thoroughly than the conservative composers.³⁰

MacDonald Smith Moore offers insight into the struggle for a national musical identity of the conservative composers with his comparison of Daniel Gregory Mason and Charles Ives.³¹ Levy describes the changing influence on American composers from German to French compositional style, briefly discussing E. B. Hill and Mason.³² One may gain valuable additional insight, however, through analysis of NMR articles by conservative composers such as Henry Gilbert, Arthur Farwell, and Daniel Gregory Mason, which demonstrate their interest in establishing and defining a national, American music. Authors such as Joseph Horowitz promote the misleading impression that only younger American composers cultivated a national style.³³

Although generally neglected, a few authors consider the conservative composers and even fewer classify them as a group. In the introduction to his volume, *Mainstream Music of Early Twentieth Century America: The Composers, Their Times, and Their Works*, Nicholas Tawa compares the conservative composers to their modernist peers.³⁴ He groups conservative composers with common backgrounds and musical traits, and provides biographical sketches for composers such as F. S. Converse, Daniel Gregory

³⁰Barbara L. Tischler, *An American Music: The Search for an American Musical Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Tischler treats the development of a nationalist American music and eventual success of American composers through modernism.

³¹MacDonald Smith Moore, *Yankee Blues: Musical Culture and American Identity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). Moore focuses on jazz and Copland.

³²Alan Howard Levy, *Musical Nationalism: American Composers' Search for Identity* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983). Levy helpfully discusses the change from German influence to French influence and the roles and ideals of E. B. Hill and D. G. Mason in American music education. The majority of the book focuses on the composers George Antheil, Virgil Thomson, Roy Harris and Aaron Copland.

³³“Questions of American identity were more likely to occur to outsiders like Dvořák, or first-generation Americans like George Gershwin and Aaron Copland, for whom jazz, folk songs, and popular music became vital points of reference.” Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 104.

³⁴Nicholas E. Tawa, *Mainstream Music of Early Twentieth Century America: The Composers, Their Times, and Their Works* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992).

Mason, Henry Gilbert, Arthur Farwell and Charles Griffes. Walter Simmons's book treats Neo-Romantic composers of a younger generation, Creston, Hansen and Barber, with little consideration of their interactions or similarities as a group.³⁵ While the NMR does not overtly associate these American conservative composers, one may infer their interaction from their support of similar issues and events, and associations with the same organizations.

In addition to works treating multiple composers, the literature includes articles, books and dissertations concerning individual conservative composers of the early twentieth century, such as F. S. Converse,³⁶ Daniel Gregory Mason,³⁷ and Henry Gilbert.³⁸ Biographical sketches of these composers, analyses and reviews of their works, and articles written by the composers themselves published in the NMR give deeper information about their careers and activities.

Sacred Music

Surprisingly little has been written about the history of American sacred music. Scholarship on general church music neglects the beginning of the twentieth century or provides only a very general picture of the style of music performed. In *A History of American Church Music*, Ellinwood discusses replacing quartet choirs with boy choirs

³⁵Walter Simmons, *Voices in the Wilderness: Six American Neo-Romantic Composers* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004). The composers treated in this book are of a younger generation: Bloch, Hansen, Vittorio Giannini, Paul Creston, Samuel Barber and Nicolas Flagello.

³⁶Robert Garofalo, *Frederick Shepherd Converse (1871- 1940): His Life and Music* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1994).

³⁷Mary J. Klein, "The Contribution of Daniel G. Mason to American Music" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1957). Leslie C. Dack Kushner, "The Prose Works of Daniel Gregory Mason: A Contributor to Music Education" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1988).

³⁸Katherine Marie Eide Longyear, "Henry F. Gilbert, His Life and Works" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1968).

under the influence of the Oxford Movement in the early twentieth century.³⁹ He mentions the predominant choral repertory and provides a useful section of brief biographical sketches of important church musicians. Stevenson includes one chapter on music from 1850 to the present in his book, *Protestant Church Music in America: A short survey of men and movements from 1564 to the present*, but offers little information on music written after 1900.⁴⁰ Carol Doran and William H. Petersen present a general history of music's role in the Episcopal Church, but most often concentrate on policies regarding music and its presentation of doctrine.⁴¹ Scholars fail to report the widespread reform of sacred music as the quartet choir became extinct in all denominations and choral singing became prominent. Musicians in most churches were searching for ways to improve their service music, and many articles in the NMR illustrate their struggles for reform and higher quality in church music. In many articles, church musicians and composers look to the origin of sacred music and its developments to determine what characteristics are most appropriate for music in worship and services. Many NMR writers emphasize the roles and responsibilities of the clergy, the choir and the choirmaster, and describe working conditions that create the best circumstances to allow sacred music to thrive. The journal explores different options for the choir, whether it features boys or adult men and women, and includes suggestions for conducting rehearsals.

Scholarly literature about twentieth-century sacred music often concerns specific types of composition or issues. Talmage W. Dean focuses on hymns in the church, but

³⁹Leonard Ellinwood, *A History of American Church Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970).

⁴⁰Robert Murell Stevenson, *Protestant Church Music in America: A Short Survey of Men and Movements from 1564 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 1966).

⁴¹Carol A. Doran and William H. Petersen, *History of Music in the Episcopal Church* (Little Rock, Ark.: Association of Anglican Musicians, 1991).

also chooses to explore assorted topics such as the influence of Dudley Buck, published choral collections, the Lorenz Publishing Company, early radio broadcasts, and church music education.⁴² Criswell has written about boy choirs in the United States.⁴³

The existing literature contains few references to the important church music reform movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, yet this movement is depicted at great length in the NMR. A detailed study of its articles yields insights into the scope and direction of these reforms, including the purposes of sacred music, problems concerning its practice, appropriate repertory, and the role of the church musician. By digesting and parsing these articles and placing their commentary in an appropriate context, this study documents the nuances of the arguments for reform and advancement of sacred music over the first thirty-five years of the century while relating them to other contemporary sources. Moreover, this study reveals, for the first time, the identities of the authors and musicians behind the church music reform movement. Only a systematic examination of the NMR — through its recently published RIPM index⁴⁴ — makes known both the broad trends of reform and its individual facets and proponents.

The Organ

Orpha Ochse and William Barnes have written books about the development of organ building in the United States. Ochse traces the development of the tonal structure

⁴²Talmage W. Dean, *A Survey of Twentieth-Century Protestant Church Music in America* (Nashville, Tenn.: Boardman Press, 1988).

⁴³Paul Douglas Criswell, "The Episcopal Choir School and Choir of Men and Boys in the United States: Its Anglican Tradition, Its American Past and Present" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 1988).

⁴⁴Elizabeth Crouch Fitts, *The New Music Review and Church Music Review, 1901-1935*, 6 vols., Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale/Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals (Baltimore, Md.: National Information Services Corp., 2008).

found in American organs, and classifies the twentieth-century instruments as the Orchestral Organ, the American Classic Organ and the Neo-Baroque Organ.⁴⁵ Barnes explains the mechanical workings of the organ and its development, but his history of tonal design does not concentrate on the twentieth century.⁴⁶ He mentions the controversy over console design and standardization, but gives no specific arguments from either side. The articles by Jonathan Ambrosino and Lee R. Garrett examine organ building reform and preferences for organs from the present perspective.⁴⁷ Because developments in organ building during the first decades of the twentieth century occurred so rapidly, music historians have not considered some of the controversies surrounding changes in the instrument. Registration and repertory selection varied during the era, and were much different from what organ audiences hear today, yet writers seldom treat those of the earlier period. Opinions expressed in the NMR give voice to century-old controversies arising from new developments in organ building, especially those regarding a standardized pedal board and console. The NMR's articles expose trends in tonal development through articles about new organs and numerous stoplists. Its articles and correspondence debate advantages for programming transcriptions on organ recitals. From the many programs of organ recitals printed, a clear idea of the prominent repertory emerges. Reviews of new organ music also reveal prolific composers of the era.

⁴⁵Orpha Ochse, *The History of the Organ in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975).

⁴⁶William Barnes, *The Contemporary American Organ, its Evolution, Design and Construction*, 8th ed. (New York: J. Fischer, 1971).

⁴⁷Jonathan Ambrosino, "Present Imperfect: A Perspective on the Past Century of American Organ Building," *The Tracker* 42, no. 3 (March 1988): 22-36. Lee R. Garrett, "American Organ Reform in Retrospect," *The American Organist* 31, no. 6 (June 1997): 58-65 and 31, no. 8 (August 1997): 72-78.

There are biographies about important organ builders in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. David H. Fox examines the life of Robert Hope-Jones through the organs he designed and his professional relationships.⁴⁸ While Fox describes Hope-Jones's many inventions and developments in organ building, Fox does not mention the important articles by Hope-Jones in the NMR and fails to give a full account of the controversy surrounding the Hope-Jones unit organ. Dorothy J. Holden's life of E. M. Skinner describes the organs he constructed and his business partners.⁴⁹ Craig Whitney's book on the organ in the United States discusses the styles of the organ builders Skinner and G. Donald Harrison and describes the race to construct larger organs.⁵⁰ In the NMR, organ builders and prominent organists published their views on changes in the instrument and performance styles. Hope-Jones explains his contributions to and theories about organ building in multiple articles. Skinner, in turn, presents his disagreements with Hope-Jones's methods in the journal's correspondence section; he also defends the use of transcription.

History of the American Guild of Organists

The American Guild of Organists has been in existence for well over one hundred years, and remains an important and influential organization providing education and fellowship to its thousands of members throughout the United States. The Guild continues to sponsor organ concerts and other musical performances for the hundreds of communi-

⁴⁸David H. Fox, *Robt. Hope-Jones* (Richmond, Va.: Organ Historical Society, 1992).

⁴⁹Dorothy J. Holden, *The Life and Works of Ernest M. Skinner* (Richmond, Va.: Organ Historical Society, 1985).

⁵⁰Craig Whitney, *All the Stops: The Glorious Pipe Organ and its American Masters* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2003).

ties it serves. Samuel Baldwin offers a brief, general history of the Guild, concentrating on its establishment and first few years.⁵¹ He considers the Guild's purpose and examinations and discusses the beginning of its New England Chapter.

In 1996 *The American Organist* published a series of articles on the history of the Guild in celebration of its centennial. Barbara Owen's study on the establishment and early purposes of the Guild includes a useful, short bibliography.⁵² She also wrote an article about the founders, indicating where they studied, church positions they held, and the types of compositions they wrote.⁵³ Her third article documents the Guild's early activities and its establishment of new chapters; much of the information Owen offers, however, focuses on the years after World War II.⁵⁴ Arthur Lawrence gives the dates and locations of the organization's conventions from 1914 to 1939, with a description of some of the conventions' recitals and activities.⁵⁵ Mary Ann Dodd treats the establishment of the society's Clemson Gold Medal prize for choral compositions and the Holtkamp AGO award for organ compositions, as well as the later competitions among organists.⁵⁶ Agnes Armstrong considers the origin, purpose, requirements, and development of

⁵¹Samuel A. Baldwin, *The Story of the American Guild of Organists* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1946). H. W. Gray compiled this book from a series of articles that appeared in the *Diapason* from October 1945 through March 1946.

⁵²Barbara Owen, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: One Hundred Years Ago – The Founding of the AGO," *The American Organist* 30, no. 1 (January 1996): 34-36.

⁵³Barbara Owen, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: The Founders of the AGO – Who Were They?," *The American Organist* 30, no. 2 (February 1996): 91-96.

⁵⁴Barbara Owen, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: The Guild Grows," *The American Organist* 30, no. 3 (March 1996): 45-47.

⁵⁵Arthur Lawrence, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: AGO Conventions, 1914-1939," *The American Organist* 30, no. 4 (April 1996): 52-57.

⁵⁶Mary Ann Dodd, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: One Hundred Years of Competition," *The American Organist* 30, no. 5 (May 1996): 58-63.

the examinations; she also considers the use of gowns and hoods by the Guild.⁵⁷ Finally, Rollin Smith provides short biographical sketches of all wardens up to 1996.⁵⁸ But this literature does not evaluate the Guild's early accomplishments, nor does it analyze how the Guild quickly expanded its influence.

Credited repeatedly with advancing church music reform in the beginning of the twentieth century, the Guild was essential in bringing church musicians together to work towards a common goal. Scholarly accounts neglect this significant contribution to American musical life, leaving the important role of the AGO in sacred music reform to be addressed in this dissertation. The NMR underscores the Guild's accomplishments, with much documentation that allows one to clarify its remarkable achievements.

Choral Music

There is limited scholarship about the history of choral music in the United States during the early twentieth century. Percy Young's historical survey of choral music briefly mentions Loeffler, Chadwick, Eric Delamarter, John Alden Carpenter, Frederick Converse and Henry Hadley.⁵⁹ In Strimple's *Choral Music in the Twentieth Century*, his chapter on the United States focuses on Charles Ives and music from the 1940s onward; the section on sacred music in the United States refers to some earlier composers such as P. C. Lutkin, Clarence Dickinson, Harry Rowe Shelley, Seth Bingham, H. Everett Tit-

⁵⁷Agnes Armstrong, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: The Examination and Academic Regalia," *The American Organist* 30, no. 7 (July 1996): 44-55.

⁵⁸Rollin Smith, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: AGO Wardens and Presidents," *The American Organist* 30, no. 10 (October 1996): 70-75.

⁵⁹Percy M. Young, *The Choral Tradition: An Historical and Analytical Survey from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Hutchinson, 1962).

comb, David McKinley Williams and Leo Sowerby.⁶⁰ Vaill's compilation focuses on a twentieth-century choral union, but this is an exception.⁶¹ Information on choral societies in the United States more often concerns nineteenth-century organizations;⁶² rarely do authors mention the number and strength of choral societies in the early 1900s. Yet choral society performances were important to many communities, and festival performances could gather more than 1,000 participants — with more than 10,000 in the audience.

In both festivals and regular performances, choral societies often gave premiere performances of music written by contemporary American and European composers. Pamela Perry investigates the importance of works commissioned for the Norfolk Festival of the Litchfield County Choral Union, but her specific account does not examine the wide extent of premieres.⁶³ Although surveys by Fisher and Rabin give an idea of the large number of music festivals in the United States, they do not provide detailed accounts of the individual festivals and their histories.⁶⁴ The NMR documents numerous choral festivals through programs and brief reports; feature articles describe the Worcester Festival, the Norfolk Festival, and the Berkshires Chamber Music Festival. The journal reproduces the programs of choral societies from around the United States, and in-

⁶⁰Nick Strimple, *Choral Music in the Twentieth Century* (Portland, Ore.: Amadeus Press, 2002).

⁶¹J. H. Vaill, ed., *Litchfield County Choral Union: 1900 – 1912* (Norfolk, Conn.: Litchfield County University Club, 1912).

⁶²Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Notes on the Cultivation of Choral Music and the Oratorio Society of New York* (1884; repr., New York: AMS, 1970). Arthur Mees, *Choirs and Choir Music* (1901; repr., New York: Greenwood Press, 1969). Mees discusses the development of choral societies from singing schools, but focuses on Boston's Handel and Haydn Society. He briefly mentions the successful run of the New York Oratorio Society.

⁶³Pamela J. Perry, "Premieres of Sibelius and Others in the Connecticut Hills: Carl and Ellen Battell Stoeckel's Norfolk Music Festivals," in *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860*, eds. Ralph P. Locke and Cyrilla Barr (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 124-28.

⁶⁴William Arms Fisher, *Music Festivals in the United States: A Historical Sketch* (Boston: American Choral and Festival Alliance, 1934). Carol Rabin, *Music Festivals in America* (Great Barrington, Mass.: Berkshire Traveler Press, 1990).

cludes reviews and histories of many New York choral organizations, such as the Oratorio Society, the Musical Art Society, and the Church Choral Society. General articles on choral music in the NMR explain its importance to the era's musical culture.

Music Education

Secondary literature on music education in the United States includes Michael L. Mark's *History of American Musical Education*,⁶⁵ James Keene's survey of American music education,⁶⁶ and an assessment by Joseph Labuta and Deborah Smith.⁶⁷ Scholten's article examines how American music histories reflect music education.⁶⁸ While these contributions consider some trends and developments in music education and organizations for music educators, they give little attention to specific methods for educating children and the wide variation in curriculums during the first decades of the twentieth century. Contributors to the NMR, in contrast, not only explain the need for music education and the value of a standard curriculum, but also elaborate on methods for educating children about music. The journal's authors describe the need for teacher education and what good pedagogy should entail.

⁶⁵Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gray, *A History of American Music Education* (Reston, Va.: Music Educators National Conference, 1999).

⁶⁶James Keene, *A History of Music Education in the United States* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1982).

⁶⁷Joseph A. Labuta and Deborah A. Smith, *Music Education: Historical Contexts and Perspectives* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1997).

⁶⁸James Scholten, "Music Education and American Music Historians: A Question of Substance in American Music Culture," in *Music in American Schools, 1838-1988*, eds. Marie McCarthy and Bruce D. Wilson (College Park: University of Maryland Music Library, 1998), 101-06. Scholten discusses the role of music in American schools seen through the histories of Howard, Chase, Hamm, Hitchcock, Farwell, and others.

In studies of music appreciation in the United States, Mark Katz largely focuses on the growth of musical appreciation through the use of recordings,⁶⁹ while Lawrence Levine concentrates on the general growth of a “highbrow culture” in the United States that led much of the public to eschew art music in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁰ One may trace early efforts supporting music appreciation through NMR articles written to provide the general public with an understanding of art music. The journal’s contributors were pioneers in expounding the need for critical appreciation, and its articles assert a variety of approaches for developing those skills.

Conclusion

The existing literature thus neglects many aspects of American musical life and its development in the early twentieth century, and seminal themes — including the search for an American music, the reform of sacred music, the development of the organ in the United States, and the importance of the American Guild of Organists. A thorough examination of *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* may enrich these neglected areas of scholarship. The NMR’s contributors overwhelmingly promoted the improvement of American musical culture: They strove for more recognition for American composers and their works, better music in churches, better church musicians with superior skills, building the best organs possible, and teaching as many people to enjoy music as possible.

⁶⁹Mark Katz, “Making America More Musical through the Phonograph, 1900-1930,” *American Music* 16, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 448-75.

⁷⁰Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/lowbrow: The Emergence of a Cultural Hierarchy in the America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

Largely due to its prior inaccessibility, scholars have neglected the NMR as a resource, much like other journals of the era. Despite its importance, the NMR's many significant articles remain unexplored, largely for lack of an index. Moreover, the journal's reviews — a deep trove of documentation — have received no attention in any consideration of the period.

The documentation available in *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* offers a firsthand perspective on musical life in the United States during the first third of the twentieth century. Preparing and editing the annotated chronological calendar and index of the NMR for Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale (RIPM)⁷¹ greatly facilitated the author's thorough examination of the journal's contents, for the annotated index itself clearly identifies the journal's principle interests and facilitates a thorough assessment of them.

This dissertation examines the central topics treated in the NMR's feature articles. The second chapter discusses American music. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth chapters examine sacred music, the seventh and eighth chapters the organ and its music. The ninth chapter treats the American Guild of Organists. Summaries of the NMR's articles on choral music and music education are included as appendices, as are a list of contributors to the journal and a list of biographical sketches published in it. Analyses of reviews, news, programs, a column written by G. Edward Stubbs and other materials remain for future work, as the NMR offers a wealth of information for further study.

⁷¹Elizabeth Crouch Fitts, *The New Music Review and Church Music Review, 1901-1935*, 6 vols., Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale/Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals (Baltimore, Md.: National Information Services Corp., 2008).

Chapter 2: American Music

American music grew in importance during the NMR's publication run.

American composers — largely educated in the United States — were creating and promoting American music, including NMR contributors Daniel Gregory Mason, Frederick S. Converse and Henry Gilbert. Contributors compared music written by American composers with that from their European contemporaries, discussing the music's quality and identity. Both writers and composers used the NMR as a vehicle to encourage greater respect for American composers and more performances of their music.

During the period of the journal, musical life took on a greater role in the United States.⁷² As Herbert Antcliffe and Joseph Sohn suggest, American musical culture began to compare favorably with that of Europe. Many would argue that by the end of the journal's run, and certainly after World War II, the United States had the best musical life in the world. As early as 1912, Antcliffe (an Englishman) remarks on positive signs in musical life in the United States, praising its improvement and energy in the article "American music as viewed from afar."⁷³ He argues that vital American music journals and the demand for good music criticism indicate a desire for information about and discussion of music. He claims there are many talented American composers who write

⁷²As seen described in Sonneck's histories, music has always been important to American cultural life. Even before the American Revolution, there were concerts and traveling opera groups in the British Colonies. Oscar G. Sonneck, "Early Concerts in America," *NMR* 5, no. 55 (June 1906): 952-57. Oscar G. Sonneck, "Pre-Revolutionary Opera in America," *NMR* 6, no. 67 (June 1907): 438-44; 6, no. 68 (July 1907): 500-06; and 6, no. 69 (August 1907): 562-69. Oscar G. Sonneck, "Opera in America from 1783 to 1800," *NMR* 7, no. 81 (August 1908): 502-06; 7, no. 82 (September 1908): 554-57; and 7, no. 83 (October 1908): 598-603.

⁷³Herbert Antcliffe, "American Music as Viewed from Afar," *NMR* 11, no. 131 (October 1912): 464-66.

music with “freshness and distinction,”⁷⁴ and that more operas are performed in the United States than in England, especially those by Wagner. Antcliffe observes other indications of a strong musical culture, including the varied programs performed by choral and orchestral societies, and the large number of groups in the United States dedicated to the discussion of music — more than in any other country.⁷⁵ He depicts the erratic quality of musical education as the greatest dilemma facing music in the United States; while there are many excellent teachers of music, “imposters” remain. His critique is no anomaly, as the *NMR* frequently addresses how to improve American musical education.

Two years later, Joseph Sohn, an American music critic, describes an increased interest in the arts in the United States — especially in music, the most “sociable” of the arts.⁷⁶ Sohn declares that music in the United States flourishes because of reduced religious bigotry and the increased ease of travel, making the American people more refined and worldly.⁷⁷ He notes that opera has found success in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, is often performed in English, and that many famous opera singers originate in the United States. Sohn understands people in the United States to be some of the “most music-loving people in the world,”⁷⁸ and argues that, with creative ability developing over time, the country will someday produce a great composer.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 465.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 466.

⁷⁶Joseph Sohn, “The Dawn of a New Musical Era in America,” *NMR* 13, no. 149 (April 1914): 222-25.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 222.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

Although musical life was thriving in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century, American music itself faced many challenges. Foreign conductors, who often had short tenures and were unable to know the music of but a few American composers, frequently led large American orchestras. Opera was vibrant, but a tradition of American opera had not developed at the beginning of the twentieth century. Operas performed in American cities originated primarily in Italy and Germany, with a lesser number from France.

Choral societies were established throughout the country, but they mostly performed large-scale works by foreign composers. Foreign artists and “prima donnas” frequently gave recitals in the United States, and these artists were generally unfamiliar with American composers or compositions. Although there were public recitals by the Kneisel Quartet, the Flonzaley Quartet and a few others, because chamber music was often sponsored by individuals and performed in private concerts or gatherings, only a select number of people heard the American works they performed.

What Is American Music?

The NMR’s contributors are proponents of American music. H. W. Gray, editor and publisher of the NMR, was known as an advocate for American composers, and he published their music. The journal consistently pleads for inclusion of American music on programs and praises those programs that focus on or feature American works. Yet even as the NMR’s authors concur in their enthusiasm for “American” music, there is a fundamental debate in the journal about what that means. To be defined as “American,” does it suffice that music is composed in the United States, or must it also be independent

of European character and influence? The *NMR* demonstrates a desire to delimit what makes a given piece of music “American.”

With frequent immigration to the United States and American music students studying abroad, what qualified a composer as American in the early 1900s was unclear. Distinguishing those properly called “American” was a concern to composers who identified themselves as American. This discernment could influence their careers when commissions or entry to an exhibition or competition called for a work by an American composer. Composers who had spent most of their lives in the United States and had trained here did not want to be represented by an established European composer newly immigrated to the United States.

Henry F. Gilbert, an American composer himself, argues that the environment and education of a person during his or her formative years is the most influential factor in determining the person’s nationality;⁷⁹ birthplace and ancestry are only somewhat accountable. He maintains that the nationality of a composer should be distinguished from the composer’s character; a mature European composer who moves to the United States and becomes a citizen should not be classified as an “American” composer, because his experience, training and character are European. Such a person might be an excellent composer, but Gilbert claims that his compositions represent the society from which he came, not the United States. For example, if a composer were born, trained and lived most of his life in Germany, that composer is writing “German” music even if he now resides in the United States. Gilbert believes that music is an expression of character, and thus the character must have been developed in the United States for a

⁷⁹Henry F. Gilbert, “What is an American Composer?,” *NMR* 22, no. 263 (October 1923): 449-52.

composer to create music with an American spirit. To let a composer born and trained in Europe represent himself as an American composer defeats the purpose; he contends American music should represent the American experience, and therefore requires a composer that has lived that experience. When an event calls for an American composition, its organizers should make a judicious selection of an American composer.

Authors and composers were asking many questions about the definition or defining characteristics of American music during the time period contemporary to the journal. Mason declares the era before as “the desolate period of the [eighteen-]nineties in American civilization,”⁸⁰ but by the 1900s some musicians were performing music by American composers. Some composers thought nationalism and use of native music were necessary to develop an American music, but most thought the music just needed American spirit. Few, however, tried to define concretely the American spirit. Although Europeans often viewed ragtime and jazz as true American music, many American composers took offense at having such popular and commercial genres represent American music.

Prominent American composers striving for music not only written in America, but of an American spirit and character, contribute three important articles to the NMR. Each article appears a decade apart from the last, permitting one to discern the development of American music. Arthur Farwell explains that we should work toward an American music, and that it should exist (implying that it does not); Gilbert perceives that elements in American spirit, intellectual life and cultural development are ripe for a

⁸⁰Daniel Gregory Mason, *Music in My Time and other Reminiscences* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938), 95.

budding American music; and Daniel Gregory Mason gives many examples of the spirit and character in American music, although he does not claim they are all of equal worth.

Farwell wrote his article “National work versus nationalism”⁸¹ in response to an *NMR* editorial that identified Farwell as an advocate of American music based on American folk-songs. In reply, Farwell asserts that American music needs to be developed, but does not call for a single or specific manner of development. He does not try to define the character of American music or the qualities that it might eventually possess, but supports its importance for the United States and for American composers no matter what form it might take. He argues that the goal is not for American music to replace European music and the great masters, but for the music that is written in the United States to reveal the essential American spirit and be performed alongside the best European works.

Farwell suggests an American Music Society to encourage the art’s development and cultivation in the United States. Although he contends that some nationalism is inevitable,⁸² national work, specified as progress by and development of American composers and their conditions, is the goal. Nationalism might be evident in the use of folk-song, or through independence from and innovations to European traditions of composition; although nationalism may manifest itself in such music, Farwell emphasizes that the important concern is for American composers to express their creative ideals, beauty and spirit in their music, thus furthering national work. He describes folk-song as “the natural source of melody” in music,⁸³ but maintains that it is the composer’s choice

⁸¹Arthur Farwell, “National Work Versus Nationalism,” *NMR* 8, no. 92 (July 1909): 432-34.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 433.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 434.

whether or not to create with folk-song. Indeed, Farwell himself employs Native American music because it inspires him; American music does not necessitate use of folk-song.

As elucidated in the article “Music after the war,”⁸⁴ Henry F. Gilbert recognizes that the conditions existing in 1920 are perfect for fostering American music. He contends there is space for new thought and inspiration in music; music written in the United States can have its own voice, neither inspired by patriotism nor by European music. Gilbert first argues that music written in the cause of patriotism is not inspired, fine art; according to Wordsworth, art is “passion remembered in tranquility,” yet nothing about the war was tranquil.⁸⁵ Gilbert believes that patriotic music, especially work written during World War I, does not define American music.

Although there is a German foundation to the musical culture in the United States and French musical influence was pervasive in the years before and during the war, Gilbert acknowledges that the growth in American spirit holds promise that American composers might escape “their present European aesthetic intoxication.”⁸⁶ With the increased difficulty for students to study abroad, he anticipates that there would be less imitation of European forms and that American spirit would inspire a different style of music. In general, he hypothesizes that the war could have a “cleansing” effect, leading to more unified music with emphasis on longer melodies replacing fragmented music based on harmony.

⁸⁴Henry F. Gilbert, “Music After the War,” *NMR* 19, no. 218 (January 1920): 44-48.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 45.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 46.

Daniel Gregory Mason examines the character and spirit found in music written in the United States in “Some emancipations – and a moral.”⁸⁷ He comes to a conclusion about the best traits towards which composers should strive. He begins, however, with statements from Vaughan Williams, Cecil Forsyth and Stanford that compare the growth of music in the United States to that in England; in 1900, critics classified much English music as academic, and it was difficult for English composers to get their works performed. If one substitutes American for English, Mason claims the same description applies to the state of composers in the United States around 1930. As English music was at the time well recognized, he finds much promise that American music will likewise grow in reputation.

Mason declares temperament, mood, and attitudes about life — rather than the use of folk-song — to be the defining features of nationalistic music. American music encompasses many distinct “attitudes.” The “Yankee” attitude is one of reserve, dislike of ostentation, and repressed but strong emotion, masked by dry humor and exemplified by Chadwick, Hill and sometimes MacDowell. In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon taste of balance and proportion, the “Jewish” attitude is described as one of extremes, including extravagance, superficiality, exaggeration and disproportion, represented by Bloch.⁸⁸ American hustle, haste, efficiency, superficial humor and inventiveness are found in jazz, but jazz is “commercial” and “exploitative,” not a “spontaneous artistic activity of our people.”⁸⁹ Mason portrays “the liveliness, the good brisk cheer” found in people of the

⁸⁷Daniel Gregory Mason, “Some Emancipations – and a Moral,” *NMR* 30, no. 359 (October 1931): 389-96.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 394. Mason later regretted assigning these characteristics to a whole group of people based on race. Mason, *Music in My Time*, 324.

⁸⁹Mason, “Some Emancipations,” 389-96.

United States as their defining characteristic. The American “sentiment” retains hope and wonder with no bitterness; he finds this most valued sentiment in the music of Stephen Foster, MacDowell, Henry Hadley, E. B. Hill, Powell and Deems Taylor.

Mason further declares that the technique of Europeans should remain in American music, but European aesthetics should be discarded. He notes that Douglas Moore and Howard Hanson have made the break with Europe, and other composers are ready to examine life in this country “as it strikes our naïve, unspoiled sentiment, [and] make music of our own.”⁹⁰

The authors give no definite examples of American spirit and character in music, although Mason comes closest. Their treatment of the matter is highly subjective, and their failure to pinpoint examples leaves “American music” an exceptionally murky concept. Only general references to the compositional style of specific American composers serve as examples.

Several American composers were interested in the native music and folksongs of the United States; they draw on native melodies as source material for their own compositions. Gilbert, Farwell, MacDowell, Skilton and others use Native American melodies⁹¹ in their compositions; as Farwell explains in his article on nationalism,⁹² it is not necessary to employ folk-song for a work to qualify as American music, but Native American music does provide material that had no European influence.

⁹⁰Ibid., 396.

⁹¹In the NMR, the references are to “Indian music.”

⁹²Farwell, “National Work Versus Nationalism,” 432-34.

In his article “Harmony, psychology and folk-songs,”⁹³ Farwell defends the harmonization of Native American melodies as a means to understand them better. Some critics object to the music’s harmonization because they associate harmony with traditional, strict counterpoint; Native American music is not heard indigenously in harmonized performances. Other critics question the value of the use of Native American music in American compositions. Farwell, however, observes that the Native American spirit had already been absorbed in the literature, painting and sculpture of the United States. While these Native American melodies should not provide the sole basis for American music, he argues they can be blended into it: “the composer will have been vivified through his contact with these elemental melodies and rhythms, and his original creation, whether in the Indian spirit specifically, or not, will be broadened and strengthened thereby.”⁹⁴

Henry F. Gilbert compares Native American music to Western music in his article “Indian Music.”⁹⁵ He describes why it is difficult to transcribe Native American melodies into Western notation: Native Americans employ tones not included in the twelve-note scale, repetitions of the same song only follow a general contour, melodies do not adhere to a single “tonality,” the singer takes liberty with the rhythm, and many embellishments are found in performances. Interestingly, Gilbert purports that the tonality of Native American music may have been altered under the influence of Christian missionaries and exposure to their European music. He adds that nature is an

⁹³Arthur Farwell, “Harmony, Psychology and Folk-Songs,” *NMR* 6, no. 71 (October 1907): 682-84.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 683.

⁹⁵Henry F. Gilbert, “Indian Music,” *NMR* 11, no. 122 (January 1912): 56-59. Written by Gilbert for Edward S. Curtis’s *The North American Indian*; Gilbert arranged Native American music for modern orchestra to support lectures given by Curtis. The article includes five transcriptions of music.

important influence in Native American music, demonstrated by their imitations of wind, birds and storms.

In his article “Negro Spirituals,”⁹⁶ Harvey B. Gaul, American composer and organist, observes that most American musicians have yet to examine African-American song and its potential, despite the large amount of attention given to Native American and Hawaiian music. Gaul’s explanation of the types of spirituals and their themes, structure and rhythm offers an introduction to this traditional music that would become significant in American music. Gaul’s article on spirituals foreshadows their use as source material for American composition, as they later became popular melodies underlying choral arrangements and in instrumental works by American composers in the second half of the twentieth century.⁹⁷

Controversy over jazz emerged as a pressing issue in music during the time of the journal’s run. In the early 1900s, jazz was not a defined term or music, and writers often used the term ragtime to describe it. Many composers debated the merits and influence of jazz,⁹⁸ and the NMR reflects this debate. Some critics are quick to embrace jazz and offer it as the defining American music, while others find it to be a crass music of a commercial nature. Mason and Gilbert concede that jazz originates in the United States, but contend it does not represent American music.

⁹⁶Harvey B. Gaul, “Negro Spirituals,” *NMR* 17, no. 197 (April 1918): 147-51.

⁹⁷Michael Tippett’s oratorio *A Child of Our Time*, Jester Hairston’s *Hold On* for mixed chorus, Moses Hogan’s part-song *Elijah Rock*, and Alice Walker’s choral arrangements of “Take Me to the Water,” “Sometimes I Feel,” “I Know the Lord,” and many others feature the spiritual.

⁹⁸Moore, *Yankee Blues*, 73.

Daniel Gregory Mason admits the popularity and vitality of ragtime, but questions its quality in “Concerning Ragtime.”⁹⁹ Through musical examples he demonstrates the conventionality of ragtime and explains its syncopation. He compares a piece by Schumann to a ragtime example to prove that syncopation in ragtime is “superficial.” Even with its prominence, Mason finds ragtime to be a poor representative of American life because it is superficial and without substance; “America lies less on the surface”¹⁰⁰ and cannot be so easily characterized.

Although Gilbert admits that jazz is unreasonably used as a scapegoat for bad influences and blamed for poor morality,¹⁰¹ he claims that jazz finds universal appeal with its character of pep and vulgarity, and “is as it is at present a perfect expression of some of the worst and commonest elements in the American [people].”¹⁰² Gilbert argues that the only real invention and interest in jazz derives from the instruments, their tone color and combinations. He acknowledges, however, that with these new combinations of instruments and new effects and color derived from them, jazz has broken from Western tradition. Gilbert argues that the “serious” American composers have remained conservative, and have thus inhibited their growth; to achieve a distinct American sound and music, he believes “serious” composers also need to break from tradition.¹⁰³

⁹⁹Daniel Gregory Mason, “Concerning Ragtime,” *NMR* 17, no. 196 (March 1918): 112-16.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 116.

¹⁰¹Henry F. Gilbert, “Concerning Jazz,” *NMR* 22, no. 253 (December 1922): 438-41.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, 439.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 441.

Elliott, an American serving in Army Intelligence during World War I, describes the popularity of jazz among soldiers in “The Doughboy Carries his Music with Him.”¹⁰⁴ The soldiers’ great interest in jazz and rag tunes is exhibited by the large groups that gather to listen when they are performed on the piano; when Sunday School ballads are played, he finds that the soldiers show no interest. He notes that groups of soldiers sing popular songs on ships, and their dislike of solo songs contrasts with the Italian labor crews’ preference for solos. Elliott maintains that rhythmic interest is of great importance to the soldiers, and they prefer American songs with “kick,” rather than British and Canadian songs.¹⁰⁵ Further, he asserts that foreign audiences accepted jazz before it found appreciation in the United States; jazz quickly achieved popularity in France, both in performance venues and through sheet music sales.

Although many American composers of art music disdained it, jazz held great appeal for the masses and became an important style of music both here and abroad.

Neglect of American Music and Ideas for its Renaissance

There are a number of reasons performers and audiences neglected American music in the early 1900s, and most stem from a lack of exposure. Because American music had yet to gain a widespread reputation, publishers hesitated to take the risk of publishing American works and losing money; thus the music was not widely known. Without a distribution network, composers had to make the effort themselves to get performances. This took time and energy and it was helpful if one had connections with

¹⁰⁴Gilbert Elliott, Jr., “The Doughboy Carries his Music with Him,” *NMR* 18, no. 209 (April 1919): 236-39.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 238.

performers and conductors. Furthermore, foreign conductors and artists were prominent during the first part of the twentieth century, and they were naturally more familiar with European repertory. American conductors and directors would take trips to Europe during the summer to make connections and get contracts with new artists, and also to get scores for “novelties,” or new works. There is little evidence that many Europeans made the same effort in regards to American music.

In determining “What can we do for American music?,”¹⁰⁶ Mason claims that publishers cannot be blamed for looking out for their financial interests; they are business people and their companies were not created as charitable organizations for composers. Mason asked many composers about the possibility of a supportive organization like the Carnegie Fund, which sponsored the publication of new music by serious composers in England, but many felt the selections could not be made without bias in the judging. He did, however, receive wide-ranging responses from American composers on why American works are not included on more concert programs. Henry Gilbert and David Stanley Smith, American composer and Yale professor, respectively, allege that publishers do not promote or advertise what little American music they do publish.¹⁰⁷ Gilbert blames conductors for not examining all new musical scores sent to them. Seth Bingham, American composer and Columbia University professor, criticizes conductors for failing to prepare a new work adequately and carefully, while Brockway states that conductors should search for interesting native works.¹⁰⁸ Foote claims that the public appreciates American music and should demand its performance, while Eric

¹⁰⁶Daniel Gregory Mason, “What Can We Do for American Music?,” *NMR* 17, no. 203 (October 1918): 340-45.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 340-41.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 342-43.

Delamarter¹⁰⁹ and David Stanley Smith accuse the public of a lack of appreciation and of having no faith in American music. E. B. Hill states the public is in fact “hostile” to American music.¹¹⁰ Delamarter and John Alden Carpenter claim composers have too little practical experience hearing and revising their orchestrated works to be successful, while Bingham opines that composers should not give in to commercial interests and need to work harder to be first rate.¹¹¹ Similarly, Mason notes that composition is a luxury, and composers must be willing to make sacrifices and take the time needed for technical preparation.¹¹²

In an excerpt taken from the *New York Times* of February 9, 1913,¹¹³ Richard Aldrich asserts that American works are too often heard for patriotism rather than art. Moreover, appreciation of the works cannot be developed without their repeated public performance. In “Endowment of a creative artist,”¹¹⁴ Henry F. Gilbert equates the lack of financial support for the creative arts in the United States to the lack of appreciation for a national culture.¹¹⁵

Although the NMR suggests many ideas for helping American music and its composers, some were difficult for composers themselves to implement. For instance, while a patronage system may be a good idea, raising the funds was generally an insurmountable problem. Also conductors respond more quickly to the wishes of

¹⁰⁹Delamarter was an American composer, organist, and assistant conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 343.

¹¹¹Ibid., 344.

¹¹²Ibid., 344-45.

¹¹³Richard Aldrich, *NMR* 12, no. 136 (March 1913): 129.

¹¹⁴Henry F. Gilbert, “Endowment of a Creative Artist,” *NMR* 12, no. 139 (June 1913): 250-52; 12, no. 140 (July 1913): 301-02.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 302.

orchestral boards and the public rather than considering requests for performances from yet-to-be-established composers. Ideas for education and use of orchestras within the university system were more realistic because many composers worked for universities and could have influence over their policies.

F. S. Converse, both an established composer and a teacher at Harvard and the New England Conservatory of Music, explains the responsibilities of the university in the education of composers.¹¹⁶ He asserts that students with no real talent should be kindly discouraged. For the promising composers, he finds a broad education is essential, with emphasis on the development of good taste, high standards and the necessity of perfection. He contends that the student needs to “be satisfied with nothing less than the best expression of which his talent is capable.”¹¹⁷ He further suggests an exchange program between the university and a conservatory for the student to take practical music classes and to participate in ensembles.

Many composers advocate that orchestras should be available for students and young composers so that they might hear their works. Converse argues that allowing students to hear frequent performances of their works by an orchestra is a duty of university education.¹¹⁸ Henry F. Gilbert also calls for a system that allows American composers easily to hear performances of their compositions because he believes this experience essential to learning orchestration.¹¹⁹ He suggests that orchestras use two hours of rehearsal time each month for this purpose. Furthermore, these rehearsals

¹¹⁶F. S. Converse, “What May the University Do for the Composer?,” *NMR* 7, no. 75 (February 1908): 149-51.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 150.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹¹⁹Henry F. Gilbert, “A Suggestion,” *NMR* 15, no. 171 (February 1916): 80-82.

should be public to allow the student to receive criticism from other students and composers. Mason argues that audiences need to be open to listening to new music by contemporary composers, because hearing performances of their works as well as criticism allows the composers to improve.¹²⁰

Mason and Aldrich both maintain that conductors must give more attention to the programming of American music. Aldrich argues that American compositions should be placed regularly on general symphony programs rather than devoting entire special programs to American works.¹²¹ Such an intermingling would reveal that American works compare favorably with European compositions and lessen the chance that listeners might skip the entire program. He also argues that good American works should be repeated more often. He maintains that the quality of work from American composers is increasing; talent and cleverness is evident even without an identifiable American style.¹²²

Mason argues that the strong anti-German sentiment in the United States during and after World War I could be opportunistically exploited to the benefit of American music;¹²³ American music should be substituted for German pieces no longer included on programs. Mason suggests that out of loyalty or patriotism, American compositions equal to or better than new foreign works should be performed in their stead. Moreover, he encourages American conductors to examine all the scores received, put a fair number

¹²⁰Daniel Gregory Mason, "What England is Doing for Composers," *NMR* 17, no. 202 (September 1918): 308-11.

¹²¹Aldrich, *NMR* 12, no. 136 (March 1913): 119.

¹²²*Ibid.*, 119.

¹²³Mason, "What England is Doing for Composers," 308-11.

of native works on programs, carefully rehearse those new works, and give the worthy pieces more than one performance.¹²⁴

Henry F. Gilbert promotes a patronage system of stipends for emerging composers to enable them to create without conceding to public tastes.¹²⁵ He suggests that American music could be furthered through public or government monetary support. In Europe, he notes, the state-supported conservatory system maintains the ideals of art music by employing composers and instructing musicians and composers; the French government subsidizes the opera in Paris, and Grieg received a government pension. Gilbert argues that living expenses should be defrayed for American composition students selected in a competition; the donations could come from private sources. The benefits from such a system would be a country “rich in spiritual and cultural values . . . for the joy of the people and the glory of the nation.”¹²⁶

Mason argues that the public should be educated to appreciate newly-composed American music; if people are educated about good instrumental music, they will be anxious to hear new works.¹²⁷ He rationalizes that if there is public demand for new American music, publishers ultimately will make it available. Hill suggests the public should be “reproved” for its hostility to new music.¹²⁸

The NMR’s suggestion of forming societies to publish and encourage American music was a practical one that was implemented. Mason promotes the work of the

¹²⁴Mason, “What Can We Do for American Music?,” 340-45.

¹²⁵Gilbert, “Endowment of a Creative Artist,” 250-52.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Mason, “What England Is Doing for Composers,” 308-11.

¹²⁸Mason, “What Can We Do for American Music?,” 344. Hill would also seek to remedy the public’s ignorance of new music, citing the efforts of the Société Nationale de Musique in Paris as an educational model.

Society of British Music, the Cobbett competitions and the publication scheme of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust that created new interest in chamber music as models for such a society;¹²⁹ publishers became aware that profit could be made by publishing new British music and exporting it to the Continent.¹³⁰ Establishment of a similar society in the United States could raise interest in American music and make it more widely available for performance. H. V. Milligan, American composer, organist and author,¹³¹ describes the purpose and process of selection used by the Society for the Publication of American Music,¹³² which was established in 1919 by Burnet Corwin Tuthill¹³³ to promote the printing and distribution of American chamber music. John Alden Carpenter was its first president, and the Society existed for over 50 years, publishing 85 works by American composers.¹³⁴ The Society had several hundred members who funded the new works, which were selected by a jury, through their subscriptions. By coincidence, Mason's *Clarinet Sonata*, which Tuthill had tried to bring to publication earlier, was one of the first works published by the Society, along with Reiser's *String Quartet*.¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Between 1916 and 1929, the Carnegie Trust published 56 new works by composers such as Vaughan Williams, Holst, Bantock and Boughton. The Society for British Composers published over 44 works through subscriptions of over 250 members. W. W. Cobbett, amateur violinist and patron, offered prizes for new British chamber music compositions.

¹³⁰ Mason, "What England Is Doing for Composers," 308-11.

¹³¹ Milligan wrote a biography of Stephen Collins Foster, as well as a monograph about famous opera stories.

¹³² H. V. Milligan, "New Chamber Music," *NMR* 20, no. 231 (February 1921): 95-96. For the entire sequence of events leading to the establishment of the Society for the Publication of American Music, see Daniel Gregory Mason's *Music in My Time* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938), 185-87.

¹³³ Tuthill composed and critiqued music. Mason notes that Tuthill's father, William, architect of Carnegie Hall, also helped with the Society's founding. Mason, *Music in My Time*, 187.

¹³⁴ *Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online)*, s.v. "Society for the Publication of American Music" (by W. Thomas Marrocco and Mark Jacobs), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26076> (accessed October 22, 2009).

¹³⁵ Mason, *Music in My Time*, 187.

NMR contributors were forward thinking in their desires to promote American music and to help composers living in the United States. American composers began to receive more attention later in the twentieth century, especially after World War II when the United States became recognized as a cultural center, aided by the reputations of noted European composers that relocated here. A national patronage system never developed, but composers were able to receive stipends as university faculty members or composers in residence for cultural organizations.

American Music and Composers Abroad

American music was occasionally heard abroad at the beginning of the twentieth century. The United States retained ties to England, and the countries' common language facilitated the exchange of periodicals and other printed materials. Many NMR contributors were British, and it is not surprising to find a firsthand account of the reception of American music in England.

In "American Music in England,"¹³⁶ Herbert Antcliffe reports that musical comedy, revival hymns and Stephen Foster songs were the first types of American music known in England. He recounts that music critics from the United States are respected and read in England, especially H. E. Krehbiel, H. T. Finck, James Huneker, Lawrence Gilman and Daniel Gregory Mason. He contends that educational methods from the United States are also of great interest in Great Britain because they are often less tied to tradition and include original approaches.¹³⁷ Antcliffe notes that new works from American composers performed in England include songs by Ethelbert Nevin, Reginald

¹³⁶Herbert Antcliffe, "American Music in England," *NMR* 9, no. 108 (November 1910): 576-77.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*

de Koven and MacDowell, whose piano pieces are also known, and works by Horatio Parker, G. W. Chadwick, Henry Hadley and F. S. Converse.¹³⁸ Thus American music was making headway in England, but would have little influence on English music in the first decade of the twentieth century.

During the nineteenth century American music students studied abroad because there was no established system of musical education in the United States. By 1900, many American universities had begun offering music courses, and there were many excellent private teachers available, yet many students continued to go abroad for study to gain the prestige it could bring. After a long tradition of American students in Germany, during and after World War I France supplanted Germany in this regard. This mirrors the contemporary change of musical influence on the United States.

As Levy argues in his book on nationalism, “German traditions aided American art music in areas such as compositional style and pedagogy. By 1910, however, these traditions had largely outlived their usefulness.”¹³⁹ He maintains that younger American composers turned to the new French style of Impressionism,¹⁴⁰ and

musical devices such as the whole-tone scale, open fourths and fifths, and unresolved endings employed by the American impressionists Charles Martin Loeffler, Daniel Gregory Mason, John Alden Carpenter and Charles T. Griffes also reveal how up to date Americans were with regard to the latest developments in Europe.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸Works listed include Parker’s *Hora Novissima*, Chadwick’s *Melpomene* (overture), Hadley’s *Salome*, and Converse’s *The Festival of Pan* (orchestral romance). Antcliffe remarks that works by Charles Martin Loeffler have not yet been introduced to England.

¹³⁹Alan Howard Levy, *Musical Nationalism: American Composers’ Search for Identity* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), 3.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, 22.

The accounts of studies abroad reveal many of the opportunities and challenges facing American students in Europe. In 1907 August Spanuth warns students of the challenges they face in going to Berlin for musical study.¹⁴² He observes that despite excellent teachers in the United States, the number of students going to study in Berlin grows, although many do not have enough preparation or talent to profit from their time there. He stresses the importance of obtaining a teacher before arrival, as well as finding the appropriate method of instruction if the student is studying to be a singer.¹⁴³ He recommends that if one wants to sing French opera roles, one should study in France rather than Berlin; one should also choose whether to study for lyric or dramatic roles based on the voice. He notes that the competition among the many talented students is great, and it is more realistic for students to have lower expectations and train to be teachers rather than virtuoso performers. With clear intentions and prospects, however, Spanuth argues that time in Berlin can broaden one's musical knowledge and sharpen critical skills.

Sydney Dalton, pianist and composer, questions why pupils continue to study in Berlin even though there are excellent teachers in the United States.¹⁴⁴ He reports that one teacher moved from the United States to Berlin and there attracted better students and higher fees. Dalton admits that Berlin's musical atmosphere offers more opportunities for students, yet one often finds as many Americans in the audience as Germans, and the Americans' lack of theoretical understanding prevents them from absorbing much of what they hear. Dalton states that American students of painting and sculpture are now

¹⁴²August Spanuth, "American Music Students in Berlin," *NMR* 6, no. 67 (June 1907). Spanuth was a music critic writing for *Staats Zeitung* and *Signale*; a pianist himself, he edited piano works by Liszt.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴Sydney Dalton, "Variations on an Ancient Theme," *NMR* 10, no. 116 (July 1911): 409-10.

happy to stay in the United States for study after years of going abroad, and anticipates that American music students may soon remain in their own country to study.¹⁴⁵ Dalton foreshadows a time when American music students would have hundreds of options for university and conservatory study in the United States.

Study in Paris during the war held its own challenges, especially during World War I, as Gilbert Elliot, Jr. observes.¹⁴⁶ He remarks on the many warnings and rumors circulating, such as the difficulty of obtaining a passport and threats of enlistment into the Army upon arrival. Oddly, Elliot finds professors in Paris carrying out their normal schedules (though one stopped composing); performances continue at the Opéra and Opéra-Comique, there are programs by the united Colonne and Lamoureux orchestras, and *musicales* take place at the homes of Americans in Paris with gatherings to discuss literature and music remaining a part of life. He reports shortages of published music and of coal, often making it too cold to practice the piano, scarcely a noteworthy hardship given the brutal war raging on the Western Front.

After the war, American music students continued to study in France. Francis Casadesus, a Director of the American Conservatory at Fontainebleau, introduces the school and its method of instruction to the American public in his NMR article “The French High School of Musical Studies.”¹⁴⁷ He notes that the area of Fontainebleau has a long history and is an ideal setting for a music program; the summer conservatory session for American students at Fontainebleau has the brightest, most highly regarded faculty

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Gilbert Elliott, Jr., “Notes of a Student in Wartime Paris,” *NMR* 16, no. 190 (September 1917): 726-28.

¹⁴⁷Francis Casadesus, “The French High School of Musical Studies,” *NMR* 19, no. 223 (June 1920): 223-26.

and features a new form of instruction with a broad spirit covering the whole of French music, including the “Instinctifs,” the “Impulsifs,” the “Romantiques,” the “Scientifiques,” the “Sectaires,” and the “Extremistes.” He portends that Fontainebleau will become a “living museum of musical art.”¹⁴⁸ The school is funded by the municipality of Fontainebleau, the French Minister of War, and many French and American citizens; he announces that some students will receive scholarships, so the most talented can attend, with their applications to be submitted to special American committees. As Casadesus notes, admitted students have many options: they may take courses in composition, theory, instrumental instruction, and attend lectures, and composition students have an orchestra available for practical demonstration. Finally he notes that those responsible for the school’s creation and on the artistic committee are held in high regard in the musical world, including Walter Damrosch, Charles Widor, Jean de Reszké, Gustave Charpentier, Alfred Bruneau and Nadia Boulanger. The American Conservatory at Fontainebleau had its initial session in the summer of 1921 and continues today as a prestigious location for American students to gain exposure to renowned French musicians and instructors. Nadia Boulanger was one of the Conservatory’s most influential teachers and directors; she shaped the compositional style of Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson and Eliot Carter, among others.

Studying the organ in France also became a venerated experience for American students; the organ class at Fontainbleau was a popular avenue for study. As Charlotte Lockwood describes it, “The Organ Class is one of the most interesting classes in the

¹⁴⁸Ibid., 224.

Conservatoire,”¹⁴⁹ and all students attend class two days a week for six and a half hours, including the lunch break, learning interpretation and registration from other students’ assignments. Manual and pedal technique, and music by Bach and Widor are studied, with Widor teaching many classes and giving cathedral registrations as well as those for the Conservatoire organ; she notes that pupils study Franck’s music under Henri Libert, a pupil of Franck. Lockwood advises that students need to know much of Bach’s works for organ and a number by Widor to benefit from the class. She finds learning the French interpretations of the music insightful, as well as experience with French organ construction and registration. Practice time is limited, so she recommends that students take a second course in accompanying, composition, or conducting.¹⁵⁰ Dupré, the noted French organist and improviser, contributed an article to the *NMR* explaining the preparation needed in order to take the improvisation course at Fontainebleau, another option for organists studying there.¹⁵¹

In “Organ notes from Paris,” Louise C. Titcomb articulates the advantages of studying organ technique, interpretation of the masterworks, and modern compositions for organ in France outside of Fontainebleau.¹⁵² She reports that the cost of living in France is low, organists are kind to those interested, and visits to the organ loft during

¹⁴⁹Charlotte Lockwood, “My Dear Mr. Sealy,” *NMR* 23, no. 269 (April 1924): 213-14. A letter to Warden Sealy, printed in the issue’s “American Guild of Organists” section.

¹⁵⁰Lockwood describes living arrangements at Fontainebleau as comfortable, with women living in the palace, and men with village families, and a large dining room that serves all students. *Ibid.* 214. Beginning in 1924, and extending for four years, the candidate with the highest marks on the AGO examination was awarded a scholarship to Fontainebleau by the Estey Organ Company. Samuel Atkinson Baldwin, *The Story of the American Guild of Organists* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1946), 59. Lockwood won this scholarship to attend Fontainebleau.

¹⁵¹Marcel Dupré, “The Fontainebleau Course,” *NMR* 27, no. 316 (March 1928): 136-37. He advises that beginning students should have sufficient knowledge in harmony and counterpoint to build chords, including seventh chords, on figured and unfigured basses, as well as on a *canto fermo*, and they should understand the first two species of counterpoint for two and three voices.

¹⁵²Louise C. Titcomb, “Organ Notes from Paris,” *NMR* 24, no. 288 (November 1925): 425-28.

services are customary; artists give many organ recitals, and there is also opportunity to hear orchestral and chamber music. Titcomb argues that the importance of improvisation in French organ instruction stands out in comparison with the education one receives in the United States. Despite these benefits, there were material disadvantages to studying organ performance in France. Titcomb notes it is rare to find practice time on an organ, and students often have to practice on a pedal piano; professors usually give lessons on small instruments with little ability for registration. Students face difficulties with the condition of organs, but it is advantageous to learn to cope with them.¹⁵³ Further, she adds the old organs rarely have electric action, and few combination pistons, causing them to be difficult to play and challenging for the student.

Even at the end of the twentieth century, serious American organ students, especially those with a talent for improvisation, continue to visit France to study with acclaimed organists and interpreters, such as Marie-Claire Alain, Jean Guillou, and Marie-Madeleine Duruflé-Chevalier.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, sacred music was tied much more closely to secular American music than at the end of the century. Thus many NMR contributors, including Daniel Gregory Mason and Harold V. Milligan worked to foster the development of both American secular and sacred music through their articles. There are many possible reasons for this overlap during the time of the NMR. In 1900, the United States was still a relatively young country, and for a long time the majority of American musicians had some ties to the church. Furthermore this country had a strong background in sacred music; for instance, the singing schools that were so popular in the

¹⁵³Ibid.

1800s were created to foster better hymn singing, and much of the music published in the United States before 1900 was anthems and hymns. Many would argue that the church held a more important position in society at the time, especially in smaller towns and rural areas where there were fewer opportunities for cultural or social gatherings, or for hearing music. In the early 1900s the organ, whether in churches or municipal buildings, was an important means for people to hear new music.

Addressing both American secular music and sacred music, contributors to the NMR asked important questions that paralleled each other and aimed to define the genres. While some authors strove to identify characteristics to describe an American musician, others tried to delineate the purposes and appropriate characteristics of sacred music. Contributors worked to discover why American music was neglected and what could be done to support it; other contributors tried to improve sacred music and forward its reform, a principal goal of the NMR itself.

Chapter 3: Church Music Reform

The NMR's second issue states, "'In the interests of Church Music,' is part of our title, and the betterment of church music is the goal for which we strive."¹⁵⁴ For thirty-five years contributors to the NMR struggled to improve church music through their ongoing dialogue; they diagnosed problems with sacred music, defined its purposes, and submitted ideas, both general and specific, for its improvement. As declared in the *Church Music Review's* original forward,

Its plan of action will be to stir up the somnolent, to help the enthusiastic, to encourage the disappointed, and to present to all those who are privileged to take a part in the divine service — be it Episcopalian or Denominational — an ideal that will spur them to greater efforts for the future; and concurrently to dignify the offices of organist and choirmaster, and the musicians who occupy them.¹⁵⁵

The NMR's writers — both well-known and unfamiliar — contributed to the development of American sacred music reform, reaching a readership of thousands for most of the journal's run.¹⁵⁶

American Sacred Music

As used in the NMR, the terms "church music" and "sacred music" encompass the many different types of repertory used in a Christian religious service. Hymns, one of the most prominent classes of sacred music, are commonly songs praising God with

¹⁵⁴*CMR* 1, no. 2 (December 1901): 11. This issue predated the journal's name change to *The New Music Review and Church Music Review*; in 1901 the masthead reads "The Church Music Review and Official Bulletin of the American Guild of Organists. A monthly periodical devoted to the interests of organists & choirmasters, choirs & oratorio societies."

¹⁵⁵"Foreword," *CMR* 1, no. 1 (November 1901): 2.

¹⁵⁶In addition to regular subscribers, all AGO members, of which there were thousands across the country by 1910, received the journal.

multiple verses sung by the congregation in unison or harmony, frequently printed in hymnals available to the congregation. Many American churchgoers would also expect to hear an anthem, a piece with a sacred text sung by the choir — most often in English — ideally expounding on the scripture readings or liturgical season. The anthem is a derivation of the motet, a polyphonic piece sung in Latin, still prevalent in many Catholic churches; these may be used in American Protestant churches interchangeably with the anthem. Many choirs in Catholic churches and high Episcopal churches still sing settings of the Mass Ordinary: the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. American churches often sung or chanted psalms, drawn from the 150 found in the Bible; the psalm verses themselves may be part of the setting, or there may be a musical response sung after every few verses. The settings may be sung by a cantor, the choir, or the congregation.¹⁵⁷ Responses are short texts or prayers sung by the choir or congregation, often after the offertory, a reading, or the end of the service; the settings may be repeated weekly so they are familiar to all. The organist often plays a solo instrumental piece for the prelude before the service and a postlude following. If the church's choir and clergy process or recess before and after the service, additional congregational hymns are often sung.

The Christian service offers many opportunities for performing music, and how much or little is used varies with denominations and individual churches. On special occasions some churches may even feature a cantata or oratorio, both longer choral works featuring solo-singing. In his book *Music in Protestant Worship*, Dwight Steere argues that music is most appropriate for the processional, the hymns, the anthem, the Doxology

¹⁵⁷For many early American Christians, metrical psalms were the main form of sung music, used as hymns.

or other Offertory response, the Benediction response, and the recessional; choral responses also may follow scripture readings or prayers.¹⁵⁸

State of Sacred Music at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Critical music literature paints a bleak picture of sacred music at the turn of the twentieth century. The late nineteenth century has been described as “a period of mediocrity in the arts” in English-speaking countries.¹⁵⁹ Not only was music in most churches at this time mediocre, it was also inappropriate for worship. The music itself was often of a secular nature, with waltzes and operatic airs frequently found in services;¹⁶⁰ even if the music were “sacred,” or composed specifically for use in the church, it was likely poorly written. Vocal quartets (also called the quartet choir), consisting of four professional, paid singers, performed all the music in most churches during this period, creating an atmosphere more conducive to entertainment than worship. According to one report, “the purpose of the quartette choir is almost always the artistic rendition of some highly elaborate and florid musical composition. It is rare that a performance of this nature awakens in any auditor a worshipful feeling.”¹⁶¹ Both the musical repertory itself and also the forces performing it contributed to a lack of reverence in contemporary sacred music. As a contemporary describes, “we must not be surprised to find Wagner’s ‘Evening Star’ as the organ prelude to the morning service, or

¹⁵⁸Dwight Steere, *Music in Protestant Worship* (Richmond, Virginia: The John Knox Press, 1960), 141-205.

¹⁵⁹Charles L. Etherington, *Protestant Church Music: Its History and Practice* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 180.

¹⁶⁰Anton Friedrich J. Thibaut, *On Purity in Musical Art*, trans. W. H. Gladstone (London: John Murray, 1877).

¹⁶¹Washington Gladden, *The Christian Pastor and the Working Church* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1898).

the overture to ‘Stradella’ as the postlude for vespers, or a harvest anthem sung in March, or ‘Gallia’ given at an Easter-Sunday praise-service.”¹⁶²

During the nineteenth century, American church musicians struggled to obtain high quality service music and anthems. Inexpensive octavos were not available in the United States until 1894; before this time most choirmasters relied on their churches’ small libraries of manuscripts or printed music, or on books printed by their individual churches for anthems and any other music sung in the service (with the exception of hymns).¹⁶³ After 1874 magazines offering church music selections began to circulate, but choirmasters were wary, as some of these magazines included only anthems of a “stereotyped, popular style.”¹⁶⁴ If a nineteenth-century church were fortunate enough to own hymnals, they rarely included musical notation. Many religious gatherings relied on the “lining out” of hymns by a musical leader.¹⁶⁵ Further, many of the hymns sung during this time were in the popular Victorian style, emulating the secular part-song, such as “Happy the home when God is there,” sung to the tune ST. AGNES, and “I lay my sins on Jesus,” paired with the tune AURELIA.¹⁶⁶ Hymns in the gospel style, similar to the simple camp-meeting hymns, were also prevalent, such as “What a friend we have in

¹⁶²Henry Dike Sleeper, “Church Music,” in *Recent Christian Progress: Studies in Christian Thought and Work During the Last Seventy-Five Years*, ed. Lewis Bayles Paton (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 388-89.

¹⁶³Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music*, rev. ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 69-70.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁶⁵Especially at revivals or camp meetings, a leader would sing a line and then the congregation would repeat. See *Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online)*, s.v. “Methodist Church Music” (by Nicholas Temperley), <http://www.grovemusiconline.com> (accessed July 27, 2007).

¹⁶⁶Harry Eskew and Hugh T. McElrath, *Sing with Understanding*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Church Street Press, 1995), 42.

Jesus,” and “I love to tell the story.”¹⁶⁷ Sacred music commentators often derided these popular hymns as lacking musical integrity. While hymns are meant to be sung by the congregation as a critical element of worshipping God, many constituents, whether lay or clergy, concluded the similarity of Victorian and gospel tunes to contemporary secular music made them “unsuitable” for the church service.

As Halter and Schalk explain, the quality of hymn tunes

deteriorated in the 19th century into an undisciplined exercise in emotional fervor for its own sake. The essential balance in the compositional art between head and heart was ignored. Melodies became more and more florid, with texts degenerating into mere vehicles for them.¹⁶⁸

And at the opposite extreme,

others wrote tunes almost totally devoid of melodic content of interest, depending instead for their popularity on the exploiting of their harmonic possibilities. The increasing use of chromaticism gave them a sweetness which made them immediately popular, but they were lacking in inherent musical substance.¹⁶⁹

In his book *Protestant Church Music*, Charles Etherington claims that although Victorian composers often created works with pleasant melodies and harmonies, “the general effect was romantic and sentimental and lacking in depth, appealing wholly to the ear and not at all to the intellect.”¹⁷⁰ Other contemporary scholars disagree; Hutchings, for example, declares that during the nineteenth century the “most important contribution to church music was in popular hymnody.”¹⁷¹ Although many Victorian and gospel hymns from the nineteenth century are no longer in common use, composers of the era were certainly

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 196.

¹⁶⁸Carl Halter and Carl Schalk, *A Handbook of Church Music* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 116.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 116.

¹⁷⁰Etherington, *Protestant Church Music*, 181.

¹⁷¹Arthur Hutchings, *Church Music in the Nineteenth Century* (1967; repr. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 161.

prolific in hymn and hymn tune writing, especially compared to the concomitant limited output of anthems and other service music.

Putting hymns aside, musicians had very low expectations for other types of music used in the service, such as choral anthems, responses, and settings of the Ordinary. Even when music of high quality was used in a service at the turn of the century, it was often performed without thought to unity with the particular service's liturgical meaning. For example, Handel's *Messiah* was advertised as "a library in itself, that would furnish appropriate music for almost every particular day throughout the year, for any Christian Church of whatever denomination."¹⁷²

Quartet choirs, most often four soloists,¹⁷³ prevailed as the predominant vocal instrument in churches during the nineteenth century. As Ellinwood acknowledges in his book on American sacred music, "The quartet choir exerted so great an influence that almost all of the sacred music composed in America in the nineteenth century consisted of solos or duos with a concluding quartet."¹⁷⁴ But critics believed quartet choirs failed to enhance the congregation's religious experience, but rather inhibited the services' worshipful purpose:

Whatever their origins may have been, the quartet choirs, wherever they were maintained, soon degenerated into mere quartets of professional singers who were frequently more concerned with personal vainglory than with the worship of Almighty God. The fault became all the more apparent in liturgical churches, for the quartets could seldom achieve that impersonal association between music and liturgy which is the sine qua non of true worship.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷²D. P. DeVenney, *American Masses and Requiems: A Descriptive Guide* (Berkeley: Fallen Leaf Press, 1990).

¹⁷³Though originally intended to do so, rarely did the soprano, alto, tenor, and bass soloists function as section leaders for a volunteer choir.

¹⁷⁴Ellinwood, *History of American Church Music*, 74.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 74.

Ellinwood even describes one church with a velvet curtain to frame and highlight the quartet choir while it sang, and hide them from view during the sermon.¹⁷⁶

It was amidst this lowly state of church music that many musicians began to work for reform. After depicting the quartet choir's problems, Ellinwood observes, "By the beginning of the twentieth century, churches throughout the country were seeking more dignity and worship in their music, and were becoming less interested in entertainment of the concert-hall variety."¹⁷⁷ This quest for reform was not limited to any one denomination, but to many Christian churches in both the Protestant and Catholic faiths. In fact the pursuit of sacred music without secular influence had been ongoing in Europe since the nineteenth century. Within the Catholic Church groups such as the Caecilian Society¹⁷⁸ and the Schola Cantorum¹⁷⁹ in France were devoted to developing a form of music appropriate for use in church services, while the Oxford Movement encouraged those in the Anglican Church to return to chant and to restore the liturgy.¹⁸⁰

To understand the full scope of the discontent with sacred music, one must piece together the observations of many scholars. It is apparent from the cited sources that many authors, including those contributing to the journal, were dissatisfied with the state of sacred music. This sentiment stretched across the many Christian denominations, and was not unique to the United States.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 75.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., 133.

¹⁷⁸Begun in Germany during the 1800s to promote a cappella singing, Gregorian chant and music in the style of Palestrina.

¹⁷⁹A Parisian school devoted to teaching counterpoint, Gregorian chant and church music, established in 1894 by Vincent D'Indy, Alexander Guilmant and Charles Bordes.

¹⁸⁰A reaction against the secularization of the Anglican church, the Oxford Movement inspired the restoration of Gregorian chant, as well as the use of the choral service, boy choirs and vestments.

Writers for the NMR were leaders in the movement for church music reform in the United States. They advocated higher standards for church music and the exclusive use of music appropriate for a religious service. While most NMR authors had Protestant backgrounds, many of their arguments were relevant to Catholic churches as well. The contributors ranged from leading music scholars and educators, such as P. C. Lutkin, Walter Henry Hall and Wallace Goodrich, to practical church musicians. They were often united in their viewpoints and visions of reform and were well aware of the deficiencies of contemporary church music.

One may derive a greater understanding of American sacred music and the early efforts to improve it by dissecting the NMR's articles. Such an understanding is particularly important because, while ideas expressed in the NMR echo contemporary literature, they provide a more thorough perspective by offering opinions of many authors over an entire generation. In a separate monograph, one contributor acknowledged the NMR's importance: "The writer is greatly indebted to the files of that invaluable journal for the church musician the 'New Music Review' [sic] published by the H.W. Gray Co. New York for much detailed information and many pertinent suggestions."¹⁸¹ More recent studies evaluating the era historically only hint at this reform movement, or neglect American sacred music during the early twentieth century altogether.¹⁸²

Like their counterparts attempting to define American music and strengthen its reception, the NMR's sacred music contributors were asking genre-defining questions.

¹⁸¹Peter Christian Lutkin, *Music in the Church* (Milwaukee: Young Churchman, 1910), xi.

¹⁸²Ellinwood focuses on outstanding musicians of the twentieth century and schools for training church musicians, while Westermeyer discusses "recurrent themes" such as elitism, gospel hymnody, racism and quartet choirs. Ellinwood, 131-83. Paul Westermeyer, *Te Deum: The Church and Music* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 263-320.

Authors in the NMR take an intellectual approach to reform, and spend much time discussing the problems with sacred music, the purposes of sacred music, and the means for improving it. Some contributors offer practical approaches that could be implemented immediately by individual musicians, but others are more theoretical, trying to make paradigm shifts in the way sacred music was practiced and understood. In many cases they were successful in changing the perception and practice of sacred music. For example, by the journal's end congregational singing had been restored in most churches, and although paid singers were still employed they most often reinforced the choir rather than performing as a quartet. Today more ministers are educated to understand that thought should go into the selection of music for service, and training for church musicians is available at the university level, conferences, or summer programs. Those striving for reform in the early twentieth century overcame many obstacles to achieve these results.¹⁸³

Problems with Sacred Music as Identified by NMR Contributors

Throughout the NMR's thirty-five years, contributors identified problems with the state of sacred music that hinder its improvement. Authors describe these predicaments to make readers aware of them, and with hope that solutions and general improvement in the state of sacred music could be found. The consistent recognition of difficulties also emphasizes that reform cannot be instantaneous.

¹⁸³Yet there remain conflicting opinions today about what is "appropriate" sacred music and how to find inspired musicians (when many complain they are paid too little).

Collectively, the NMR's issues identify six distinct problems that fall under two general themes: the use of "inappropriate" music in sacred settings, and the great difficulty of instituting change and reform.

Music as Entertainment Rather than Worship

Although elements of secular music were introduced into sacred music around the time of the English Restoration,¹⁸⁴ in the 1700s Anglican religion and its music were "popularized" to compete with secular entertainment.¹⁸⁵ Sacred music had not recovered from this use of secular music by the early twentieth century, and reformers advocated the return of dignity and purpose to sacred music.¹⁸⁶ They claim that congregations prefer to be constantly entertained with exciting novelties, rather than enjoying the simplicity of singing noble hymns;¹⁸⁷ solo singing, duet and quartet performances prevailed in many churches in the 1920s.¹⁸⁸ Those advocating reform, however, find music sung by the congregation or a choir to be more fitting in the service.

¹⁸⁴Composers such as Humfrey and Purcell were influenced by Lully and music for the stage; for example, Humfrey's anthems included string symphonies, dance rhythms, and use the Italian declamatory style. Elwyn A. Wienandt and Robert H. Young, *The Anthem in England and America* (New York: The Free Press, 1970), 62-65. Humfrey's "O give thanks" features saraband rhythms, while his "Hear, O heavens" exhibits the declamatory style.

¹⁸⁵Sir W. H. Hadow, "Music as an Element in Worship," *NMR* 21, no. 251 (October 1922): 350-54. Reprinted from the edition by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, England. For example, in his composition of anthems, Jonathan Battishill "wrote as if the solo voices he knew in the theater were available in the choir." Elwyn A. Wienandt and Robert H. Young, *The Anthem in England and America* (New York: Free Press, 1970), 122.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 350-54.

¹⁸⁷Walter Henry Hall, "Church Music as Ministrant," *NMR* 33, no. 391 (August 1934): 301-02. Given before the AGO Convention, held June 25-29, 1934. He contends that people have become too focused on practical education and material goods, and are in danger of neglecting life's finer aspects, such as music and other arts.

¹⁸⁸For instance, bulletins from 1926 of the First Presbyterian Church in Bowling Green, Kentucky reflect solos in each service, as well as a choir anthem; this church had educated musicians, including the Dean of the School of Music at Western Kentucky Normal School.

Music Inappropriate for Church Classified as Sacred Music

Music publishers satisfied the desire for sacred music as entertainment by publishing music that could easily be mistaken for a sentimental song or simple piano piece, but advertised and titled as sacred or religious music.¹⁸⁹ Music magazines, such as *The Choir Leader* and *The Choir Herald* published by E. S. Lorenz, and *Standard Choir Monthly* edited by J. W. Lerman often featured music in this style. Numerous collections for quartets — such as *Leslie's Sacred Male Quartet Book*,¹⁹⁰ *The Lillenas' Ladies Voices: A Collection of New Sacred Quartets, Trios and Duets for Ladies' Voices*,¹⁹¹ and *Holden's Unaccompanied Sacred Music for Quartet or Chorus of Mixed Voices*¹⁹² — continued to circulate with titles illustrating that they were intended for use in the service.¹⁹³ That music included in these “sacred” anthologies was often ill-suited for church is demonstrated by the inclusion of the “Largo” from Handel’s *Xerxes*, “War March of the Priests” from Handel’s incidental music to *Athalia*, and the “Coronation March” from Meyerbeer’s *Le Prophète* as sacred piano solos in *Sacred Music the Whole World Loves*.¹⁹⁴ One recalls Berlioz’s description: “hymns were sung to tunes borrowed from the vaudevilles at the Théâtre des Variétés,” and of a “Rossini Mass” taken from his

¹⁸⁹“A Common Standard,” *CMR* 1, no. 1 (November 1901): 2-3). Thus, the author contends that choirmasters must judiciously select appropriate music.

¹⁹⁰Chicago Music Company, 1896.

¹⁹¹Lillenas Publishing Company, 1926.

¹⁹²William A. Pond and Company, 1914.

¹⁹³Although derided as inappropriate for the church service by many high-minded musicians in the early twentieth century, quartets had become a popular feature of the service in the late nineteenth century. In fact, much of Dudley Buck’s prolific output was written for this genre.

¹⁹⁴D. Appleton and Company, 1916. The collection also includes Mendelssohn’s “Wedding March” from *A Midsummer's Night Dream* and Wagner’s “Bridal March” from *Lohengrin*.

operas *Otello*, *La Cenerentola*, *Barber of Seville*, and *Tancredi*.¹⁹⁵ Many NMR articles provide advice on selecting music with characteristics appropriate for the service, rather than relying on a publisher's designation, in hopes that church musicians would discontinue the use of improperly classified "sacred" music.¹⁹⁶

Diversity in Religious Choices

With so many variations in religious denominations, services, and church music — in the United States — widespread reform was problematic.¹⁹⁷ Although there was a hope to replace secular music in the church service with "inherently religious" music for worship,¹⁹⁸ it was challenging to institute widespread improvement in the quality of church music with so many different institutions involved. For instance, although those trying to improve music in the Episcopal Church established new boy choirs, approved a new hymnal in 1914, and issued reports guiding music in the denomination, these changes did not extend to the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. While it is apparent from the tone of NMR contributors that they desired reform in all Protestant (and Catholic) churches, but that was not so quickly accomplished. As the very first issue of the NMR pleaded, "May we not, all of us, whatever our creed, and whatever the form of service we are using, conform to that common standard which is, indeed, none other than that dictated by common sense and reason?"¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵Hector Berlioz, "On Church Music," in *The Art of Music and Other Essays (A Travers Chants)*, trans. and ed. Elizabeth Csicsery-Rónay (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 173-74.

¹⁹⁶The chapter below on church music repertory discusses these characteristics.

¹⁹⁷"Common Standard," 2-3. With freedom of belief and immigrants from many countries, services may be held in many different languages as well as in different styles with different music.

¹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 2.

Resistance to Change in Music

Even as church musicians tried to make progress toward a higher standard of church music, they often faced opposition from clergy and congregations who lacked discrimination about church music, and who instead preferred pleasing music of a secular nature.²⁰⁰ This was a widespread practice not quickly overcome. More than 25 years after the NMR first decries the use of secular songs in spiritual settings, the journal complains of clergy expecting music to entertain their congregations and allowing their tastes for sentimental, vapid music to inhibit reform.²⁰¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the clergy rarely received an education necessary to understand the nuances of sacred music and its proper implementation. Moreover, as discussed in detail below, programs to educate church musicians themselves about sacred music and its performance were just being developed.

General Music Education Does Not Improve Sacred Music

Although musical education in the school was increasing exponentially and more people in the United States were interested in expanding their knowledge about classical music, neither phenomenon affected the study of sacred music. A music appreciation discipline focusing on orchestral music, opera and piano literature was gaining popularity in many homes, but the field largely ignored sacred music; even oratorio, a genre of church music, was neglected.²⁰² Although larger public schools were often successful in

²⁰⁰G. A. West, "Secular Church Music," *CMR* 1, no. 2 (December 1901): 12.

²⁰¹Walter Henry Hall, "Music as a Ministration," *NMR* 26, no. 308 (July 1927): 242-44. He advocates training future ministers in seminary to understand proper sacred music and to develop their tastes.

²⁰²West, "Secular Church Music," 12.

teaching children to sight-read music, according to one observer they rarely taught children to sing properly with a good tone.²⁰³ While some churches valued the skill of sight-singing,²⁰⁴ the disregard for voice culture and artistic development often led to poor singing in churches.²⁰⁵ Thus, the primary means of American musical education paid little attention to either the sacred music literature or the primary instrument used to perform it, the voice.

Lack of Support for and Inspiration in Church Music

Lack of support was a generalized problem plaguing church music. Apparently, small churches had no money to devote to music and took what music they could get; furthermore, the clergy often failed to take interest in or provide support to the choirmaster.²⁰⁶ The NMR suggests spending money on quality music rather than supporting social organizations would attract more people to church.²⁰⁷ One author attributes church music that provides little inspiration directly to a lack of support. Because the music director is paid so little, he does not give enough attention to his work, and thus, service music often lacks organization, and the congregation receives little

²⁰³Elizabeth Van Fleet Vosseller, "The Possibilities of Church Music in the Country," *NMR* 7, no. 77 (April 1908): 307-08.

²⁰⁴Shape-note hymnals perpetuating this activity continued to be published and used during the twentieth century. These hymnals, however, were of the "gospel" style derided by many Anglican musicians; examples include *Triumphant Hosannas* edited by Emmett S. Dean in 1912, *Glad News* edited by Alfred E. Helton in 1916, and *Best of All* edited by Samuel W. Beazley and James H. Ruebush in 1907.

²⁰⁵Vosseller, "Church Music in the Country," 307-08.

²⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 307-08. She contends that the problem is even greater outside the cities: young organists prefer a mediocre job in the city to taking a position in the country where they could make a difference by influencing the entire community and bringing high ideals of music to the worship services.

²⁰⁷Mary Williams Belcher, "Music to Holy Mystery," *NMR* 24, no. 284 (July 1925): 298-300.

inspiration from it.²⁰⁸ The NMR makes this inattention —rather than any disagreement among musicians or the clergy — a culprit for the low standards plaguing sacred music at the time.²⁰⁹

Writers outside the NMR were also discussing impediments to better sacred music. In his book, *Protestant Church Music in America*, Archibald Davison focuses on indifference, complacency, the isolation of church music from the standards of general music, deficient music education, individualism of church and music leaders, tradition, prejudice, and disorganization as the main problems afflicting church music.²¹⁰ Further complicating matters, it was difficult to attract the best musicians to church positions. As Davison explains:

Many musicians who live by a high professional standard refuse to associate themselves with the music of the church. They recognize that among the major branches of musical activity ecclesiastical music occupies the lowest station, and rather than exert themselves in a field which is traditionally unfriendly to idealism, they remain at a safe distance lest they be counted among the opprobrious company of ‘church musicians.’²¹¹

In his book, *Music of the Western Church*, Edward Dickinson devoted an entire chapter to “problems of church music in America.” One of the main failings he observed with sacred music was “a confusion of purpose, a lack of agreement, [and] an absence of

²⁰⁸ Alfred Lee Booth, “The Art of Creating Atmosphere in Church Services,” *NMR* 30, no. 357 (August 1931): 333-35. This was an address given at the National Convention of the AGO in Indianapolis, Indiana, June 10, 1931. Rather than blaming a small salary, R. B. Clinton attributes the lack of inspiration in church music to society’s focus on material goods rather than religious substance. R. B. Clinton, “The Spirit of Church Music,” *NMR* 5, no. 49 (December 1905): 599-601. Hall makes a similar allusion to spiritual deficiencies when discussing people’s need for entertainment. Clinton was likewise convinced that neither rehearsals nor choir schools would solve the problem, but that only choirmasters and choristers from a religious background would be capable of providing spiritual inspiration.

²⁰⁹ Hadow, “Music as an Element in Worship,” 350-54. He argues that World War I has deepened spiritual life, thus providing an opportunity to discard inappropriate music from the church service.

²¹⁰ Archibald T. Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America* (Boston: E. C. Schirmer, 1933), 1-72.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

every shade of recognized authority.”²¹² The NMR’s contributors well understood this confusion of purpose, and they devoted themselves to examining music’s mission in the church.

Purposes of Sacred Music

The NMR’s writers strove to establish a set of ideals, and their stated purposes of church music served as a set of principles upon which to frame and define appropriate characteristics for desirable church music and identification of particular problems demanding reform. These ideals came from the authors’ aspirations for sacred music, often in reaction to their contemporary empirical observations.

Although six main functions of church music may be distilled from articles published in the NMR, they may be summarized as two: to worship God and to influence the congregation. Many authors reiterate these purposes over the span of the journal. Although the contributors are compelled by different purposes, they are united in their belief that music is essential to the service,²¹³ a point made again and again throughout the journal’s thirty-five years as sacred music’s use is defended.

²¹²Edward Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church, With an Introduction on Religious Music Among Primitive and Ancient Peoples* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1902), 392.

²¹³R. Buchanon Morton, “Church Music and Worship,” *NMR* 28, no. 333 (August 1929): 328-30. Morton holds it is a misconception that church music should merely fill gaps in the service or entertain the congregation; such a view leads to poor church music. He also argues that sacred music is a “sacrifice” to God.

To Be an Integral Part of Worship

Many contributors claim the principal purpose of sacred music is to provide a means for people to enrich their faith, or to forward “edification and worship.”²¹⁴ Music can be as integral to the service as the spoken word: contributors contend that church music offers a glimpse into the divine²¹⁵ and can be as important as the sermon.²¹⁶ For the music to play such a lofty role, however, they warn that composers must consider texts carefully. One contributor argues that music becomes a ministrant only when it illuminates biblical writings and presents inspirational sentiments.²¹⁷ Unsurprisingly, the NMR contributors believe music’s importance to the service is beyond debate.²¹⁸

Contributors vaunt music’s power to communicate. According to one, music in the service can increase reverence through offering prayer and meditation,²¹⁹ as well as praise and glorification. Because music transmits feeling and imagination, unique human characteristics, another contributor argues that it serves as a uniquely appropriate expression of communication.²²⁰ Others assign the power to purify the soul through

²¹⁴Walter Henry Hall, “Sunday School Music, its Purpose and Possibilities,” *NMR* 24, no. 277 (December 1924): 562-64. As George Predmore declares, if authors discussing church music chose to give just one purpose for sacred music, it would be the enlightenment of sacred texts to edify the congregation. George V. Predmore, *Sacred Music of the Catholic Church* (Boston: McLaughlin & Reilly, 1936), 27.

²¹⁵A. Madeley Richardson, “Fellow Workers, Ministers and Musicians,” *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 77-81.

²¹⁶Morton, “Church Music,” 328-30. Thus, sacred music should be carefully planned and placed.

²¹⁷Hall, “Church Music as Ministrant,” 301-02.

²¹⁸Peter Christian Lutkin, “Music in its Relation to Public Worship,” *NMR* 27, no. 319 (June 1928): 237-44. He argues that the worship of God is the highest act in which a human can participate, and therefore the greatest music, as well as architecture and the visual arts, is used rightly for worship. Lutkin, founder of the School of Music at Northwestern University, also founded the North Shore Festival, was active on Episcopal and Methodist hymnal commissions, and was a composer in his own right.

²¹⁹Vosseller, “Church Music in the Country,” 307-08.

²²⁰Horace Whitehouse, “Music of the Church,” *NMR* 24, no. 285 (August 1925): 337-39. Paper from the fourth AGO convention. Thus, Whitehouse declares that church music should strive to worship

praising God to music.²²¹ When discussing the role of sacred music, most contributors to the NMR mention its significance as active worship.

To Create a Reverential Atmosphere

While sacred music can also aid worship by imbuing the service with a hallowed tone, not all contributors agree that this is a significant purpose of sacred music. Some authors find the creation of a reverential atmosphere through music, separating the congregation from their material world for a spiritual experience, ideal.²²² Others disagree, however, arguing that it is a misconception that church music should create a worshipful mood.²²³ Davison notes that it was rare for the music to solicit an appropriate mood in the average church of the time.²²⁴

To Stimulate the Emotions

The remaining stated purposes of sacred music reflect its influence over the congregation, rather than its use for worshipping. Many NMR authors expect church

God sincerely in spirit, truth and beauty. Director of the College of Music at Ohio Wesleyan University, Whitehouse also served on the faculties of Washburn College, University of Colorado, and Northwestern University.

²²¹“Music and Worship,” *NMR* 23, no. 268 (March 1924): 152-54. An account of a sermon by Frank Sedgwick. He maintains that music can also be contrived for lower, sensual uses, but when in houses of worship it retains the function of praise. See also Harry Emerson Fosdick, “Beauty and the Faith,” *NMR* 32, no. 376 (May 1933): 226-28. Fosdick, the pastor for the First Presbyterian Church in New York, would become the minister for the Park Avenue Baptist Church, and then the newly built Riverside Church.

²²²Booth, “The Art of Atmosphere,” 333-35. J. Sebastien Matthews also avows that quality music is an essential element of the service because it increases the wondrous, spiritual atmosphere for all in the church. J. Sebastien Matthews, “Music as an Aid to Religion,” *NMR* 12, no. 134 (January 1913): 29-31. Reprinted from notes of the Thirtieth Church Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church at St. Louis, Mo.

²²³See, e.g., Morton, “Church Music,” 328-30. Morton also argues against the use of music to cover gaps in the service.

²²⁴Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America* (Boston: E. C. Schirmer, 1933), 75. Although he notes the ideal would be for church music to invoke a space where the congregation was receptive to religious learning, this would take more cooperation between the minister and musician than is common.

music to appeal to the congregants' emotions.²²⁵ Lutkin argues that because people experience religion through emotion, music is appropriate for worship as an intensifier of human emotions;²²⁶ music allows the congregation to feel closer to God,²²⁷ and has the ability to comfort, strengthen and express joy just as religious belief itself.²²⁸ One writer states that sacred music touches the emotions as nothing else can,²²⁹ while another argues that because music is an outlet of the emotions, "the pleasure of noble music is itself a purification."²³⁰

The relationship between music and emotion was introduced again and again by those treating church music at the beginning of the twentieth century, as exhibited by the number of writers discussing it at length in the *NMR*.²³¹ Some contributors even remark on the ability of secular music to create "religious" feelings.²³² In explaining the uses of

²²⁵Harry Emerson Fosdick, "Beauty and the Faith," *NMR* 32, no. 376 (May 1933): 226-28. Fosdick declares music essential because it allows the congregation to see faith through beauty in a manner that compels the emotions.

²²⁶Peter Christian Lutkin, "Music as an Aid to Religion," *NMR* 11, no. 133 (December 1912): 549-53. Paper read the Thirtieth Church Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church at St. Louis, Mo. He notes that music appeals directly to the emotions, excites our feelings and intensifies our moods; it is this emotional factor, rather than any moral quality, that makes music appropriate for religious use. The value of music in worship depends on its quality, how it is performed, and the emotional response of those worshipping.

²²⁷*Ibid.*, 549-53. Yet the listener's capacity for music varies by person and with his or her external and internal conditions; this makes music a fascinating art, and one appropriate to worship.

²²⁸Lutkin, "Public Worship," 237-44.

²²⁹"Music and Worship," 152-54.

²³⁰Hadow, "Music as an Element in Worship," 350. He notes that centuries of practice have shown that music enriches rather than hinders worship. Hadow was a professor and Dean at Oxford University, and vice-chancellor at Sheffield University; he wrote important treatises on improving the English educational system, as well as tomes on music, Beethoven and William Byrd.

²³¹Including Peter Christian Lutkin, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Daniel Gregory Mason, and Sir W. H. Hadow.

²³²Robbins, "What Dean Robbins Said," *NMR* 25, no. 295 (June 1926): 202-03. Address to the AGO, reprinted from *The Christian World*. Robbins believes not only that music evoked by faith in God can be used to express feelings and praise for God, but also that great musical performances create feelings of a religious nature. Daniel Gregory Mason distinguishes performances of secular music and performances of sacred music: religious music should inspire the emotions as secular music does, but the emotions should be religious in nature. Church music should help the congregation forget selfish, personal

church music in his book, *Protestant Church Music in America*, Davison, an author contemporary to the NMR's contributors, devotes the majority of his argument to the power of music over the emotions and its ability to uplift the congregation, asserting that music "is a powerful ally to ideas of every sort, good and bad."²³³

To Relate to God through the Arts

A number of contributors maintain that music's power comes from its beauty; they expect music to make worship beautiful and dignified while invoking spiritual uplift.²³⁴ One justification given for the presence of the arts and music in the service is that, because the Christian Bible itself is literature and artistic language is used in church,²³⁵ beauty and the arts best inspire worship.²³⁶ Another explanation maintains that because art and the capacity for enjoying beauty are distinctive human characteristics, the gift of music is most appropriate for offering praise and prayer to God.²³⁷ Beauty is an

interests, focusing them on common hopes and conceptions of God. Daniel Gregory Mason, "Church Music from the Musician's Standpoint," *NMR* 4, no. 44 (July 1905): 352-55. Address delivered before the Manhattan-Brooklyn Conference of Congregational Churches. Mason, a professor at Columbia University, composed orchestral, vocal, piano and chamber works; topics of his books include music appreciation, Beethoven's quartets, Brahms and contemporary composers.

²³³Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America*, 77-91. Westermeyer declares that music is inspired by or directly follows from the emotions of joy and lament. He remarks, "The physical equipment we use to laugh is the physical equipment we use to sing" as well as cry. Westermeyer, *Te Deum*, 28.

²³⁴Mathews, "Music as an Aid to Religion," 29-31. Lutkin, "Public Worship," 237-44. Although writing fifteen years apart, both authors make a very similar point.

²³⁵Fosdick, "Beauty," 226-28. The stories and metaphors used in religion affect the imagination, rather than providing detailed description; artistic language mirrors human thought and experience more than a partial, abstract, and scientific description. Fosdick expounds that many churches have become so caught up with scientific truth that they have neglected the artistic, yet religion cannot be explained wholly through science.

²³⁶*Ibid.*, 226-28. He argues the spiritual values of human life are the truth, the good and the beautiful, but Protestantism has neglected the beautiful (especially with church architecture). Fosdick asserts that the value of worship has thus been lost; seeing or hearing something beautiful allows people to aspire to worship, renews the spirit and inspires a new vision.²³⁶

²³⁷George Gardner, "The Best in Church Music," *NMR* 23, no. 265 (December 1923): 545-48. An address given at the Lincoln Diocesan Conference, October 24, 1923.

important element for some writing about church music in the early 1900s; later authors are more likely to value music's active functions rather than its passive qualities.²³⁸

To Foster Congregational Participation and Community

Singing is a primary way for the congregation to participate in the church service, and thus many NMR contributors laud its ability to create community. They pronounce music the most democratic art because it can be shared with many people at once and is subject to a number of interpretations.²³⁹ Furthermore, they argue that most congregants find greater devotion through participation,²⁴⁰ and would be left to "worship by proxy" without singing.²⁴¹ This phrase "worship by proxy," the subject of earlier articles in *The Century*, indicates a lack of mindful presence from the congregation, as the worshipping is done by a paid entity, and the phrase's frequent use may indicate a wide perception of the problem.²⁴² Every year, the journal discusses congregational singing several times;

²³⁸While discussing beauty in relationship to church music in *Church Music and the Christian Faith*, Eric Routley notes the subjective qualities of music appreciation; what is now ugly or pretentious to one listener was most likely called beautiful by an earlier listener. He also asserts that few artists consider beauty in the act of creating a new work, but its manifestation depends upon the contemplator of the work of art, in this case a piece of music. Eric Routley, *Church Music and the Christian Faith* (Carol Stream, Ill.: Agape, 1978), 32-34.

²³⁹Hall, "Church Music as Ministrant," 301-02. Similarly, Whitehouse asserts that, although music is not universal, it is the preeminent Christian art and brings humans closer together. Music has great potential for spiritual expression and has a tradition of great leaders in the past. Whitehouse, "Music of the Church," 337-39.

²⁴⁰Wakeling Dry, "The Choral Service as an Act of Worship: The Congregation in Church," *CMR* 1, no. 5 (March, 1902): 45-46. People may experience music passively as well as actively.

²⁴¹"Music and Worship," 152-54. He declares music the medium through which people unite in song to offer praise and express a common sentiment.

²⁴²Charles S. Robinson, "Worshipping by Proxy," *The Century* 27, no. 6 (April 1884): 946-48. A response to this article was found three months later. W. H. S., "In Re Church Music," *The Century* 28, no. 3 (July 1884): 471. The author criticizes worshippers for paying more attention to the execution of church music as a performance rather than realizing its devotional value. He replies, "of course, Dr. Robinson does not really object to 'singing by proxy' and more than to 'praying by proxy,' but the readiness with which the phrase comes to hand indicates the extent to which this habit of thought has grown upon us."

G. Edward Stubbs wrote several articles on the subject.²⁴³ As emphasized in the NMR, congregational singing has been a great religious force in the past,²⁴⁴ and has the strength to attract church members.²⁴⁵

To Educate Churchgoers

Some NMR contributors value music in church for its ability to educate adults and children. They advocate Sunday school music that serves the same lofty purposes as service music for its capacity in teaching children to appreciate and contribute to church music.²⁴⁶ In fact, they describe music as the main attraction for children in church, because they may lack the capacity to understand the spoken word.²⁴⁷ Illustrating the problems with Sunday school music, a contemporary report depicts the absurdities of “Worn with care at the age” sung by twelve-year-olds and “For Jesus is my Saviour,” set to the drunkard melody, “We won’t go home till morning,” with only a few notes

²⁴³G. Edward Stubbs, “Congregational Singing,” *NMR* 2, no. 21 (July 1903): 269-71; 2 no. 22 (August 1903): 283-85; 2, no. 23 (September 1903): 297-99; and 2, no. 24 (October 1903): 313-15. Chapter 5 below discusses congregational singing further.

²⁴⁴Hall, “Church Music as Ministrant,” 301-02. Hall elaborates that hymn singing has been a great religious force because it enables the congregation to participate in the expression of religious ideals and worship; from the time of Martin Luther all subsequent religious revivals have included congregational song. As Westermeyer observes, “singing, like nothing else, binds together a corporate gathering . . . because it gives a group a common physical response, . . . [and] creates a psychosocial unity.” Westermeyer, *Te Deum*, 27-28. He notes that nonviolent marches employ music to take advantage of its power, but so have dictators and demagogues (e.g., Adolph Hitler). If music were not used to promote the good, it could be coopted for corrupt purposes.

²⁴⁵Morton, “Church Music,” 328-30. Davison is willing to use any means necessary to attract people to church — especially music, because it will be used in church anyway. Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America*, 75-76.

²⁴⁶Hall, “Sunday School Music,” 562-64.

²⁴⁷Mathews, “Music as an Aid to Religion,” 29-31. This makes sense, as many children are too young to pay attention to or understand scriptures, the sermon and prayers.

changed in a Sunday school book.²⁴⁸ The author concludes, “we must begin in the Sunday school if the music of the church is ever to be reformed.”²⁴⁹

General Ways to Improve Sacred Music

Because they had such great expectations, one can see why the status quo frustrated the NMR’s contributors. These authors were not simply complaining about the state of church music, or merely espousing lofty ideals, but were constructing a concrete theory of sacred music so that they might achieve reform. Many authors offered general ideas about the means for improving church music. Contributors to the NMR focused on three practical ways to realize higher standards for church music: better cooperation between clergy and musicians, more education for clergy and musicians, and allowing the musician to select the music.

Foster Cooperation between the Clergy and Musicians

Many writers suggest a seemingly simple solution: cooperation between the clergy and musicians. According to one author, because every parish has individual issues with music that merit attention, uniformity and laws to govern music are not the best answer,²⁵⁰ but the creation of a standard for cooperation and musical quality would most improve sacred music.²⁵¹ The NMR urges the clergy and musicians to work together to plan the service so that unity, an essential element achieved only when the

²⁴⁸“Reform of Church Music: Conclusion of Mr. Thayer’s Address. The Organ,” *Dwight’s Journal of Music* 40, no. 1026 (August 14, 1880): 132-33.

²⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 132-33.

²⁵⁰Mathews, “Music as an Aid to Religion,” 29-31. He argues sacred music must change as the art develops, and individual congregations need room for expression.

²⁵¹*Ibid.*, 29-31.

sermon, music and prayers are all relevant to the scriptures of the service, may prevail.²⁵² In order for the minister and musician to work in union to realize the best results, they should each have some knowledge of the other's expertise.²⁵³ The NMR offers the American Guild of Organists as a model for its work in advocating cooperation while raising the technical efficiency of church organists and bringing service music to a higher standard.²⁵⁴ As a contributor to *The Century* advises, "Much of the wrestle between ministers and musicians could be avoided if they trusted each other more and took each other into confidence oftener in the arrangements for the services of each Sabbath."²⁵⁵

Education

There are many who would benefit from education about sacred music: the clergy, congregation, children, and church musicians themselves — in other words, all persons present in the church. The musicians, of course, were most eager for the clergy to be educated. Without prescribed norms for music, musicians criticize clergy for being guided by their personal taste, and failing to take the little education they receive about music in seminary seriously.²⁵⁶ The NMR argues that seminaries should no longer tolerate graduates with musical ignorance.²⁵⁷

²⁵²Peter Christian Lutkin, "Unity in the Church Service," *CMR* 1, no. 2 (December 1901): 12-13. Lutkin maintains the clergy must understand the scope and meaning of the music, and the musician must have sympathy and understanding of the religion and its scriptures.

²⁵³Richardson, "Fellow Workers," 77-81.

²⁵⁴Mathews, "Music as an Aid to Religion," 29-31. Matthews hopes that clergy will support the Guild's work and advise younger musicians to join it.

²⁵⁵Charles S. Robinson, "The Minister and the Music," *The Century* 28, no. 3 (July 1884): 469.

²⁵⁶Mathews, "Music as an Aid to Religion," 29-31.

²⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 29-31.

The NMR also advocates education for the congregation, suggesting short congregational rehearsals to revive the people and teach them to sing with understanding and spirit.²⁵⁸ Teaching the children is also a high priority. According to one contributor, appreciation of all art forms should be taught as early as possible, because music can aid in character development,²⁵⁹ and children's musical preferences can be developed easily because they have high musical instincts.²⁶⁰ Thus, carefully chosen Sunday school music is suggested, with the use of traditional carols, chorales and hymn tunes encouraged, rather than works written merely to entertain children.²⁶¹ With the careful selection of music for Sunday school and training of children, as adults they may have good taste in church music and desire more than entertainment.²⁶²

The NMR often advises that the church musicians themselves should receive more education. While performing standards for organists in the United States were high during the early twentieth century, according to one contributor, there were no facilities for training church musicians to understand the relationship of music to the service.²⁶³ Lutkin proposes a course of study at seminaries in which musicians broaden their understanding of the service and its literature, as well as develop the practical skills needed for the application of the music in the service.²⁶⁴ In this suggested model,

²⁵⁸Walter Henry Hall, "Music as a Ministration," *NMR* 26, no. 308 (July 1927): 242-44.

²⁵⁹Hall, "Church Music as Ministrant," 301-02.

²⁶⁰Hall, "Sunday School Music," 562-64.

²⁶¹*Ibid.*, 562-64. In Hall's experience, children respond well with Bach chorales, and after practice will prefer pieces with high musical quality.

²⁶²Hall, "Music as a Ministration," 242-44.

²⁶³Mathews, "Music as an Aid to Religion," 29-31.

²⁶⁴Lutkin, "Unity," 12-13. This model is now found in some seminaries; Southern Methodist University, for instance, has a sacred music program in which both music and theological students share classes about service planning; the music students provide music for seminary chapel services and take

musicians would help educate the clergy through practical illustrations in the choir and organ performances, adding a different perspective to discussions.²⁶⁵ The education of organists and choirmasters is an issue in itself; many contributors to the NMR wrote about it, as discussed at greater length in Chapter 5 below.

Give the Musician Responsibility for the Music

Many authors make a seemingly basic third recommendation — that the musician should have responsibility for the music. According to an excerpt from *London Graphic*, sacred music is most successful when the organist or choirmaster — rather than the priest — is responsible for music of the church; the clergy should not suppress musical ambitions.²⁶⁶ One contributor claimed that only when churches employ skilled musicians as leaders will music receive proper attention in worship.²⁶⁷

The NMR bestows strong roles on choirmasters and organists, advising church musicians to take their ideals and leadership seriously rather than bending to what the public wants, and to use sacred music with substance rather than saccharine music of a secular nature.²⁶⁸ In addition to assigning accountability for the music itself to the musician, one contributor finds that “choirmasters and organists should recognize their responsibility for the education of both clergy and people.”²⁶⁹

classes in both the music school and the seminary. Similarly students studying sacred music at Yale University take classes in both the Yale School of Music and the Yale Divinity School.

²⁶⁵Ibid., 12-13.

²⁶⁶“Music in the Church,” *NMR* 9, no. 97 (December 1909): 37-38. From *London Graphic*.

²⁶⁷Belcher, “Holy Mystery,” 298-300.

²⁶⁸Robbins, 202-03. He applauds performances of Bach, Palestrina and Vittoria. Similarly, G. A. West suggests that musicians avoid works of “doubtful character” and work toward cultivating appreciation for fit, religious music and the contrapuntal style. West, “Secular Church Music,” 12.

²⁶⁹West, “Secular Church Music,” 12.

A number of contributors emphasize the need for a spiritual dimension in the church musician. One asserts that sacred musicians must be spiritually prepared for service as well as technically capable,²⁷⁰ while another believes that musicians serving the church must be primarily religious for the music to succeed.²⁷¹ Their desire for a musician in sympathy with the church's convictions lies with the belief that such a musician would be most able to improve worship in his selections and execution. The NMR did not universally recommend such a requirement, but often asserted it as an advantage.

The following chapter considers how the Catholic and Episcopal Churches accomplished church music reform.

²⁷⁰Whitehouse, "Music of the Church," 337-39.

²⁷¹Lutkin, "Music as an Aid to Religion," 549-53. His reasoning is that only musicians devoted to God can help music reach its full possibilities in the church.

Chapter 4: Church Music Reform in the Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches

In the early twentieth century many churches presented sacred music of an indifferent or poor quality, including elements of secular music — melody, rhythm and style characteristics — and there was a general decline of choral singing. Many musicians and members of the clergy promoted reform through the introduction of purposeful, suitable music in church services, especially in the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Episcopal churches. Writers for the NMR, who both explain and criticize attempts at reform, were instrumental in bringing those ideas before the musical professions and the public. The reform process was gradual, and discussion of it appears throughout the journal's publication from 1904 through 1935.

The Roman Catholic Church

Music reform was an official entity in the Roman Catholic Church.²⁷² Pope Pius X issued the *motu proprio Tra le sollecitudini*²⁷³ in 1903 promoting appropriate devotional music in the church service, including, in preferential order, Gregorian plainchant,

²⁷²In 1562, the Council of Trent established a Sacred Congregation of Rites with the mandate of defining music appropriate for worship. The Congregation directed that only “hymns and divine praises” should be heard in the church service, and all texts must be “clearly understood.” Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1979), 25-31. Westermeyer notes that the Congregation's establishment was a reaction to secular or “theatrical” music found in the church, which also motivated the *motu proprio*. Paul Westermeyer, *Te Deum: The Church and Music* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 163.

²⁷³Pope Pius X, “Motu Proprio Tra le Sollecitudini del Sommo Pontefice Pio X Sulla Musica Sacra,” promulgated November 22, 1903, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini_it.html (accessed October 26, 2009), trans. Adoremus, <http://www.adoremus.org/MotuProprio.html> (accessed October 16, 2009). A *motu proprio*, meaning “by his own accord,” is a formal church document issued by the Pope on his own initiative and bearing his signature.

Renaissance polyphony and modern compositions (employing no secular styles).²⁷⁴ The Pope's missive also prohibited vernacular language, limited instrumental accompaniment, and excluded women from choirs.

The edict's significance and its implementation became topics of great interest. An NMR article from 1904 describes immediate confusion over the *motu proprio*, protesting that the Diocese of New York had not issued suggestions for reform.²⁷⁵ In the meantime, women continued to sing in choirs, and modern secular music²⁷⁶ was still heard in many Roman Catholic Churches.²⁷⁷ A chief complaint focused on the more florid and rhythmically complex chant melodies prescribed in the Solemnes edition of Gregorian chant published in the *Liber usualis*. Contributors to the NMR protested their implementation.²⁷⁸ The instructions in the *motu proprio* prescribed a radical change for many churches, so it is little wonder it was not embraced fully or rapidly.²⁷⁹

The NMR published a report from the commission²⁸⁰ on the *motu proprio* of Pius X, presenting the essentials of the edict clearly. Likely a great service to readers and

²⁷⁴The Cecilian movement had been working toward reform of Catholic music, and the *motu proprio* served as a "papal pronouncement of the principles that were already part of a widespread reaction in Catholic Church music during the later half of the nineteenth century." Elwyn A. Wienandt, *Choral Music of the Church* (New York: Free Press, 1965), 421. Begun in Germany in the 1860s, those associated with the Cecilian Movement worked to revive plainchant and a cappella Renaissance polyphony in the Catholic Church, while removing secular and operatic influences from sacred music; Cecilian societies spread to France, the Netherlands, North America, Poland, Austria, Ireland and Italy.

²⁷⁵Anonymous, "The *motu proprio* of Pope Pius X," *NMR* 3, no. 33 (July 1904): 496. As late as 1936, the legislation was still being explained for church musicians and its full meaning explored. George V. Predmore, *Sacred Music and the Catholic Church* (Boston: McLaughlin and Reilly, 1936). The book enlarges and revises Predmore's earlier *Church Music in Light of the Motu Proprio*.

²⁷⁶This music resembled opera selections or dance tunes.

²⁷⁷"The *motu proprio* of Pope Pius X," 496.

²⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 496. The same article speculates that the Vatican would likely publish or endorse a new edition of the chants.

²⁷⁹Had the *motu proprio* been implemented immediately, misunderstandings of the edict — such as the elimination of all modern music — might have occurred.

²⁸⁰Archbishop Farley's commission of clerics and laymen appointed to carry out the instructions of Pius X regarding the change in the music of the Catholic Church.

practitioners, this report communicates the fundamental tenets of the edict in English, distilled from the original Latin of the *motu proprio*. Instructions order the use of Gregorian chant for the Mass proper in all services; a religious style of music for the ordinary and the Psalms corresponding to the exact Latin text;²⁸¹ only devotional, non-distracting music; and only boys for singing soprano and contralto parts.²⁸² The report gives a longer list of prohibited items.²⁸³ Recommendations by the commission to help with adaptation include appointment of a committee to create a list of permissible modern masses and motets;²⁸⁴ mandatory music study of voice training, sight reading and chant study in all Roman Catholic schools; establishment of a church music conservatory; and required courses for organists, choir directors and singers whenever the Church publishes a new edition of Gregorian chant.²⁸⁵ Although positive suggestions, their implementation was slow, if it occurred at all.

Seven years after the *motu proprio*, a contributor to the NMR²⁸⁶ also calls for more education to improve music in the Catholic church. He suggests schools for teach-

²⁸¹The report suggests music in the style of Palestrina, but permits some modern music.

²⁸²Anonymous, "Report of the Commission on the *motu proprio* of Pius X," *NMR* 4, no. 37 (November 1904): 25.

²⁸³*Ibid.*, 25. Among the forbidden practices are music in languages other than Latin; works adapted from secular sources; masses with a separate movement for each part; works with repeated, omitted or interrupted texts; music of a theatrical or concert style; Vesper Psalms in independent movements; settings of "Tantum Ergo" with contrasting movements; organ accompaniment of the Preface, Pater Noster, and *Ite missa est* during high mass; "long interludes or intermezzos, especially of a profane character"; and omission of any section of the mass. The report further prohibits bands and requires that choir members be believers with pious lives; it permits limited wind instruments, and only for special occasions.

²⁸⁴Clergy would submit a list of all potential music to the committee for vetting before inclusion on the master list.

²⁸⁵*Ibid.*

²⁸⁶Frederick W. Goodrich, an organist and teacher in Oregon, edited the *Oregon Catholic Hymnal with Music*.

ing Gregorian chant and classic polyphony and its masterpieces to men and boys.²⁸⁷ He also advocates diocesan associations for organists and choir directors to discuss musical problems, diocesan commissions to instruct the choir directors, and associations of church choirs to help improve their performance level.²⁸⁸ Yet he notes improvement as a result of the *motu proprio*, with elimination of inappropriate music and practices in American Catholic services such as songs from operas, sentimental music for weddings, florid Vespers, extended endings for the Gloria and Credo, and the advertisement of service programs in the manner of concerts.²⁸⁹ Most importantly, after some confusion over the matter, he emphasizes that the *motu proprio* permits modern music, but only in the spirit of sacred music, rather than in a theatrical style.²⁹⁰

The *motu proprio*'s prescription for older music led to many objections to the edict, and NMR contributors indicate its flaws. A. Madeley Richardson, professor at the New York Institute of Art, surmised that Pope Pius X rejected much music composed after the sixteenth century to ensure a religious nature in church music; Richardson argued, however, that modern musical developments of the mass are no less sacred or Catholic than plainsong, and that plainsong would not sound beautiful to those accustomed to modern music.²⁹¹ Channing Lefebvre, organist of Trinity Church in New York, argued that the music of Palestrina — which the *motu proprio* overtly endorses — is not

²⁸⁷Frederick W. Goodrich, "Ideas in Catholic Church Music," *NMR* 10, no. 119 (October 1911): 560-61. The schools, found in the larger cities, would educate those leading the choir, who would in turn lead the congregation to an appreciation of music's beauty.

²⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 560-61. Goodrich notes that church choir associations have improved music in the Church of England.

²⁸⁹*Ibid.*

²⁹⁰*Ibid.*

²⁹¹A. Madeley Richardson, "Music in Church Worship," *NMR* 3, no. 34 (August 1904): 511-13.

universal,²⁹² nor should it be called the music of heaven; in the sixteenth century many considered Palestrina's music ill-suited to the church as he abandoned the church modes. Moreover, Palestrina was dismissed from the Vatican for bad behavior.²⁹³

As late as 1930, arguments against the *motu proprio* continued. Although intended to promote suitable music, with the *motu proprio*'s emphasis on chant, one contributor describes sloppy chanting with no musicality or devotion in evidence; further he argues that an entire service of plainsong is tiresome to the congregation, and chants do not suit all texts and occasions.²⁹⁴ He depicts the Mass of the Angels and others as dull in their manner of performance, and defends using masses of Mozart, Haydn and Weber with orchestras for special occasions, as congregants appreciate them.²⁹⁵

Adherence to the *motu proprio* varied from city to city and congregation to congregation.²⁹⁶ In 1924 an NMR writer notes that many musicians in the Roman Catholic

²⁹²Palestrina's music is Catholic, and therefore incomplete without the ritual of the Catholic church. It does not fit well in Carnegie Hall or a Methodist Church.

²⁹³Channing Lefebvre, "Another Gloomy Dean," *NMR* 25, no. 293 (April 1926): 138-40.

²⁹⁴W. Louis Chapman, "Gregorian Chant and the *Motu Proprio*," *NMR* 29, no. 348 (November 1930): 937-38. Further, the plainsong settings should be sung without organ accompaniment. An addition to the *motu proprio* forbids most orchestral instruments from the service, and Chapman ironically points out that the large organ at St. Patrick's with its many reeds and tone colors likely violates the ideal of the edict. Chapman's feature is a reply to an article in the *New York Times* by the Rev. Father Joseph H. Rostagno, choir director of St. Patrick's Cathedral, on September 28, 1930. Among other issues, Chapman defends organists, arguing that an organist may also serve as choirmaster, as few churches can afford both, and that it is false and disrespectful to allege that the organist only thinks about religion once a week. He argues that declaring that musicians and clergy had ignored the *motu proprio* would be scandalous, implying a breakdown in the Roman Catholic Church's chain of obedience and authority.

²⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 937-38.

²⁹⁶Lack of professional training for the church musicians is blamed for the edict's incomplete implementation; in some churches the *motu proprio* also had unintended negative consequences: "Unfortunately, along with the poor and secular and cheap, much that was good music, especially music of the classical period, was replaced by compositions judged to be safe and acceptable, but which were often insipid and characterless." Richard J. Schuler, "A Chronicle of the Reform," in *Cum Angelis Canere: Essays on Sacred Music and Pastoral Liturgy in Honor of Richard J. Schuler*, ed. Robert A. Skeris (St. Paul, Minn.: Catholic Church Music Associates, 1990), App. 6, 349-419.

Church continue to neglect the *motu proprio*.²⁹⁷ The edict ultimately had some positive consequences, promoting the revival of plainchant and careful consideration of the music used with the liturgy.²⁹⁸ Although contributors to the NMR discuss and disseminate the edict's principles, implementation of the *motu proprio* never reached its full ideals. As Westermeyer states, "Pius X's *motu proprio* has often served as an ideal well beyond Roman Catholicism as well, but neither it nor other legislation on church music has successfully controlled most Roman Catholic or other church bodies."²⁹⁹

The Episcopal Church

The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States made a concerted effort toward reform by appointing the Joint Commission on Church Music in 1919 with a charge to determine the best "character and form" for church music.³⁰⁰ This Commission considered the relationship of church music to the liturgy, the encouragement of congregational participation, assistance for raising musical standards in smaller parishes, requirements for theological school graduates to understand church music, and raising musical standards in church schools.³⁰¹ The Church also authorized the Commission to create new editions of service music to aid in the elevation of musical standards. Articles in the

²⁹⁷Anonymous, "Church Music Reform," *NMR* 23, no. 268 (March 1924): 149.

²⁹⁸"Whereas the efforts of the German and Italian Associations of St. Cecilia were limited, the impetus given by the *motu proprio* of November 22, 1903, has had a lasting and far-reaching effect. Composers in Italy, France, Spain and the United States, whether great or unknown, have given evidence of a wish to write Church music in which the treatment of the texts, as well as the stylistic features, are in accord with liturgical requirements. Moreover the frequency of the inclusion of Gregorian themes and modes manifest direct indication of a wish to follow the musician-pope, Pius X." Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 406-07.

²⁹⁹Westermeyer, *Te Deum*, 272.

³⁰⁰G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music," *NMR* 20, no. 230 (January 1921): 69-73.

³⁰¹*Ibid.*, 69-73.

NMR discuss the Commission's report; contrary to many articles about the *motu proprio*, the journal includes no objections to the work of the Joint Commission.

Announced in the NMR, the Commission recommended the preparation and publication of a Congregational Service-book, an Anglican Psalter set to music, a revised edition of the Choral Service, and classified lists of practical anthems and services, hymns and tunes, and sources on Church music.³⁰² Other recommendations promoted education, including the establishment of diocesan conferences for organists, university courses for training church musicians, conservatory courses on appreciation of church music, and courses on the history and practice of Anglican church music that would be offered at all Conferences for Church Work.³⁰³ The 57-page report also offered recommendations on congregational singing, *The Hymnal*, processional hymns, chanting and the psalter, the choir, the organist, choral music, the Gregorian and Anglican systems of chant, the church services, music in seminaries, Sunday School music, and conferences for choirmasters.³⁰⁴

Many frequent contributors to the NMR served on the committee, including Wallace Goodrich, Walter Henry Hall, and P. C. Lutkin, as well as Ralph Kinder, Miles Farrow, and James M. Helfenstein. An article published two years after the report encourages choirmasters and organists of the Episcopal Church to read the Report of the Music Commission, as well as *Music in Worship*.³⁰⁵ For reform to succeed, they must understand and implement the report's recommendations.

³⁰²Anonymous, "Joint Commission on Church Music" *NMR* 21, No. 251 (October, 1922): 374-75.

³⁰³*Ibid.*, 374-75.

³⁰⁴*Ibid.*

³⁰⁵Anonymous, "Church Music Reform," 149. *Music in Worship* was the Report of the Archbishops' Committee, appointed in May 1922.

In fact, the Commission executed many of its recommendations, including publication of a selected list of anthems and a list of hymns for Sundays and Holy Days. Other publications resulting from their work include *The New Proper Prefaces*; *The Choral Service*, a manual for clergy and organist; *The Altar Book* with liturgical music for Holy Communion in the 1920s; and the new edition of Anglican chant, *The American Psalter* and later *The Plainsong Psalter* in 1930 and 1932.

The NMR explains alterations made in *The Book of Common Prayer*, the approved source for liturgies and prayers necessary for Episcopalian church services; the changes were intended to shorten the service and allow more flexibility, to authorize variations and additions in use based on ancient tradition, and to restore components from the First Prayer Book.³⁰⁶ The article focuses on changes in the services of Morning Prayer, Holy Communion and use of the Psalter.³⁰⁷ A second article explains further alterations including the omission and placement of service prayers, the addition of hymns and the use of canticles.³⁰⁸ Because many of these alterations involved service music,

³⁰⁶Wallace Goodrich, "The Revision of *The Book of Common Prayer*, Changes thus far Authorized for Use Which Affect the Music of the Services," *NMR* 26, no. 305 (April 1927): 149-51.

³⁰⁷*Ibid.* Morning Prayer: The Lord's Prayer may be transferred when Holy Communion follows; On Ash Wednesday and Good Friday omission of the Venite is permitted, Psalm 95 may be substituted for the Venite, and sentences to precede the Venite are provided for feast days. The Psalter: An enlarged Table allows selection of one or more Psalms, or section of a divided Psalm; Benedictus es, Domine may be substituted for the Te Deum or Benedicite. Holy Communion: A hymn or anthem may be sung after the Epistle and during the offertory.

³⁰⁸Wallace Goodrich, "The Revision of *The Book of Common Prayer*, Changes thus far Authorized for Use Which Affect the Music of the Services," *NMR* 28, no. 327 (February, 1929): 85-87. Changes affecting the music or order of the services include the following: Morning Prayer: optional omissions of prayers, use of Invitatories, placement of the Gloria, replacements for and omission of the Venite, and use of canticles are described. Evening Prayer: omission of the Confession and one Lesson are permitted. The Litany: its placement, alteration of the Invocation, additional words in the suffrage and an Amen. The Holy Communion: addition of hymns and anthems, placement of prayers, and changes in the Gloria in excelsis text. The Lord's Prayer: changes in wording and punctuation.

Goodrich keeps the readership updated on variations in the use of the Episcopalian liturgy, although they were not yet required.³⁰⁹

Because the parishes of the Episcopal Church follow the *Book of Common Prayer* and *The Hymnal*, work by groups such as the Joint Commission on Church Music is both significant and far-reaching. Before the establishment of the Joint Commission on Church Music in 1919, a similar Joint Commission was appointed to revise the *Hymnal* in 1913. For the new hymnal the hymns were reduced to a more manageable number,³¹⁰ and the new edition with music (rather than words alone) encouraged congregational singing and the standardized use of good tunes with the hymns.³¹¹ That contributors to the NMR, such as Lutkin, Hall and Goodrich, were appointed to both Commissions emphasizes their importance as scholars and musicians working toward sacred music reform during this time.³¹²

Choral Communion Service of the Episcopal Church

Many NMR contributors supported the conversion of the choral communion service into the prominent service of the Episcopal Church. The Joint Commission intended its compilation of the complete choral service to help parishes implement it, although

³⁰⁹Goodrich, "Revision," 26, no. 305, 149-51.

³¹⁰G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music," *NMR* 18, no. 209 (April 1919): 116-20.

³¹¹G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music," *NMR* 19, no. 217 (December 1919): 20-24. Before the issue of *The Hymnal 1918* there were many different musical editions of the Episcopal hymnal, with varying tunes for each hymn. Joint Commission on the Revision of the Hymnal, *The Hymnal 1940 Companion* (New York: Church Pension Fund, 1949), xxiv-xxv.

³¹²In fact, Lutkin was the first Dean of the School of Music at Northwestern University, Goodrich was the Dean of the New England Conservatory for 24 years and its director for nine, and Hall taught at Columbia University.

NMR articles had endorsed the choral service thirteen years before the Commission's appointment.

In the Choral Communion Service, most portions of the service are chanted or sung, including the Preces, antiphons, the Creed, suffrages, collects, the Epistle, the Gospel, the Litany, and the Ordinary of the Holy Communion.³¹³ There are a few spoken parts, including the Offertory sentences, the Prayer for the Church, the Preparation for the Holy Communion, the Prayer of Consecration, and the Prayer for Humble Access, to ensure clear understanding.³¹⁴ Reformers promoted a melodic setting of the service with singing in unison to encourage general participation by the congregation,³¹⁵ especially for the Preces, Creed, Litany and Ordinary. Most often the priest sings the collects, the Gospel, and the Blessing, in an unaccompanied setting.³¹⁶

As early as 1885, leaders of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States were calling for use of the choral service:

As regards the music of the Church we have a great deal to recover and restore, for the prevalence of the quartette choir and the spirit in our congregations which seeks and sustains that peculiar kind of music, has greatly perverted, and in many cases utterly destroyed the devotional character of sacred hymnody. May the great Head of the Church hasten the day when the vested choir and a simple choral service may be common in the Church.³¹⁷

³¹³Joint Commission on Church Music, *The Choral Service: The Liturgical Music for Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, and Holy Communion according to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1927), x. The parts opening the service, including the Opening Sentences, Exhortation, Confession and The Lord's Prayer, are spoken.

³¹⁴*Ibid.*, xviii-xix.

³¹⁵*Ibid.*, vi-vii.

³¹⁶*Ibid.*, ix, xiii.

³¹⁷Edward Randolph Welles, "The Address of the Bishop of Wisconsin to the Thirty-Ninth Annual Council," in *Journal of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Wisconsin* (Pewaukee, Wis.: 1885), App. A, 7.

A contributor to the NMR deems the Eucharist to be the most appropriate service for choral celebration because the term indicates rejoicing, and music is the highest act of praise. As reported in the NMR, many churches used no music in the Communion service at all, instead singing Morning and Evening Prayer.³¹⁸ Contributors emphasize the role of the Choral Communion as a separate service from Morning Prayer,³¹⁹ and aspire toward a focus on the Choral Communion Service rather than Evensong and musical services in the larger American Episcopal churches.³²⁰

Although the choral service enjoyed a resurgence during the early twentieth century, in the 1840s it was practically unheard of, even in England.³²¹ Only in the late nineteenth century, following the Oxford Movement, did the traditional choral service progress, with the clergy, choir or congregation singing or chanting most sections of the liturgy.³²²

In efforts to justify the choral service's preeminence, NMR articles relate its history, decline, and reemergence. Historically, the choral service was the primary worship setting in cathedrals and important churches, and thus served as a natural vehicle for the prescribed return to "proper" liturgy and reverent service. The Episcopal service used in

³¹⁸G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music: The Choral Communion Service," *NMR* 5, no. 59 (October 1906): 1238-41.

³¹⁹G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music: Translated Masses," *NMR* 8, no. 91 (June 1909): 398-400. Stubbs argues that although Morning and Evening Prayer remain the most important services in many churches, when communion takes prominence, more Anglican services will be written.

³²⁰G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music: The Choral Communion Service," *NMR* 5, no. 61 (December 1906): 44-47.

³²¹Stubbs, "Choral Communion Service," 5, no. 59, 1238-41.

³²²Wallace Goodrich and Winfred Douglas, "The Choral Service," *NMR* 26, no. 312 (November 1927): 399-401.

the United States derived from the Anglican choral service; thus the NMR features the history of the Anglican service and its practice.³²³

There was a distinct movement to establish the choral service in the United States. Many musicians in the Episcopal Church, however, came from England, and the Anglican tradition thus heavily influenced American church music. Henry Krehbiel wrote an eight-part series of articles on the church service in the United States that allowed readers to understand how the service had been developed and implemented here. The majority of these articles and their contents focused on the Anglican service of the Episcopal Church.³²⁴ He reminded readers of progress, noting that although there were few choirs in 1800, by 1903 there were more than 6,000 singers in New York church choirs.³²⁵ He acknowledged the importance of Edward Hodges at Trinity Church, New York, in establishing boy choirs and the choral service in the United States.³²⁶ Hodges implemented

³²³G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music: The Choral Communion Service," *NMR* 5, no. 59 (October 1906): 1238-41; 5, no. 60 (November 1906): 1302-05; and 5, no. 61 (December 1906): 44-47. F. A. Hadland, "Anglican Church Music," *NMR* 27, no. 320 (July 1928): 274-75.

³²⁴He also wrote about Methodist services, Jewish services and the Catholic mass. Henry E. Krehbiel, "Church Music in New York: Some Phases in its Development (The Jewish Service, Orthodox and Reformed)," *CMR* 3, no. 31 (May 1904): 450-52. Henry E. Krehbiel, "Church Music in New York: Some Phases in its Development," *CMR* 3, no. 30 (April 1904): 429-31. Krehbiel describes the mass of the Catholic Church and its meaning, noting the role of the Cecilian Society in promoting chant and settings by Palestrina rather than those by Mozart, Beethoven and Gounod. Henry E. Krehbiel, "Church Music in New York. Some Phases in its Development," *CMR* 3, no. 32 (June 1904): 472-75.

³²⁵Henry E. Krehbiel, "Church Music in New York: Some Phases in its Development," *CMR* 3, no. 25 (November 1903): 329-31. Unison psalmody was the rule at most New York churches. Dutch Reformed Churches followed the Geneva Psalter; only the Lutheran Church used chorales and hymns. The Anglican Church was still inhibited by the English Restoration, and the choral service was not found in New York; most parts of the service were spoken. Henry E. Krehbiel, "Church Music in New York: Some Phases in its Development (The Psalmody of the First Churches)" *CMR* 3, no. 26 (December 1903): 349-51. Trinity Church first used the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms, but adopted Tate and Brady in 1707. According to Krehbiel, Methodists arrived in New York in the 1760s and established their first meeting house in 1770; they sung hymns as a congregation.

³²⁶Henry E. Krehbiel, "Church Music in New York: Some Phases in its Development (Trinity Church and the Growth of Liturgical Music)," *CMR* 3, no. 27 (January 1904): 368-70. Trinity Church acquired an organ in 1741, but this was not the first in America, nor likely the first to be built in America. Children from the adjacent charity school supplied singing, and the church brought William Tuckey from England to be the choirmaster; he composed music, gave concerts, taught singing, and eliminated girls

the processional and vestments for the choir during a visit from the Prince of Wales in 1860, and they remained afterwards.³²⁷ Other churches adopted vestments and placement of the choir in the chancel during the 1880s and 1890s.³²⁸ In addition to Trinity Church, G. Edward Stubbs counted St. Mark's in Philadelphia and Church of the Advent in Boston as leaders of the Choral Communion Service revival in the United States.³²⁹

NMR contributors gave general advice about the implementation of the choral service in an attempt to introduce and foster it in additional churches. Wallace Goodrich recommends melodic music supported by harmonization on the organ to foster congregational participation in the choral service.³³⁰ George Gardner emphasizes careful music selection, noting the disparity in the abilities of the trained cathedral choir and the parish church.³³¹ As an English contemporary notes, “the superior solemnity of the choral ser-

from the choir. The church closed during the American Revolution and built a new edifice in 1790. Edward Hodges came from England to be choirmaster in 1839; he trained the choirs, adult double quartets, for the main church and its two chapels. He worked to change the charity school to a choir school, and provided musical scholarships beginning in 1843. At the consecration of the new edifice in 1846, the adult choir remained, with only a few boys; they sung compositions by Hodges.

³²⁷Henry E. Krehbiel, “Church Music in New York: Some Phases in its Development (Trinity Church and the Growth of Liturgical Music, Part 2),” *CMR* 3, no. 28 (February 1904): 388-90. Women remained in the Trinity Church Choir through Hodges’ reign in 1858, but the number of boys grew. Henry Cutler succeeded Hodges; in 1859 Cutler successfully moved the choir to the chancel and the ministers also began intoning. In 1860 the processional began, and use of vestments due to a visit from the Prince of Wales completed the choral service.

³²⁸Henry E. Krehbiel, “Church Music in New York: Some Phases in its Development (“Angelic” Choirs and Surplices in Methodist Churches),” *CMR* 3, no. 29 (March 1904): 409-11. Women first wore surplices in Melbourne, Australia, 1887. All Souls’ Church adopted the practice under Richard Henry Warren in 1890; Warren moved the choir to the chancel and adopted vestments for St. Bartholomew’s in 1886. Along with the increase of ritual in their services, Methodist Episcopal churches moved choirs to the chancel and vested them, as well as adopted processionals and recessionals.

³²⁹Stubbs, “Choral Communion Service,” 5, no. 61, 44-47.

³³⁰Goodrich and Douglas, “Choral Service,” 399-401.

³³¹George Gardner, “Congregational Worship,” *NMR* 21, no. 252 (November 1922): 394-98. Gardner notes that, unlike the liturgical services themselves, there is less established tradition for the music accompanying them; while choral festivals may have provided encouragement to small choirs, they introduce over-elaborate music into the service. He contends unison congregational singing should be used where the choir is not of high quality.

vice . . . does not exist except when all the conditions are favourable.”³³² Further recommendations include avoidance of intrusive intonation; a spoken Creed and Lord’s Prayer;³³³ using harmonized choral responses; and Anglican rather than Gregorian chant.³³⁴ Goodrich encourages the study of pre-Reformation liturgy along with Anglican practice and tradition for musicians practicing the choral service.³³⁵

Although the number of choral services in the United States around 1905 were few in comparison with those in England,³³⁶ G. Edward Stubbs advocates the choral service. He emphasizes the rarity of the strict choral service, sung in a monotone from beginning to end by the priest, in the United States, where a so-called “semi-choral” service prevailed, with the priest reading his part and the choir and congregation singing their portions.³³⁷ The unaccompanied choral service was also more often heard in England than the United States; many American clergymen had difficulty with intonation, causing them to change the key during their parts, and the choir to sound out of tune at their entrances.³³⁸ Other widespread inaccuracies in the singing of the choral service in the United States likely developed during the inconsistent establishment of boy choirs be-

³³²Richard Blackburne Daniel, *Chapters on Church Music* (London: E. Stock, 1894), 28. “Choral services to be solemn must be heard in cathedrals where everything is in harmony with them the vast size and venerable age of the buildings, the great number of clergy and choristers, the reverberation the dim religious light. In parish churches they almost always seem out of place.”

³³³Gardner, “Congregational Worship,” 394-98.

³³⁴Goodrich and Douglas, “Choral Service,” 399-401.

³³⁵Wallace Goodrich, “The Training of Organists for the Liturgical Church Service,” *NMR* 12, no. 143 (October 1913): 452-53. He notes that this information had been included in the Church Music course at the New England Conservatory since about 1900.

³³⁶According to Carlton C. Mitchell, an English choirmaster, the very small number was due to a lack of demand by the American people. G. Edward Stubbs, “Ecclesiastical Music,” *NMR* 12, no. 135 (February 1913): 78-81.

³³⁷G. Edward Stubbs, “Ecclesiastical Music,” *NMR* 25, no. 290 (January 1926): 53-57.

³³⁸G. Edward Stubbs, “Ecclesiastical Music,” *NMR* 15, no. 169 (December 1915): 17-21.

tween 1845 and 1885.³³⁹ These differences from the Anglican use included the persistent singing of the Tallis Responses for Ferial Use with the congregation singing superimposed parts rather than the melody, use of the James setting of the Confession, too many elaborate “Amens” of poor quality, and singing during the Processional.³⁴⁰

With the growing, widespread use of the choral service, contributors promote particular settings of the choral service as most ideal. Many consider the plainsong and Merbecke settings most appropriate for the Choral Eucharist, with allowance of a harmonized Kyrie, Benedictus and Agnus Dei.³⁴¹ One article advocates the Joint Commission’s edition of Merbecke’s choral service, noting that it provides history and practical suggestions as well as music and accompaniments.³⁴² Many contributors regard Masses translated from Latin as inappropriate for the Anglican choral service. Gardner deems the adapted foreign masses too operatic, emphasizing that congregations would grow to love the simple settings.³⁴³ Stubbs argues that the florid Latin masses do not match the serious atmosphere in the cathedral during the Sunday Communion service and morning office.³⁴⁴ Yet with sixty to seventy choral services a year, he acknowledged the need for a greater number of Anglican services.³⁴⁵

³³⁹G. Edward Stubbs, “Ecclesiastical Music,” *NMR* 26, no. 301 (December 1926): 25.

³⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 25.

³⁴¹Gardner, “Congregational Worship,” 394-98.

³⁴²Goodrich and Douglas, “Choral Service,” 399-401.

³⁴³Gardner, “Congregational Worship,” 394-98. J. Varley Roberts and Charles Stanford also expressed disdain at using translated Latin masses.

³⁴⁴Stubbs, “Translated Masses,” 398-400. He submits that translated masses are more appropriate for Morning Prayer.

³⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 398-400. Yet after two hundred and fifty years with no choral services in England, the number of English masses was still greater than expected.

Stubbs advocates English masses less secular in style than Continental examples, as more suitable for the service.³⁴⁶ Hadland advises sole use of Anglican church music in the services because it is specifically allied with the liturgy.³⁴⁷ Appropriate English settings of the Choral Service include those by Frederick Ouseley, John Stainer (who instituted the weekly Choral Communion service at St. Paul's Cathedral) and George Martin.³⁴⁸

Some contributors, however, prefer service settings written by the earlier English composers to these later examples. According to Goodrich, at the beginning of the twentieth century most American church choirs and congregations sang music by modern English and American composers (since the time of Goss), while overlooking works by Tallis, Gibbons, Purcell and Byrd, and monophonic settings of the service.³⁴⁹ Goodrich encourages cultivation of the best musical literature of both historical and modern times.³⁵⁰ Hall prefers the vitality in music by Gibbons and Purcell to later inferior compositions in the cathedral style.³⁵¹ With the reintroduction of music from the polyphonic period by Bach, Byrd, Tallis and Gibbons, in addition to the revival of plainchant and folk-songs, one contributor classifies sentimental Victorian compositions as stuffy, enervating, and no longer appropriate.³⁵²

³⁴⁶Ibid.

³⁴⁷F. A. Hadland, "Anglican Church Music," *NMR* 27, no. 318 (May 1928): 202-03.

³⁴⁸Stubbs, "Choral Communion Service," 5, no. 61, 44-47. George Martin edited *Settings of the Office for the Holy Communion, including Benedictus and Agnus Dei, for Parochial and General Use*, which compiles almost fifty settings of the service, including one of his own.

³⁴⁹Wallace Goodrich, "Church Music and the Gregorian System," *NMR* 12, no. 144 (November 1913): 480-85.

³⁵⁰Ibid., 480-85.

³⁵¹Walter Henry Hall, "Modern Church Music," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 92-94. Inferior because they are in the sentimental style, appealing wholly to the emotions.

³⁵²Gardner, "Congregational Worship," 394-98.

In addition to the ideal Anglican music, one writer identifies some Continental music as appropriate for the service. He offers Russian choral music — with its mysticism and sincere style — as an option to offset the sentimental style.³⁵³ He also advocates Perosi's sacred music as a combination of effects from Wagner and Palestrina, and Franck's spiritual sacred music, the "ideal" for French composers.³⁵⁴

Articles in the NMR document a controversy over the replacement of the Benedictus by the Jubilate, Psalm 100 from the Bible, in the service during the first decades of the twentieth century. They emphasize the suitability of the Benedictus and call for its restoration. Yet the NMR's monthly suggested service-list provides a Jubilate because it had replaced the Benedictus in the majority of churches.³⁵⁵ Why the Benedictus fell into disuse is uncertain. Perhaps the clergy wanted to shorten the service or because one version of the Prayer Book omitted the most important section of the Benedictus.³⁵⁶ Stubbs explains that the Jubilate was intended to be used only on St. John the Baptist's day and the third Sunday in Advent because the Benedictus is found in the scripture for those days.³⁵⁷ Despite the Jubilate's original role as the alternate, it became the prevalent choice: "neglect of this Hymn [Benedictus], as the regular Gospel Canticle for Morning Prayer, is noticeable in nearly every service list sent to this department."³⁵⁸ As one contributor opines, "The Hymn of Zacharias [Benedictus] is . . . so fitted to the Service of the

³⁵³Hall, "Modern Church Music," 92-94.

³⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 92-94.

³⁵⁵Anonymous, "Benedictus or Jubilate," *CMR* 1, no. 12 (October 1902): 131-32. Further, the Benedictus is usually chanted, and chants were not included on the list.

³⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 131-32.

³⁵⁷G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music," *NMR* 7, no. 78 (May 1908): 369-70. According to the liturgical calendar of the Episcopal Church in the United States, in other Anglican churches the days are March 25 and June 24 (as well as St. John the Baptist's day).

³⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 370.

morning . . . that its omission materially impairs the significancy [sic] and unity of the Matin office.”³⁵⁹ Moreover, he claims “the best Anglican composers” wrote settings of the Benedictus rather than the Jubilate because it better fulfills the nature of the liturgy.

Despite pleas for renewed use of the Benedictus in the NMR’s first few years, almost twenty years later most churches continued to ignore the hymn for the entire year — with the exception of Advent, when it was mandatory.³⁶⁰ Declarations by the Prayer Book Commission in 1920 “permit the use of the Benedictus as the single canticle of Morning Prayer.”³⁶¹ It was favored because, “apart from its eminent fitness and beauty of its text, it is also the canticle of all others which has received the best treatment at the hands of composers.”³⁶² Stubbs advocates use of complete anthem settings of the Benedictus.

The NMR’s contributors were forward-thinking in their participatory preferences for implementation of the full choral communion service. Temperley acknowledges that “the twentieth century has tended to restore the communion service to the central place of worship,” replacing morning prayer in the Anglican churches.³⁶³ In his book about

³⁵⁹Anonymous, “Benedictus or Jubilate,” *CMR* 1, no. 13 (November 1902): 143. As explained originally in an article for the *Church Eclectic*, the Benedictus is the Grand Hymn of the Incarnation that follows the second lesson taken from the Gospel; the hymn offers thanksgiving for salvation received through Jesus Christ, is part of the climax of Morning Prayer, and should never be omitted. The Rev. Dr. Richey is quoted as defending the Benedictus by explaining that it has always been a part of Matins and it is therefore proper to include it as an integral part of the liturgy performed for the corporate Church. “Benedictus or Jubilate,” 1, no. 12, 131-32.

³⁶⁰G. Edward Stubbs, “Ecclesiastical Music,” *NMR* 19, no. 222 (May 1920): 204-06.

³⁶¹*Ibid.*, 204-06.

³⁶²*Ibid.*, 205.

³⁶³Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Volume I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 332.

American church music, Ellinwood agrees that “full choral services have become increasingly popular.”³⁶⁴

Revival and Reform of Plainsong

Pope Pius X’s issuance of the *motu proprio Tra le sollecitudini* in 1903— emphasizing Gregorian chant and its use by the congregation in the Roman Catholic Church — and the return of the choral service in the Episcopal Church kindled interest in the history and origin of plainchant. While the Episcopal Church primarily promoted the use of Anglican chant, that tradition derived from Gregorian chant. A number of NMR articles discuss the development and practice of plainchant.³⁶⁵ As a lack of education plagued music reform in the Catholic Church,³⁶⁶ such articles provided useful information for musicians.

Many contributors deem plainchant the most appropriate music for the Roman Catholic Church service. Joseph Kelly devoted an entire article to explaining why plainchant is more appropriate than modern music.³⁶⁷ Christian plainsong adopted the Greek scales and modes,³⁶⁸ but not pagan melodies; with plainsong’s eight distinctive modes, free rhythm for setting prose and unison settings clearly expressing texts of religious

³⁶⁴Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970 revised edition of the 1953 edition), 81-82. He gives much of the credit for success to the publication of *The Choral Service*, an “authentic” and “authorized” edition for the Episcopal Church by the Joint Commission of Church Music.

³⁶⁵R. Mills Silby, “Some Thoughts on Plainsong,” *NMR* 34, no. 403 (August 1935): 276-77, 290. Clement Antrobus Harris, “Some Famous Chants and their History,” *NMR* 22, no. 261 (August 1923): 385-91; 23, no. 266 (January 1924): 58-63; 23, no. 270 (May 1924): 237-42.

³⁶⁶Richard J. Schuler, “A Chronicle of Reform,” in *Cum angelis canere: Essays on Sacred Music and Pastoral Liturgy in Honor of Richard J. Schuler*, ed. Robert A. Skeris (St. Paul, Minn.: Catholic Church Music Associates, 1990), App. 6, at 349-419.

³⁶⁷Rev. F. Joseph Kelly, “The Gregorian System in the Art of Music,” *NMR* 18, no. 209 (April 1919): 110-13.

³⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 110-13. The Greeks considered music the foundation of civilization and believed it encouraged morality; music in itself became a kind of worship.

faith, plainchant became essential to the services.³⁶⁹ Further, chant exhibits the desirable qualities of church music — purity, dignity, loftiness and simplicity — and it strictly denotes the liturgy.³⁷⁰ Pope Pius X obviously felt strongly about plainchant, issuing the *motu proprio* in part to encourage congregations to resume its use.³⁷¹ Although congregational participation in chanting the mass was once universal, according to Milligan, by the early twentieth century chant had fallen into such disuse that some people erroneously believed it was forbidden.³⁷²

In 1905 and 1920, Congresses focusing on Gregorian chant fostered the renewal of chant, with an aim of promoting understanding and performance of Gregorian chant in accordance with the *motu proprio*.³⁷³ According to an article announcing the first of these Congresses, the event included discussions of the practical performance of chant, singing chant every afternoon, and High Mass daily with programs listing the repertory performed.³⁷⁴ A later congress in 1920 again emphasized the restoration of Gregorian chant and congregational participation in chant during Sunday services: the Congress opened with the *Missa de Angelis* sung by five thousand children, thanks to the endow-

³⁶⁹Ibid. Modern music uses only two modes, major and minor, and fixed accents based on structured time values in measures, making it less suited to prose.

³⁷⁰Ibid. In a later article, Hadland notes that Gounod, Mozart and Wagner all admired plainchant; yet it should not be compared to modern music, as the two have little in common. F. A. Hadland, "Plain-song in its New Home," *NMR* 28, no. 328 (March 1929): 130-31.

³⁷¹Henry Vincent Milligan, "The Restoration of Congregational Singing in the Catholic Church," *NMR* 19, no. 226 (September 1920): 327-30. The *motu proprio* also resulted from the expiration of thirty-year monopoly of an inauthentic edition of Gregorian chant published by Pustet of Ratisbon.

³⁷²Ibid., 327-30. Milligan supports the use of Gregorian chant, declaring that it most closely allies with the Church's sentiment and is the best model for sacred music.

³⁷³Anonymous, "An International Congress for Gregorian Chant," *NMR* 4, no. 46 (September 1905): 451. The 1905 Congress was held in Strasbourg, Alsace, and the 1920 Congress in New York City.

³⁷⁴Ibid., 451.

ment of the Liturgical Music chair at the Convent of the Sacred Heart, New York, where teachers were introducing plainchant to children.³⁷⁵

The Solesmes monks, in Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight during the first part of the twentieth century,³⁷⁶ worked to cultivate the use of plainchant, and the *NMR* reported on their efforts.³⁷⁷ The Cäcilienverein of Germany, Schola Cantorum of Paris and Plain-song and Medieval Music Society of England likewise encouraged plainchant's resurgence.³⁷⁸

Because a "corrupt" version of chant had helped instigate the *motu proprio*, the edict included instructions governing the publication of plainchant.³⁷⁹ Thus, publication of any chant or selection from the orthodox Vatican edition required formal permission of the Apostolic See; the chant was not to be altered,³⁸⁰ but publishing it in modern notation was sanctioned if it corresponded directly to the approved melodies.³⁸¹

³⁷⁵Milligan, "Restoration," 327-30.

³⁷⁶The Benedictines at Solesmes monastery in France were persecuted in the 1700s, reborn in the 1800s and then banished from France in 1903; they took refuge on the Isle of Wight and built Quarr Abbey, with buildings in the Byzantine style.

³⁷⁷F. A. Hadland, "Plainsong in its New Home," *NMR* 28, no. 328 (March 1929): 130-31. Quarr Abbey was a center for the performance and study of plainchant; the monks created reproductions of manuscripts through photographs to create an extensive library, and they operated a printing press to disseminate new materials and research findings. The great possibilities of chant were exhibited in the performances at Quarr Abbey, where the voices were reported to be smooth and blended, and the chant sung without force or apparent effort by the singers, with natural shades and crescendos resulting in a display of the melodies' wealth and peaceful nature. Although the monks had one half-hour class on chant every week, most training came from their continual singing of the Office. Students from all over Europe visited Quarr Abbey to experience the chanting firsthand.

³⁷⁸Goodrich, "Gregorian System," 480-85.

³⁷⁹A. Card. Tripeli and D. Panici, "The Liturgical Chant," *NMR* 5, no. 50 (January 1906): 661.

³⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 661. Including its signs, note order, intervals and text alignment.

³⁸¹*Ibid.* Melodies could be adapted for hymns and the Ordinary if approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

Anglican Chant

Anglican chant, though derived from the Gregorian tones, has its own distinct history;³⁸² Clement Antrobus Harris discusses the development of Anglican chant extensively in the NMR.³⁸³ Many well-known English composers, such as Thomas Tallis, Richard Farrant and William Byrd, wrote Anglican chant;³⁸⁴ John Blow, William Turner, Henry Purcell, Pelham Humfrey and William Croft all composed chant during the English Restoration, a tradition that continued with later composers such as John Goss, Frederick A. G. Ouseley and Frederick Bridge.³⁸⁵ Double chant, with different harmonized melodies for two sequential verses of chant, likely originated by accident when two single chants were played in succession.³⁸⁶ Triple and quadruple chants, with music for three or four verses of chant respectively, developed later, beginning in the late nineteenth century.³⁸⁷

³⁸²Ibid., 385-91. Early Anglican chant was adapted from the Gregorian tones from 1540 to 1643; they were arranged with meter and harmony. The *Tonus Peregrinus* was a supplement to the eight Gregorian chants and found in most collections of Anglican chant; by tradition, Christ and the Disciples used the chant after the Last Supper.

³⁸³Harris, "Famous chants," 22, no. 261, 385-91.

³⁸⁴During their era the psalms were most often chanted to Gregorian tones.

³⁸⁵Ibid., 385-91. Eighteenth-century composers who published books of their own Anglican chants include John Alcock, John Wainwright, Richard Woodward, Thomas Sanders Dupuis, Thomas Jackson, John Jones, John Camidge and William Crotch. From the English Restoration (1660) until the Oxford Movement (1840), Anglican chant was dominant in the church, and written by most English composers such as William Battishill, Samuel Arnold, William Crotch and George Elvey.

³⁸⁶Harris, "Famous Chants," 23, no. 266, 58-63. Double-chants are used for psalms with two-verse parallelism. There are three contenders for the first written double chant; the most likely candidate is John Robinson, with a copy of his double chant dating from 1706. Rev. Luke Flintoft and William Morley are also credited with early double chants.

³⁸⁷Harris, "Famous Chants," 23, no. 270, 237-42. In 1879 Dr. Brooke Foss Westcott requested that triple chants be written for the psalms with a three-verse parallelism. Dr. Haydon Keeton wrote a symmetrical triple chant suited to Psalm 135 in response; the three sections are identical, with each section a scale degree higher than the previous section, but the first triple chant was of a general nature and written by James M. Coward. Michael Maybrick most likely composed the first quadruple chant. Sir Herbert Oakeley wrote the most famous quadruple chant, after which others followed. Chants by Frederick Hampton Burstall, James William Elliott and G. F. Vincent are among the best examples of the type. W. T. Best wrote an octuple chant for the *Benedicite*.

During the early twentieth century, musicians experimented with Robert Bridges's modern theory "that the chant must be considered a flexible formula in which the duration of each chord is widely variable, depending upon the accentuation of the words."³⁸⁸ This new attitude countered the rhythmical method used for Anglican chant in the nineteenth century, in which the text was made to fit a rigid phrase of music — with no consideration of the psalm's accents or meaning.

As described by Mansfield, Anglican chant is a unique form consisting of a seven-measure phrase, the first section with three measures and the second with four.³⁸⁹ Contrary to presumptions that Anglican chant has flexible structure, early examples had definite bar-lines; a further misunderstanding claimed that Anglican Chant is derived from the psalm tune using common meter.³⁹⁰ Mansfield argues that an eight-measure phrase is a more rational and conventional way to set Anglican chant, and could increase its use. Mansfield considers three methods for expanding Anglican chant into a standard eight measures, but reaches no definite conclusions.³⁹¹

During the NMR's publication many new editions of the psalter, including the *Barless Psalter* and the *American Psalter*, encouraged the restoration of natural rhythm to singing Anglican chant. In these editions the words dictated time values of the notes,

³⁸⁸ Kenneth R. Long, *The Music of the English Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1971), 397.

³⁸⁹ Orlando A. Mansfield, "The Rhythmical Structure of the Anglican Chant," *CMR* 3, no. 35 (September 1904): 531-33. In the development of the chant in the eighteenth century, examples of the chant were found in five bars; Purcell and Harry Parr attempted to write the chant in four.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 531-33. This is coincidence and requires too many omissions.

³⁹¹ Orlando A. Mansfield, "The Rhythmical Structure of the Anglican Chant," *CMR* 3, no. 36 (October 1904): 548-50. Ebenezer Prout purports a theory of elision, adding a bar to the first measure of the same note, the reciting tone. Stainer supports extension with an addition of a fifth measure to the end of the second section, prolonging the second reciting tone at the cadence. Frederick Gore Ouseley defends a theory of intension with the addition of a fourth bar of the note beginning the second section to the end of the first section at the half cadence.

with bar lines only to guide syllable placement.³⁹² Although Anglican chant began as choral recitative with a uniform pace following speech rhythms, after English translations and the addition of bar lines the rhythm became measured and the last syllable accented.³⁹³ *The American Psalter*, edited by Charles Winfred Douglas and prepared in connection with the Episcopal Joint Commission on Church Music, presented chants suiting the texts' rhythmical schemes.³⁹⁴ *The English Psalter founded on the principles of natural speech-rhythm* by Charles Macpherson, E. C. Bairstow and P. C. Buck also exhibited chant reform.³⁹⁵ Yet none of these new editions of Anglican chant was standardized: "There is no authoritative method of pointing in the Church of England and there is great disagreement and controversy on the subject in the large number of chant books that are used in England and America."³⁹⁶

"The twentieth century inherited from the nineteenth the vexing question of Gregorian versus Anglican chants, which unfortunately has continued to be a highly charged issue in the Church."³⁹⁷ Further, the question of whether congregational participation in singing the psalms or high artistic quality fulfills the ideal of the psalms remains unanswered. Temperley suggests having the choir chant the psalm while the congregation sings an antiphon after each verse.³⁹⁸ Practice varies by parish: "Since 1960 the use of

³⁹²Anonymous, "The New *American Psalter*," *NMR* 29, no. 345 (August 1930): 821-22.

³⁹³*Ibid.* This inartistic manner with unyielding rhythm and imaginary accent was contrary to tradition.

³⁹⁴*Ibid.*

³⁹⁵F. A. Hadland, "Anglican Church Music," *NMR* 27, no. 323 (October 1928): 391-92.

³⁹⁶Edward Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church With an Introduction on Religious Music Among the Primitive and Ancient Peoples* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), 341.

³⁹⁷Temperley, *Music of the Parish Church*, 330.

³⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 332.

Anglican chant has diminished greatly in parish churches, some preferring responsorial psalms, Père Gelineau's method of psalmody, or modern songs based loosely on psalm texts, while others have abandoned psalms completely."³⁹⁹ Routley continues to advocate the use of Anglican chant, noting that it "can be very beautiful," and that "psalms were originally not primarily for congregational singing."⁴⁰⁰ Modern editions now in print feature Anglican chant in user-friendly notation.⁴⁰¹

Singing of the Psalms

Some contributors prefer the good results of recitation to poorly sung Psalms, warning against the overuse of intonation.⁴⁰² Others argue that reading the psalms is unreasonable because they were intended to be sung.⁴⁰³ In addition to defending this position, many give suggestions to encourage the singing of the psalms. Wakeling Dry, the English critic,⁴⁰⁴ alleges that the congregation should participate in singing of the Psalter because, originally, the psalms were for and sung by the people; plainsong, with its free rhythm, provides the best manner of performing the psalms.⁴⁰⁵ Psalms gained a poor reputation because churches gave them little attention and performed them unsucces-

³⁹⁹*Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online)*, s.v. "Anglican Chant" (by Peter LeHuray and John Harper), <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed March 12, 2007).

⁴⁰⁰Eric Routley, *Church Music and the Christian Faith* (Carol Stream, Ill.: Agape, 1978), 117.

⁴⁰¹For example, *More Singable Psalms* by St. James Press.

⁴⁰²George Gardner, "The Best in Church Music," *NMR* 23, no. 265 (December 1923): 545-48. An address given at the Lincoln Diocesan Conference, October 24, 1923.

⁴⁰³Wakeling Dry, "The Choral Service as an Act of Worship," *CMR* 1, no. 7 (May 1902): 69-70.

⁴⁰⁴Dry also wrote many books on topics related to opera.

⁴⁰⁵Wakeling Dry, "Choral Service, 69-70. He recommends the Solesmes transcriptions of the manuscript of St. Gall for their forms of melodies and style.

fully.⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, modern harmony combined with plainchant in practice often created an unnatural dissonance and a false impression of plainchant.⁴⁰⁷

The NMR's suggestions for improving the psalms include singing the melodies lightly in good tone with proper breathing while using a psalter, having the organist offer simple four-part harmony as accompaniment, and using the choir to display proper tone and phrasing in the first and alternate lines.⁴⁰⁸ The standard pointing used in the United States led to rushing at the cadence and confusion of the text; one contributor recommends *The Cathedral Paragraph Psalter* as offering a solution through better pointing.⁴⁰⁹

Felix Lamond⁴¹⁰ writes extensively about the treatment of psalms, arguing that they should be studied and treated in an individual manner; they can be grouped in couplets or triplets, with antiphonal singing used only when it enhances the text.⁴¹¹ He suggests accompaniment in the same style of the psalm; unison for good effect, but not long periods; and clearly enunciated and animated text.⁴¹² He provides examples of psalm

⁴⁰⁶Felix Lamond, "The Musical Interpretation of the Psalms," *CMR* 2, no. 16 (February 1903): 180-81. Dry makes this same point. Dry, "Choral Service," 69-70. Richardson also calls the practice of chanting in the United States inept, with poor grammar and mispronunciation; musicians should not be satisfied with the present state and work to improve the system. A. Madeley Richardson, "Fellow Workers, Ministers and Musicians," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 77-81.

⁴⁰⁷A. Madeley Richardson, "Music in Church Worship," *CMR* 3, no. 33 (July 1904): 492-94.

⁴⁰⁸Wakeling Dry, "The Choral Service as an Act of Worship," *CMR* 1, no. 8 (June 1902): 83.

⁴⁰⁹Felix Lamond, "The Musical Interpretation of the Psalms," *CMR* 2, no. 16 (February 1903): 180-81.

⁴¹⁰Lamond was an organist of Trinity Church, and became the first Professor of Music of the American Academy in Rome.

⁴¹¹Felix Lamond, "The Musical Interpretation of the Psalms," *CMR* 2, no. 17 (March 1903): 201-02.

⁴¹²Felix Lamond, "The Musical Interpretation of the Psalms," *CMR* 2, no. 24 (October 1903): 315-16.

treatment including those for Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, and those with
Glorias.⁴¹³

⁴¹³Felix Lamond, "The Musical Interpretation of the Psalms," *CMR* 2, no. 16 (February 1903): 180-81; no. 17 (March 1903): 201-02; no. 18 (April 1903): 215-17; no. 19 (May 1903): 236-38; no. 21 (July 1903): 271-72; no. 22 (August 1903): 285-86; no. 23 (September 1903): 299-300; no. 24 (October 1903): 315-16.

Chapter 5: The Church Musicians

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a church's minister usually enjoyed total control over all aspects of the service — a state of affairs music reformers fervently advocated changing. In their struggle to share power over service music, these reformers compelled ministers to work with their musicians and achieve unity in the service, deferring to those musicians to prepare and select appropriate music.⁴¹⁴ Articles in the *NMR* emphasized cooperation between the clergy and musicians, but ultimately advanced educated, responsible musicians as the authorities over church music. Contributors upheld education for the congregation, clergy and church musicians as the key to cultivating cooperation and empowering the musicians to achieve their desired reforms. The material found in the *NMR* relating to clergy and church musicians, as well as their education, largely reflects developments in the Episcopal Church. *NMR* discusses the same reforms in the Roman Catholic Church though to a lesser degree; these are treated in Chapter 3.

The Clergy

To increase churchgoers' interest in quality church music, writers in *NMR* emphasize the need for clergy to be educated about sacred music while in seminary,⁴¹⁵ and give suggestions for specific studies of hymnology, the role of music in the development

⁴¹⁴Anonymous, "Congregational Singing and the Choral Service," *CMR* 3, no. 25 (November 1903): 335. Anonymous, "Congregations, Musical and Unmusical," *CMR* 3, no. 28 (February 1904): 392 (speeches from a Church Congress in England). A. Madeley Richardson, "Fellow Workers, Ministers and Musicians," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 77-81.

⁴¹⁵Walter Henry Hall, "Music as a Ministration," *NMR* 26, no. 308 (July 1927): 242-44. P. C. Lutkin, "Music in its Relation to Public Worship," *NMR* 27, no. 319 (June 1928): 237-44.

of Christianity, and theological discernment of appropriate, dignified music.⁴¹⁶ Indicating an intense struggle for control between church musicians and clergy, one contributor asserts that a minister should not be “dictator” over the choir, and should only offer advice when asked.⁴¹⁷ Another recommends that clergy avoid forbidding musical selections based on personal taste, and the interruption of any musical number.⁴¹⁸ He also advises newly appointed ministers to support their choirmasters rather than automatically removing them upon arrival, because by encouraging the ministers they can transform the church into a musical center.⁴¹⁹ Finally, and perhaps straying beyond the reformers’ jurisdiction, one article encourages shorter sermons, as long ones discourage church attendance; as reported in the *NMR*, this effort gained some traction, as organized groups of ministers agreed to cap sermons at twenty minutes in length.⁴²⁰

The Congregation

Many contributors to the *NMR* believe that both the congregation and the choir should sing during the service.⁴²¹ Owing to the use of quartet choirs in the nineteenth century, however, congregations often expected to be entertained by church music rather

⁴¹⁶P. C. Lutkin, “Choirmasters and their Choirs,” *NMR* 27, no. 321 (August 1928): 313-17.

⁴¹⁷Harry Hale Pike, “Congregations and Ministers,” *NMR* 4, no. 46 (September 1905): 452-53.

⁴¹⁸Henry S. Fry, “Music in the Church,” *NMR* 24, no. 285 (August 1925): 339-42 (paper given at the Fourth AGO Convention).

⁴¹⁹*Ibid.*, 339-42.

⁴²⁰G. Edward Stubbs, “Long Sermons,” *NMR* 24, no. 278 (January 1925): 61-62.

⁴²¹G. Edward Stubbs, “Congregational Singing,” *CMR* 2, no. 23 (September 1903): 297-99. “Congregations, Musical and Unmusical,” 3, no. 28, 392. F. A. Hadland, “The Present Position of Music in the Church of England,” *NMR* 23, no. 267 (February 1924): 106-07.

than to participate.⁴²² One contemporary report assigns blame to quartets themselves for inhibiting congregational participation:

In the majority of American churches the choir is a quartette and the congregation takes but little part in the singing. Even the hymns are sung by the people in the gallery without much aid from the pews. Quartette choirs as a rule disapprove of congregational singing and make it difficult if not impossible for the congregation to follow them in the hymns. And the hymns are rendered in a manner so unintelligent and perfunctory that no one cares to join in them.⁴²³

Historically, the congregation did not always participate in congregational singing. Until the Anglican Oxford Movement in the mid-nineteenth century, a random assortment of village or town musicians supplied church music, with men and boys singing from part-books in English parishes;⁴²⁴ in the Catholic Church the choirs alone usually sang the entire mass. The situation in nineteenth century, Protestant American churches was no different:

Congregational singing was by no means so general in the earlier days as it is at present. In many churches the congregation had no part whatever in the singing. In others all who were disposed to take part were encouraged to join in one or two hymns at each service The congregations were but meagerly supplied with hymn books and these were without music.⁴²⁵

For more than a century churchgoers presumed hymns — and sometimes the *Gloria in excelsis* — to be the only parts of the service appropriate for congregational participation; G. Edward Stubbs surmises that people did not join in monotone recitation,

⁴²²Pike, “Congregations and Ministers,” 452-53.

⁴²³Washington Gladden, *The Christian Pastor and the Working Church* (New York: Charles Scribner’s sons, 1898), 145.

⁴²⁴F. A. Hadland, “The Problems of Congregational Singing,” *NMR* 24, no. 281 (April 1925): 201-03.

⁴²⁵Henry Dike Sleeper, “Church Music,” in *Recent Christian Progress Studies in Christian Thought and Work During the Last Seventy-five Years*, ed. Lewis Bayles Paton (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909), 385. In New England congregational singing was not at all general until Dr. Eben Tourjee conducted a campaign in its favor beginning about 1870. American Presbyterian churches often made use of a “precentor,” and the singing of metrical psalms was congregational. American Methodists always believed strongly in congregational singing, but were less particular about its musical qualities than they were about wide participation.

thinking it was the jurisdiction of the choir or the priest.⁴²⁶ NMR contributors, however, encourage the congregation to join with the choir and priest for the Lord's Prayer, Confession, Apostle's Creed, Amens, *Kyrie* and responses.⁴²⁷ One contributor recommends responsorial music and the antiphonal division of psalm verses between the priest and the congregation, since this arrangement permits congregational participation.⁴²⁸ Contributors promote unison singing to aid the congregation,⁴²⁹ although they acknowledge that the congregation need not sing all parts of the service, and that everyone need not join in the singing.⁴³⁰

Groups such as the Litchfield County Choral Union held meetings to facilitate congregational participation and discourage the use of quartet choirs and soloists:

The object of this meeting is to give an example of how the music of the churches can be restored to its rightful owners, the people. While in no way minimizing the use of a chorus choir as leaders of mass singing, the public at large, of all sects, is giving unmistakable signs of disapproval of the so called "solo quartet choir," with its endless round of trashy anthems and irreligious solos. Since our last meeting one high ecclesiastical authority has absolutely forbidden solo singing in any of the churches of his diocese. This dignitary, in his letter to the churches, justly states that the music of the sanctuary is degenerating into opera, and directs that hereafter all music shall be choral. This is a right step toward a return to the early Christian practice, when, music was an act of worship performed by all of the congregation, and not by a few paid vocalists.⁴³¹

⁴²⁶G. Edward Stubbs, "Congregational Singing," *CMR* 2, no. 22 (August 1903): 283-85.

⁴²⁷Anonymous, "Music, Handmaid or Mistress?," *CMR* 3 no. 31 (May 1904): 542-53 (reprint from the *Church Times*). The same preferences are expressed in "Congregational Singing and the Choral Service," *CMR* 3, no. 25 (November 1903): 335.

⁴²⁸Hadland, "Present Position," 106-07.

⁴²⁹"Congregational Singing and the Choral Service," 335 (response to a plea for more congregational singing found in *Church Eclectic*, September 1903).

⁴³⁰"Congregations, Musical and Unmusical," 392 (Walter Parratt on congregational singing).

⁴³¹"Choral Mass Meetings for Singing of Hymns," in *Litchfield County Choral Union, 1900-1912*, Vol 2, ed. Joseph H. Vaill (Norfolk, Conn: Litchfield County University Club, 1912), 164-65.

The Church Music Society also advocated the writing of compositions by American composers for congregational participation.⁴³²

Congregational singing became an essential element to church music reformers, and they offer suggestions for its improvement and growth in the NMR.⁴³³ Practicing musicians advocate the unison singing of simple hymns,⁴³⁴ discouraging harmony by the congregation.⁴³⁵ Contributors suggest keeping a repertory of well-know hymns, as learning all 800 hymns in a hymnal is too difficult for a lay congregation.⁴³⁶ The NMR contributors' aesthetic tastes emphasize ecclesiastical hymn tunes, with the goal of elevating musical taste rather than using "evangelical," sentimental tunes.⁴³⁷ Bishop Manning especially advocates hymnbooks including music for the entire congregation, as well as repetition of new tunes so the congregation might learn them.⁴³⁸

While many churches had active guilds for charitable aid, socializing, mothers' meetings, sewing workshops and missionary meetings, there were few organizations to further congregational singing.⁴³⁹ To remedy this shortcoming, the reformers recommend

⁴³²Hadland, "Problems of Singing," 201-03.

⁴³³G. Edward Stubbs and William T. Manning were great advocates of congregational singing, and they wrote articles to guide musicians in leading their congregations. Both men were associated with Trinity Parish of New York City for many years — Stubbs as an organist in St. Agnes' Chapel on the Upper Westside of Manhattan for forty-five years and Manning as a Vicar for St. Agnes' and then a rector for Trinity Church. Manning also served as the bishop of the New York diocese from 1921 to 1946.

⁴³⁴In "The Present Position of Music in the Church of England," F. A. Hadland advocates that *Hymns Ancient and Modern* should be revised to reflect unison singing in the congregation's copies. See also "Congregations, Musical and Unmusical," relating opinions of Prebendary Bevan on congregational singing.

⁴³⁵"Music, Handmaid," 542-53.

⁴³⁶G. Edward Stubbs, "Congregational Singing," *CMR* 2, no. 24 (October 1903): 313-15.

⁴³⁷Stubbs, "Congregational Singing," 2, no. 22, 283-85. Stubbs asserts that *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and collections of tunes by Stainer and Barnby provide the best examples of good tunes.

⁴³⁸William T. Manning, "Ecclesiastical Music: Congregational Singing," *NMR* 6, no. 62 (January 1907): 120-23.

⁴³⁹Stubbs, "Congregational Singing," 2, no. 24, 313-15.

spending time and money to foster effective congregational singing,⁴⁴⁰ congregational rehearsals with an explanation of the choral service's history,⁴⁴¹ teaching recitation, and practicing service music.⁴⁴² They also ask the clergy to underscore the importance of congregational participation⁴⁴³ and to attend rehearsals.⁴⁴⁴ One rehearsal model calls for a carefully planned half-hour after the Sunday afternoon or evening service, beginning with the singing of easy hymn tunes, progressing to chants and recitation,⁴⁴⁵ and then practicing difficult music.⁴⁴⁶

Contemporary sources outside the NMR also emphasize the importance of congregational singing and the work necessary to encourage it:

The goal to be reached, however, is good congregational singing. Everything else must work to that end. This is not easily achieved. It is much simpler to hire four people to do your singing for you. But this method is mechanical and has very little educational value, except to the four singers themselves. We must keep at it until the whole congregation becomes a great chorus choir, singing the best music and bringing forth out of its treasure tunes new and old. . . . So slow and laborious a process is it to achieve good congregational singing in the ordinary church. Many years will slip away before you arrive at your goal. You may account yourself highly favored if your people suffer you to realize your ideal of congregational song before your own ears will have become too dull through age for you to enjoy it to the full yourself.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁰Manning, "Ecclesiastical Music," 120-23.

⁴⁴¹Stubbs, "Congregational Singing," 2, no. 22, 283-85.

⁴⁴²Stubbs, "Congregational Singing," 2, no. 23, 297-99. Stubbs pleads that "bad" singing is not appropriate for church use, but neither is total congregational silence in musical worship.

⁴⁴³Stubbs, "Congregational Singing," 2, no. 23, 313-15.

⁴⁴⁴Manning, "Ecclesiastical Music," 120-23.

⁴⁴⁵Monotonic recitation is the chanting, most often of a lesson or prayer, on a single note. Westermeyer classifies it as the first musical form of chant, based on a reciting tone and also including psalm tones; the second form is called "repetitive" and the third "free." Paul Westermeyer, *Te Deum: The Church and Music* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 295.

⁴⁴⁶Stubbs, "Congregational Singing," 2, no. 24, 313-15.

⁴⁴⁷Edward Judson, *The Institutional Church: A Primer in Pastoral Theology* (New York: Lentilhon, 1899), 131-32.

In a sense, then, it was not enough for reformers to professionalize the church musicians: they sought both to improve the congregation's musical abilities and to democratize its very relationship to the service and its music — a dramatic shift in the congregation's role from a mere audience to integral participants or performers in their own right. The *NMR* powerfully documents this transition.

The Choirmaster and/or Organist

The *NMR* envisions that only qualified church musicians would bring about an improvement of church music, and its articles offer analysis on their expected skills. The position of choirmaster serves the public service and requires trust, with the ordination ceremony for a choirmaster symbolizing the importance and responsibilities of the position.⁴⁴⁸ Responsibilities of the church musician included provision of the finest music with available resources,⁴⁴⁹ cooperation with the clergy,⁴⁵⁰ creation of a dignified worship atmosphere,⁴⁵¹ and enabling a smooth flow of the service.⁴⁵² The *NMR* repeatedly discusses the hiring and retention of a suitable person, emphasizing the role's "nobility of

⁴⁴⁸Waldo S. Pratt, "The Choirmaster as a Church Official," *NMR* 4, no. 42 (May 1905): 254 (address delivered at the ordination of Ralph L. Baldwin as Choirmaster of the Fourth Church, Hartford, Conn.).

⁴⁴⁹Fry, "Music in the Church," 339-42. Similarly, Pratt recommends high artistic values for the musician in "The Organist's Ideals — Should He Sacrifice Them?," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 83-88. He notes that even though artistic ideals may be absent in the congregation or clergy, musical development is possible over time; musicians must repeatedly demonstrate why and how the music is "good" through a variety of classes, informal talks and lectures for the congregation.

⁴⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 339-42. Fry advises the musician to find another position if he cannot agree with the clergy; the musician should be willing to compromise on personal taste in order to work with the congregation and allow appreciation to grow.

⁴⁵¹Walter Henry Hall, "Music as a Ministration," *NMR* 26, no 308 (July 1927): 242-44.

⁴⁵²Pratt, "Choirmaster," 254.

purpose,”⁴⁵³ embodied in an awareness of serving the divine ideal⁴⁵⁴ and a sacramental sense striving for worship.⁴⁵⁵ One contributor identifies as essential characteristics a lack of shallowness and insincerity, an understanding of the best in music, dependability, organizational skills, an ability to arouse enthusiasm, and sound communication with the choir; he also believes that the choirmaster position is best filled by a practicing Christian.⁴⁵⁶

For many NMR contributors, successfully leading the choir requires many talents and involves disparate tasks. They recommend proficiency in piano, organ, voice, diction, poetry analysis, history of music, conducting, sound and acoustics, music theory, composition, and hymnology for a successful candidate.⁴⁵⁷ Another contributor highlights the ability to instill in the choir a sense of their importance in worship, through serving the congregation and bringing emotion to the service.⁴⁵⁸ The reformers emphasize proper rehearsals for the choir,⁴⁵⁹ with meaning of the text and expression covered in

⁴⁵³ Alfred Lee Booth, “The Art of Creating Atmosphere in Church Services,” *NMR* 30, no. 357 (August 1931): 333-35 (address given at the National Convention of the AGO in Indianapolis, Indiana, June 10, 1931). Booth claims a musician is likely to have the most influence through his character; he should not be temperamental or selfish. See also Waldo S. Pratt, “The Choirmaster as a Church Official.”

⁴⁵⁴Pratt, “Choirmaster,” 303-06. The choirmaster should encourage and cooperate with all church functions, whether they involve music or not.

⁴⁵⁵Walter J. Clemson, “Soli Deo Gloria [Dedication required],” *NMR* 10, no. 116 (July 1911): 432-33. Clemson warns that emphasis on technical perfection rather than worship leads to irritable organists. Despite problems with the clergy, the organist must maintain high musical ideals; lifeless, automatic playing results in a disappointing service.

⁴⁵⁶P. C. Lutkin, “Choirmasters and their Choirs,” *NMR* 27, no. 321 (August 1928): 313-17. Similarly, Pratt advises that none of the musician’s professional or personal involvements should be inconsistent with his position as a church official. Waldo S. Pratt, “The Organist’s Ideals — Should He Sacrifice Them?,” *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 83-88.

⁴⁵⁷Lutkin, “Choirmasters and their Choirs,” 313-17.

⁴⁵⁸Pratt, “Choirmaster,” 303-06.

⁴⁵⁹Fry, “Music in the Church,” 339-42.

the rehearsal,⁴⁶⁰ as well as work on technical details and difficult sections.⁴⁶¹ Although they acknowledge the work required to prepare multiple choirs for adults and children of different ages, they commend the variety such performances offer to the service.⁴⁶²

Contributors suggest that if one person fills both the role of organist and choir-master, he or she should devote more time to choir training than to solo organ performance.⁴⁶³ The reformers stress creating a worshipful atmosphere distinct from the secular arena for the service⁴⁶⁴ by using appropriate, expressive organ music that reflected the divine.⁴⁶⁵ They prefer simple, melodious pieces performed with dignity rather than unprepared, difficult music.⁴⁶⁶ Reformers expect organ music to add to the service's unity, selected with the complete program in mind.⁴⁶⁷ Other suggestions for creating unity include the use of improvisation to tie the order of worship together, especially for modulations between pieces, and using material from one of the adjacent pieces such as a rhythmic scheme or melodic theme.⁴⁶⁸ The support of congregational singing during the hymns through thoughtful accompaniment is another essential task.⁴⁶⁹ Other suggested

⁴⁶⁰Clemson, "Soli Deo Gloria," 432-33.

⁴⁶¹Lutkin, "Choirmasters and their Choirs," 313-17.

⁴⁶²Ibid., 313-17.

⁴⁶³Booth, "Creating Atmosphere in Church Services," 333-35. Booth contends a devotional choir that sings well-chosen anthems and responses with enunciation and musical expression can best inspire the congregation; the accompaniment should balance and support the choir, not overpower it.

⁴⁶⁴Pratt, "Choirmaster," 303-06.

⁴⁶⁵Clemson, "Soli Deo Gloria," 432-33.

⁴⁶⁶Booth, "Creating Atmosphere," 333-35. While Booth argues music need not always be subdued, he believes a meditation on a hymn-tune is often appropriate for a prelude.

⁴⁶⁷Fry, "Music in the Church," 339-42.

⁴⁶⁸Booth, "Creating Atmosphere," 333-35. It is possible to simply repeat the last phrase and extend it through a false cadence; Booth recommends Frederick Schlieder's books on harmony.

⁴⁶⁹Ibid., 333-35. Pratt, "Choirmaster," 303-06. Pratt also expects the organist to encourage appropriate selection of hymns by the minister. Booth adds that the introduction to the hymn should be played

responsibilities for organists include a conscientious effort to examine all music sent to them, expansion and broadening of their repertory with American works,⁴⁷⁰ and creation of a musical center through musical education and sacred concerts.⁴⁷¹

To fulfill the organist's multi-purpose role, the NMR expects additional talents, including the ability to improvise artistically,⁴⁷² the understanding of modern harmony to accompany hymns and modal harmony to accompany chant,⁴⁷³ familiarity with the organ and choral repertory,⁴⁷⁴ the ability to manipulate the organ with articulation and smooth registration changes,⁴⁷⁵ the facility of transposition and modulation,⁴⁷⁶ and the intelligence to plan a coherent service. The NMR's general recommendations encompass good education, knowledge of current vocal and sacred music, and choir training and directing skills.⁴⁷⁷ One contributor advocates the practice of memorization, especially of often-used service pieces and hymns, and a small memorized repertory for emergencies, or in the case of lost music.⁴⁷⁸ The organist's skills should match the requirements of the par-

at a slightly faster tempo than the congregation will sing it, and the organist should follow the phrasing and punctuation of the text; he recommends works by P. C. Lutkin for further ideas and the selection of hymns.

⁴⁷⁰Howard D. McKinney, "A Review of Recent Church Music," *NMR* 31, no. 368 (July 1932): 341-47 (read before the 1932 AGO Convention in Boston).

⁴⁷¹Fry, "Music in the Church," 339-42. He suggests leading sight-singing classes, offering vocal instruction, forming a choral society, giving lectures on music, and educational concerts.

⁴⁷²W. H. Bell, "On the Accompaniment of the Church Service," *CMR* 1, no.11 (September 1902): 116-17. Charles Waters wrote an entire article on the benefits and long tradition of extempore playing on the organ. Charles F. Waters, "An Organist's Monopoly: Extempore Playing," *NMR* 29, no. 342 (May 1930): 701-02 (reprint from *The Musical Times*).

⁴⁷³*Ibid.*, 116-17.

⁴⁷⁴Everett E. Truette, "What Constitutes a Church Organist and Where are our Present Methods of Instruction Defective?," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 96-101.

⁴⁷⁵Marie M. Hine, "Qualifying for Church Playing," *NMR* 27 no. 318 (May 1928): 214-15.

⁴⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 214-15.

⁴⁷⁷National Association of Organists, "To the Clergy of America," *NMR* 20, no. 232 (March 1921): 146.

⁴⁷⁸Homer Nearing, "The Organist's Memory," *NMR* 27, no. 321 (August 1928): 317-18. Nearing comments on the growing trend among organists to memorize music; Clarence Dickinson was the first to

ticular job, with avoidance of an under-trained acquaintance or well-known pianist rather than a suitable organist.⁴⁷⁹ Contributors endorse contracts specifying the specific tasks of the organists and choirmasters.⁴⁸⁰

Although organists and choirmasters satisfying the above requirements might devote years of training to learn the necessary skills and require much weekly preparation, salaries rarely paid enough to provide for the musician's livelihood.⁴⁸¹ Reflecting its status as official periodical of the American Guild of Organists, the *NMR* documents and coordinates a movement to increase the salaries of organists in many locations, advising church musicians to band together for better wages and treatment.⁴⁸² Another contributor theorizes that bad conditions often force good musicians out of church positions, and only raising the status of the organist will allow church music to flourish.⁴⁸³ Contributors urge clergy to remain in close contact with the organist and congregation to provide recognition and encouragement.⁴⁸⁴

use no music at all. Some organists objected because there is so much to control and the organ repertory is so extensive.

⁴⁷⁹Truette, "Church Organist," 96-101. Many organists are trained to be excellent recitalists, but have little instruction in church music and hymn-playing. Some are former choirboys and have excellent choir-training skills, but are not adequate organists. To be successful, the organist needs to skills in all areas.

⁴⁸⁰Lutkin, "Choirmasters and their Choirs," 313-17.

⁴⁸¹Anonymous, "On Salaries," *CMR* 3, no. 31 (May 1904): 459. The author is listed as A. Dole, an obvious joke. Only 26 of 86 positions in the diocese of New York pay over \$1,000, with most paying much less; in England many organist positions do not even offer a stipend. An article from 1896 describes European organists emigrating to the United States for higher salaries; at that time more than 10 churches in New York City paid annual salaries of \$2,500 or more.

⁴⁸²Julian Mercie, "As We Were: The Organist's Position 40 Years Ago," *NMR* 34, no. 398 (March 1935): 113-14.

⁴⁸³V. R. Grace, "The Status of the Organist," *NMR* 20, no. 240 (November 1921): 394-96. Bad conditions he cites include a low salary, music controlled by a music committee with little experience, poor attendance blamed on music, working with musically uneducated clergy, and the threat of successful organists losing their posts due to "jealous" clergy.

⁴⁸⁴National Association of Organists, "To the Clergy of America," *NMR* 20, no. 232 (March 1921): 146.

Education of Church Musicians

NMR contributors recognized a need for well-educated church musicians, and they worked alongside others to establish schools and programs for church musicians at all levels. Summer programs, such as the Summer School of Church Music in Cambridge, Massachusetts, allowed practicing musicians to attend courses on a wide variety of practical topics for a few weeks, while other schools, such as the Trinity School of Church Music in New York City, created a program for young musicians able to devote a few years to the concentrated study of sacred music. Contributors suggest that seminaries offer a course for musicians,⁴⁸⁵ or some other means for training musicians within each denomination.⁴⁸⁶ In *The History of American Church Music* Leonard Ellinwood counts the many schools that NMR contributors founded and promoted — including the Trinity School of Church Music, the Westminster Choir College (founded by John Finley Williamson),⁴⁸⁷ and the summer course at the Episcopal Theological School — among the pioneering efforts in the field.⁴⁸⁸

The NMR promoted the Westminster Choir College as a model of the ideal educational environment for musicians studying sacred music. Its practical training course offered vocal study, harmony and counterpoint, classes in conducting and organ, hym-

⁴⁸⁵R. Buchanon Morton, “Church Music and Worship: Church Music in the Protestant and Evangelical Churches.” *NMR* 28, no. 333 (August 1929): 328-30. Morton argues that improvement would occur only when institutions trained church musicians and ministers properly; that seminaries should offer a course; and that churches should insist their musicians take it. He also believes organists must learn to train a choir, understand religion, and select appropriate music.

⁴⁸⁶Lutkin, “Choirmasters and their Choirs,” 313-17. Lutkin believes the best training for church musicians would be under the auspices of the denominations, where training in music, religion and social issues could take place.

⁴⁸⁷Originally established in Dayton, Ohio in 1920, the college relocated in Ithaca, New York in 1929 and then moved to its present location of Princeton, New Jersey in 1932.

⁴⁸⁸Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music* (1953; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 144-48.

nology, music history, religious education focusing on leadership, English diction classes, psychology and daily devotionals and rehearsals.⁴⁸⁹

Trinity School of Church Music, established by Trinity Parish under Felix Lamond, offered a three-year course (as well as shorter courses) leading to a diploma for choirmasters and organists, and another course for clergy. These courses were individually designed, many especially for preparing former choristers to become organists.⁴⁹⁰ Studies entailed two organ lessons a week; lectures from organ builders and church visits to learn all aspects of the instrument; instruction on musical interpretation; school performances with criticism from the students' peers; frequent recitals; the opportunity to accompany services at various churches; voice training through practical demonstration and lecture; explanation of the liturgy from priests; and experience in building diplomatic relationships with the clergy.⁴⁹¹ The Trinity School of Church music trained many of the country's finest church musicians in the twentieth century. This high standard of instruction was short lived, however, as Lamond left to establish the Department of Musical Composition at the American Academy in Rome.

Columbia University offered courses for organists and choirmasters through its Extension Department, awarding both scholarships and certificates. Distinguished instructors included Walter Henry Hall for choir training and choral conducting, Felix Lamond for the organ course, Daniel Gregory Mason for lectures on church music history, Frank Ward for harmony and counterpoint, and Cornelius Rubner for composition and

⁴⁸⁹Carleton H. Bullis, "Preparing for a Renaissance of Church Worship, Comments of a Visitor to Dayton Who Became Impressed by John Finley Williamson," *NMR* 28, no. 325 (December 1928): 12-14.

⁴⁹⁰"Trinity School of Church Music," *NMR* 12, no. 142 (September 1913): 401. The distinguished faculty included G. Edward Stubbs, Edmund Jaques, Robert J. Winterbottom, F. T. Harrat, Moritz E. Swartz, John Carrington, A. Madeley Richardson and Mark Andrews.

⁴⁹¹"Trinity School of Church Music," *NMR* 14, no. 163 (June 1915): 236.

orchestration.⁴⁹² An NMR article also announces the opening of the music program at Union Theological Seminary, destined to become essential to the training of American church musicians in the mid-twentieth century.⁴⁹³

Summer conferences offered education to both clergy and musicians. In 1904 the NMR first reported on the Richfield Springs Conference, sponsored by the Church Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church in 1904, and attended by more than three hundred clergy and church officials. They had the opportunity to hear lectures by Walter Henry Hall on church music in the United States and England.⁴⁹⁴ The NMR frequently recounted activities of the Summer School of Church Music in Cambridge, Massachusetts,⁴⁹⁵ with instructors such as Richard Appel, P. C. Lutkin, Rev. George Hodges, Rev. Charles W. Douglas,⁴⁹⁶ and A. Madeley Richardson offering courses on plainsong, hymnody, choir training, the boy choir,⁴⁹⁷ voice culture and organ accompaniment.⁴⁹⁸ The NMR published recital programs from the Summer School of Church Music,⁴⁹⁹ as well as descriptions of courses about the newly authorized *Hymnal* of the Protestant Episcopal

⁴⁹²“Courses for Organists and Choirmasters at Columbia University,” *NMR* 8, no. 96 (November 1909): 629-30.

⁴⁹³“Union Theological Seminary,” *NMR* 27, no. 319 (June 1928): 144.

⁴⁹⁴“Church Music at the Richfield Springs Conference,” *CMR* 3, no. 36 (Oct 1904): 550-51. The conference was held in New York; it encouraged boy choirs under proper conditions and condemned quartet choirs.

⁴⁹⁵The NMR discusses the Summer School in its May 1915, June 1916, Report – October 1916, December 1916, July 1917, Report- October 1917, June 1919, and June 1920 issues, as well as other mentions in various notes sections.

⁴⁹⁶“Summer School of Church Music,” *NMR* 14, no. 162 (May 1915): 203.

⁴⁹⁷“Summer School of Church Music,” *NMR* 15, no. 175 (June 1916): 219.

⁴⁹⁸“Summer School of Church Music,” *NMR* 15, no. 179 (October 1916): 335.

⁴⁹⁹“Summer School of Church Music,” *NMR* 16, no. 181 (December 1916): 407.

Church, authorized in 1916.⁵⁰⁰ Members of the conference report that musicians who attended the school returned home to improve their parishes' music; over one hundred musicians enrolled in the school's first three years.⁵⁰¹

The Racine Conference in Wisconsin also held a Summer School of Church Music beginning in 1918; there P. C. Lutkin led courses on anthems and the new hymnal, and C. W. Douglas taught the singing of plainsong.⁵⁰² The Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore held a summer course in plainchant, led by the Rev. Father Leo Manzetti, who taught principles of plainchant, notation, tonality, free rhythm, psalmody, tone production, phrasing and the singing of Gregorian melodies.⁵⁰³

The organist training offered in American universities or other institutions at this time was vastly different from that offered in England. As described in the *NMR*, English organ students often served as sub-organists and pupils to an incumbent cathedral or church organist, and the students played daily services with improvised voluntaries⁵⁰⁴ at the commencement of services, and an Italian fugue or transcription of a chorale by Bach at the conclusion.⁵⁰⁵ The main cathedral organist gave organ lessons; in Walter Good-

⁵⁰⁰“Summer School of Church Music,” *NMR* 16, no. 188 (July 1917): 663. Anonymous, “Summer School of Church Music,” *NMR* 18, no. 211 (June 1919): 184.

⁵⁰¹“Summer School of Church Music,” *NMR* 16, no. 191 (October 1917): 769-70. The Summer School of Church Music also directed the music at the corresponding Conference for Church Work, offering daily rehearsals of the different services, including Compline, using tunes from the new hymnal.

⁵⁰²“Summer School of Church Music – Racine Conference,” *NMR* 18, no. 211 (June 1919): 184. The article discusses problems facing organists and choirmasters and their solutions, as well as organ performance; conference participants formed a drill choir and joined with the Conference for Church Workers in daily hymn singing.

⁵⁰³“Peabody Conservatory of Music,” *NMR* 14, no. 163 (June 1915): 237. Teachers and recitalists include George F. Boyle, Max Landow, Gustav Strube, J. C. Van Hulsteyn, Adelin Fermin, Harold Phillips and Bart Wirtz.

⁵⁰⁴English churches esteemed improvisation; the old masters kept a stock of material appropriate for improvisation, and the themes and material became familiar after repetition.

⁵⁰⁵J. Sebastian Matthews, “The Organ Loft of an English Cathedral,” *NMR* 29, no. 343 (June 1930): 739-43.

rich's account lessons included study of Bach fugues or Trio Sonatas taught in a legato style, with clear articulation of the theme and a steady tempo; as well as harmony, counterpoint and piano.⁵⁰⁶

With the absence of the Cathedral system and a lack of uniformity in the Episcopal Church, some observers consider education dealing with the liturgical service and the Anglican tradition in the United States "substandard"; they further criticize the greater emphasis on the organ as a concert instrument in the United States.⁵⁰⁷ Yet Goodrich praises the church music courses of the Trinity School of Music and the New England Conservatory for expanding the study of liturgical music in the United States.⁵⁰⁸

In the 1930s Archibald Davison observed that a "church music renaissance will come only through the education of future generations."⁵⁰⁹ Yet as late as 1953, Ellinwood lamented, "Music education has always been one of the most neglected aspects of church work in this country."⁵¹⁰

The Choir

The professional quartet choir dominated nineteenth-century American church music, but choral singing came into vogue late in the century and became the accepted

⁵⁰⁶Ibid., 739-43. J. Sebastian Matthews studied with George B. Arnold at Winchester Cathedral; Arnold promoted the old English contrapuntal school, was upset with the German influence on English music, and discounted French music as "women's music." Arnold's successful pupils include C. Lee-Williams, Harry Morton and William Prendergast; visitors such as Charlotte Younge, G. E. Stubbs, John Stainer, Frederick Bridge, and J. Kendrick-Pyne came to the cathedral while Matthews played there, adding to his education. Matthews admitted that many musically unsuitable works were permitted in the repertory of Winchester Cathedral because of their Biblical text, including those by Clarke-Whitfield.

⁵⁰⁷Wallace Goodrich, "The Training of Organists for the Liturgical Church Service," *NMR* 12, no. 143 (October 1913): 452-53.

⁵⁰⁸Ibid, 452-53.

⁵⁰⁹Archibald T. Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America* (Boston: E. C. Schirmer, 1933), 171.

⁵¹⁰Ellinwood, *History of American Church Music*, 144.

manner of musical worship during the twentieth century. Many churches relied on volunteer choirs of men and women, while some Episcopal churches followed England's Oxford Movement and developed highly trained choirs of boys and men. Musicians agreed that the change from the quartet choir to choral singing was a positive development. Although the choir was originally the sole group to sing the liturgy, in the twentieth century the choir often shared the task with the congregation.⁵¹¹

The quartet choir, a uniquely American ensemble, had its genesis in the church's need to retain talented singers, often trained through singing schools.⁵¹² Some critics accused quartets of singing in a secular style, with the text being the only sacred aspect of their performances.⁵¹³ Yet as late as 1919 one *NMR* contributor argues that in many communities the quartet choir provided the best form of sacred musical expression;⁵¹⁴ he blames the secular associations of the quartet choir on the dearth of quality music, suggesting adaptations of music for other ensembles instead.⁵¹⁵ While most contributors consider the quartet choir's decline an achievement of reform, one writer attributes its demise to a lack of new music by the best young composers.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹¹Eric Routley, *Church Music and the Christian Faith* (Carol Stream, Ill.: Agape, 1978), 113-15.

⁵¹²Frank L. Sealy, "What has America Done for the Anthem?," *NMR* 27, no. 321(August 1928): 327-30.

⁵¹³See, e.g., Walter Henry Hall, "Modern Church Music," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 92-94. The music glorified individual singers and was in a secular style.

⁵¹⁴Harold Vincent Milligan, "Music for the Quartet Choir," *NMR* 18, no. 210 (May 1919): 149-53.

⁵¹⁵*Ibid.*, 149-53.

⁵¹⁶Harold Vincent Milligan, "American Anthems," *NMR* 24, no. 279 (February 1925): 105-09. In 1925, Milligan observes that the quartet choir remains an institution in many churches; it flourished in the 1890s with compositions by Chadwick, Foote, Harry Rowe Shelley and Buck. He argued that young composers lacked the technique for fluent melodic counterpoint necessary for writing quartet choir music.

By 1935, one NMR contributor pronounces the church quartet “extinct” as choruses of volunteers and junior choirs gained popularity.⁵¹⁷ The American population in the early 1900s enjoyed ensemble music and singing together,⁵¹⁸ and with the contemporary choral movement in high schools and colleges, future growth of church choir participation seemed likely.⁵¹⁹ Estella Fretwell-Bowles — one of the NMR’s rare female authors — argues that a church choir supplies better leadership of congregational hymn-singing than does a quartet,⁵²⁰ and she applauds participation in the choir for its opportunities for friendship and social activity.⁵²¹

Within the volunteer choir, four paid singers often led the sections and performed any solo work, avoiding partiality or resentment among members of the congregation.⁵²² In fact, choirmasters often preferred amateur singers for choral and *a cappella* music because they better achieved vocal blend.⁵²³ One NMR contributor advocates a loud tone with color for the choir, supported by organ accompaniment, unique to the church.⁵²⁴ While some choirmasters recommend open admittance to the choir, with vocal instruction

⁵¹⁷R. Buchanan Morton, “The Influence of the College Chorus on Church Music,” *NMR* 34, no. 404 (September 1935): 310-12. Pierce also noted the growth in the use of choruses in his article “Problems of Unaccompanied Singing and How to Meet Them,” *NMR* 29, no. 347 (October 1930): 894-96.

⁵¹⁸Estella Fretwell-Bowles, “The Volunteer Choir Comes of Age,” *NMR* 31, no. 369 (October 1932): 412-14.

⁵¹⁹Morton, “College Chorus,” 310-12.

⁵²⁰Fretwell-Bowles, 412-14.

⁵²¹*Ibid.*, 412-14.

⁵²²*Ibid.* Charles Richmond, a contemporary author, notes “The ideal choir, then, will have a chorus large enough to produce broad, strong effects and to lead the congregation in the singing. It will have at least four singers trained to sing separately or together as the music demands.” Charles Alex. Richmond, “The Church Choir and Organ,” *The Chautauquan: Organ of the Literary and Scientific Circle* 19, no. 6 (September 1894): 704-06.

⁵²³Edwin Hall Pierce, “Problems of Unaccompanied Singing and How to Meet Them,” *NMR* 29, no. 347 (October 1930): 894-96.

⁵²⁴Morton, “College Chorus,” 310-12.

at rehearsals,⁵²⁵ others prefer to assess prospective choir members in areas such as pitch accuracy, vibrato, breathiness, attack, smoothness, quality of tone, flexibility, blending quality, breath control, concentration, memory, music reading, pronunciation, rhythm, temperament and personality — before inviting them to join the choir.⁵²⁶

Although a considerable choral repertory suited mixed chorus choir,⁵²⁷ and despite being touted as “by far the most effective choral organization,”⁵²⁸ the mixed choir developed slowly in the United States during the first decades of the twentieth century, according to some accounts.⁵²⁹ Davison attributes this phenomenon to poor experiences of excessively drilled school choirs; poor music selection by choirmasters, which inhibited new members; and the congregation’s preference for beautiful performances of more traditional ensembles.⁵³⁰

The Boy Choir

Even with the historical precedence of women singing sacred music from the time of the Old Testament (a tradition acknowledged in the NMR),⁵³¹ the American boy choir

⁵²⁵Fretwell-Bowles, 412-14.

⁵²⁶Lutkin, “Choirmasters and their Choirs,” 313-17.

⁵²⁷Morton, “College Chorus,” 310-12. This repertory includes the masterpieces of sacred literature appropriate for the support of an organ accompaniment. Additionally, Pierce suggests that *a cappella* singing invited the use of sixteenth-century works by Palestrina, Lotti, Vittoria, and English composers of the Renaissance such as Byrd and Tallis, as well as Russian church music. Pierce, “Problems of Unaccompanied Singing,” 894-96.

⁵²⁸Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America*, 167.

⁵²⁹*Ibid.*, 169.

⁵³⁰*Ibid.*

⁵³¹Clement A. Harris, “The Mixed Choir: its Historical Position,” *NMR* 34, no. 403 (August 1935): 273-75. In the Old Testament, Moses and children formed a choir, and there were two choirs of women: Miriam and her maidens, and the women of Israel who meet Saul. Although women were excluded from singing at the Temple, they were found in choirs at David’s palace. Ezra and Nehemiah organized a choir of men and women while in captivity, but it is unclear whether they sang religious or secular songs. Some early Christian churches that sang psalms included women in choirs, and the Therapeutists had choirs of

grew in popularity at the beginning of the twentieth century. Reasons for the exclusion of women at the time included the well-known objections to women fulfilling a priestly role,⁵³² fear of women's voices conveying an inappropriate emotion,⁵³³ the worry that "conspicuous" activity would ruin a woman's reputation,⁵³⁴ and the idea that the boy choir was "part of our Anglican musical heritage which should be preserved."⁵³⁵ Trinity Parish and Church of the Holy Communion were the first to establish boy choirs in New York City, both in 1846; Church of the Advent in Boston and Church of the Holy Cross in Troy, New York (1844) also established boy choirs early for the United States.⁵³⁶ The boy choir continued to grow in popularity, with choir schools established in New York at St. John the Divine (1901) and St. Thomas' Church (1919), among other places during the publication of the NMR. The boy choir's popularity in the first decades of the twentieth century also spread to Methodist churches.⁵³⁷ A boy choir even revived a failing

men and women that sang antiphonally. Although congregational singing was the rule for many oriental and occidental churches, after 363 A.D. only chanters were allowed to sing in churches. Most chanters were trained in Rome and sent as musical missionaries throughout Europe, allowing the Gregorian system to become universal. The congregation was left to sing only a few vernacular hymns. With the Reformation, metrical psalm tunes allowed singing in the vernacular, but women were still excluded from choirs. In fact, J. S. Bach was rebuked for allowing his wife, Barbara Bach, to play the organ. There were no women Troubadours or Maestersingers either, although women did learn to play instruments. At the time there was a societal objection to women singing or acting in public. Only when oratorios sung by masses of people became popular did women have the opportunity to join choruses; boys could not produce a large enough sound. Women sang treble parts of Arne's *Judith* at Covent Garden in 1773, and sang a Handel oratorio at Westminster Abbey in 1784. It is probable that women sang in choirs of non-Episcopal churches a century earlier, and in Anglican parish churches during the Commonwealth. In Anglican cathedrals, however, cornets — rather than women — were used for the soprano parts. The first woman organist appeared in the period; Mary Battell was organist of All Saints' Church at Hertford; she died in 1698.

⁵³²Peter Christian Lutkin, *Music in the Church* (Milwaukee: Young Churchman, 1910).

⁵³³Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America*, 165.

⁵³⁴Charles L. Etherington, *Protestant Worship Music: Its History and Practice* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 172.

⁵³⁵Winfred Douglas, *Church Music in its History and Practice* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), 231.

⁵³⁶Ellinwood, *History of American Church Music*, 77.

⁵³⁷"Boy Singers in Methodist Churches," *CMR* 1, no. 12 (Oct 1902): 128.

Cathedral: Francis Makay's successful boy choir enlarged the choral forces of St. Paul's Cathedral in Detroit from fewer than thirty voices in 1918 to 235 in 1925. A growth of regular congregational attendance from 100 to 800 coincided with the enlarged choral program, and hundreds were unable to find space in the church on special occasions.⁵³⁸ In fact, one NMR contributor argues that the introduction of boy choirs in the United States advanced sacred music reform because it instituted a cathedral standard and traditions suitable to worship.⁵³⁹ A contemporary report notes the promise of the surpliced⁵⁴⁰ boy choir:

There are no data available as to the number of surpliced choirs in the United States today but wherever adopted they have proved to be generally satisfactory and it is indeed rare that a church reverts to a quartet or mixed choir. The most pronounced drawback has been the absence of suitable altos and the scarcity of competent choirmasters.⁵⁴¹

The authors writing about boy choirs for the NMR were experts. Walter Henry Hall and G. Edward Stubbs both wrote books on the subject, while G. Darlington Richards, T. F. H. Candlyn and R. Mills Silby had deep practical experience with boy choirs. Candlyn and Silby also taught at the collegiate level.

⁵³⁸“The Choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, Detroit,” *NMR* 24, no. 284 (July 1925): 302.

⁵³⁹Walter Henry Hall, “Modern Church Music,” *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 92-94. He notes, however, that most of these choirs lacked adequate support and conditions necessary to succeed.

⁵⁴⁰A surplice is the vestment or choir robe worn by choir members in many Episcopal Churches. They were first worn in the United States by choir members at Trinity Church, New York, on the occasion of a visit from the British Prince of Wales in 1860. The choir continued to appear in surplices, and an increasing number of choirs adopted the practice. W. S. B. Mathews, *A Hundred Years of Music in America: An Account of Musical Effort in America : During the Past Century Including Popular Music and Singing Schools, Church Music, Musical Conventions and Festivals, Orchestral, Operatic and Oratorio Music : Improvements in Musical Instruments : Popular and Higher Music Education : Creative Activity, and the Beginning of a National School of Musical Composition : a Full and Reliable Summary of American Musical Effort As Displayed in the Personal History of Artists, Composers and Educators, Musical Inventors and Journalists, with Upwards of Two Hundred Full Page Portraits of the Most Distinguished Workers, Together with Historical and Biographical Sketches of Important Personalities* (Chicago: G.L. Howe, 1889), 272.

⁵⁴¹William Lines Hubbard, George W. Chadwick, and Frank Damrosch, *History of American Music* (Toledo, Ohio: I. Squire, 1908), 170.

The NMR enumerates many advantages of using boys instead of female sopranos in the choir: boys sing in an impersonal, unemotional manner suiting the austerity of the church; the best English church music is for boys' voices; boys' voices achieve better blend; and the boy vocal sound has "an angelic charm like no other."⁵⁴² Contrary to most advocates of boy choirs, one contributor allow the inclusion of women as altos, noting that women often blend better with the boys than do falsetto male altos.⁵⁴³ The NMR also emphasizes benefits for the boys participating in these choirs, namely a voice culture promoting healthy singing, breath control, musical expression and acquaintance with quality music, as well as regular church attendance and a positive, social experience.⁵⁴⁴

Although many NMR contributors support boy choirs and the implementation of their training in this country, they understand the difficulty of introducing a new choral structure. The new choirs rarely received support adequate for their success.⁵⁴⁵ Progress in boys' voice culture, however, developed slowly in the United States; church organists needed to study voice culture, but they rarely received the pedagogical education (such as that offered at choir schools) sufficient to teach better singing.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴²Darlington Richards, "Boy Choirs," *NMR* 28, no. 333 (August 1929): 341-45.

⁵⁴³T. F. H. Candlyn, "A Truth About Boy Choirs," *NMR* 31, no. 364 (March 1932): 154. Counter-tenors were the preferred choice for altos, however.

⁵⁴⁴Richards, "Boy Choirs," 341-45.

⁵⁴⁵Hall, "Modern Church Music," 92-94. In fact, after the NMR ceased publication there was a decline in the boy choir because the choirs often "proved unfeasible economically and demographically." Ellinwood, 81. Westermeyer suggests the decline of the boy choir began "after World War II when extra-curricular public school activity crowded out rehearsal time." Westermeyer, 295. "At the end of the twentieth century perhaps fifteen endowed churches and cathedrals around the country were able to maintain daily choral services, the most famous being Washington Cathedral, and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York." *Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online)*, s.v. "Anglican and Episcopalian Church Music" (by Nicholas Temperley), <http://www.grovemusic.com/> (accessed March 12, 2007).

⁵⁴⁶G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music: Voice Culture in Schools and Choirs," *NMR* 6, no. 67 (June 1907): 466-69. Although boy choirs in England have a high reputation, many of the choirs are badly trained and have a course tone. Candlyn agrees that better choirmasters are needed, but thinks more choir schools were not necessary. Candlyn, "Boy Choirs," 154.

The journal published a number of articles directed toward training boys' voices, and selecting appropriate boys for the choir. The NMR promotes the selection of an "intelligent, sturdily-built boy, with a nervous, sanguine temperament"; warns against pinched, light voices, and voices with a nasal twang;⁵⁴⁷ and counsels avoidance of boys with a thin, reedy tone or the inability to sing tones after hearing them on the piano.⁵⁴⁸ Richards suggests a choir of twenty-four sopranos, with a majority of boys aged eleven to thirteen, no more than six ten-year-olds, and three or four fourteen- or fifteen-year-olds to lead.⁵⁴⁹ Hall emphasizes the boy's ability to learn, over a "perfect" voice, preferring to develop range and the head voice through exercises.⁵⁵⁰ Silby suggests a class where boys learn correct breathing, the position of the mouth and how to sing vowel sounds as a fair model for testing voices, and emphasizes patience in finding good boys.⁵⁵¹

The NMR supported those establishing boy choirs by offering advice on training techniques and vocal exercises for the boys. An early series of articles offers advice and exercises for improving the boys' singing voices, discussing the development of a pure, but powerful tone quality,⁵⁵² singing vowels well without sacrificing the head voice,⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁷Walter Henry Hall, "In the Choir Room," *CMR* 1, no. 4 (February 1902): 35-36.

⁵⁴⁸Richards, "Boy Choirs," 341-45.

⁵⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 341-45. He insists the fourteen and fifteen year olds should have no "cracks" or low speaking voices; their voices should not be forced because they are too old.

⁵⁵⁰Hall, "In the Choir Room," 1, no. 4, 35-36.

⁵⁵¹R. Mills Silby, "Trying Boys' Voices," *NMR* 28, no. 333 (August 1929): 326-27. After a series of boys matching each others' pitches, the entire class should sing each vowel softly sustained on a note (most will be able to change to a new note in a legato fashion); thus, the foundation is laid for the choir in this class. Silby prescribes daily breathing exercises and practice of sustained vowels.

⁵⁵²Walter Henry Hall, "In the Choir Room," *CMR* 1, no. 3 (January 1902): 23-24.

⁵⁵³Walter Henry Hall, "In the Choir Room," *CMR* 1, no. 5 (March 1902): 47 and 1, no. 6 (April 1902): 59-60.

blending the head voice with the lower tones with no perceptible break,⁵⁵⁴ proper breathing and posture,⁵⁵⁵ phrasing,⁵⁵⁶ and tone color and imagination.⁵⁵⁷ Another account offers a model for teaching a poorly trained choir with strained, tight, thin voices to sing well,⁵⁵⁸ noting the possibility of quick success as the choir can perform quality church music after two or three months practice, and Evensong after a year. Further suggestions encourage development of voices with good enunciation, brilliant tone and balance, rather than voices with a “hooty,” colorless tone quality, and weak middle registers.⁵⁵⁹

Hall advises choirmasters to foster emotion and expression in the boy choir by interpreting the spirit of the piece through subtle effects as well as following expression marks.⁵⁶⁰ He recommends correct emphasis on word painting and other devices without interrupting the phrase flow, and the intelligent use of dynamics.⁵⁶¹ He suggests explaining the fugal subject and answer to help in the interpretation of contrapuntal music, and rehearsals with no instrumental support to increase choral efficiency.⁵⁶² Many contributors provide further advice on planning rehearsals and managing the boys.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁴Walter Henry Hall, “In the Choir Room,” *CMR* 1, no. 8 (June 1902): 81-82 and 1, no. 9 (July 1902): 95-96.

⁵⁵⁵Walter Henry Hall, “In the Choir Room,” *CMR* 1, no. 10 (August 1902): 107-08.

⁵⁵⁶Walter Henry Hall, “In the Choir Room,” *CMR* 1, no. 11 (September 1902): 117-18.

⁵⁵⁷Walter Henry Hall, “In the Choir Room,” *CMR* 2, no. 17 (March 1903): 198-99.

⁵⁵⁸Ronald M. Grant, “An Experiment in the Training of Boys’ Voices,” *CMR* 2, no. 22 (August 1903): 286-87.

⁵⁵⁹Candlyn, “Boy Choirs,” 154.

⁵⁶⁰Walter Henry Hall, “In the Choir Room,” *CMR* 1, no. 12 (October 1902): 127-28.

⁵⁶¹Walter Henry Hall, “In the Choir Room,” *CMR* 2, no. 1 (November 1902): 138-39.

⁵⁶²Walter Henry Hall, “In the Choir Room,” *CMR* 2, no. 3 (January 1903): 168-69.

⁵⁶³Walter Henry Hall, “Management of Boy Choirs,” *CMR* 3, no. 27 (January 1904): 370-71. Richards, “Boy Choirs,” 341-45. Silby, “Boys’ Voices,” 326-27. Frank H. Marling recommends books to help those training boy choirs in “Books on the Training of Choir Boys,” *CMR* 2, no. 17 (March 1903): 205; 2, no. 18 (April 1903): 222-23.

G. Edward Stubbs argued that although on par with Europe in education, refinement, and cultivated taste, the United States had no first-class boy choir,⁵⁶⁴ nor would it without the implementation of the choir school system.⁵⁶⁵ Choir schools following the Anglican model would engender further progress in the use of boy choirs and the choral service;⁵⁶⁶ England had over seventy such choir schools, but the United States only three.⁵⁶⁷ Choir schools draw a wide selection of applicants selected for superior musical talent, intelligence and good character; the boys receive a high quality education, and generally there is little turnover in the choir.⁵⁶⁸ Many parishes in the United States could afford a choir school with an annual expense as little as \$1,500 for teachers' salaries.⁵⁶⁹

Although writers in the NMR champion the boy choir, their contemporary Archibald T. Davison considers the boy choir a relic that survived only by tradition.⁵⁷⁰ He argues that the boy choir leans toward artificiality because the boys do not understand the texts they sing and struggle to behave during the service.⁵⁷¹ Davidson advocates the use of women in high school and college, as they have voices that can produce the same ef-

⁵⁶⁴ The most famous choirs in the world are boy choirs from Cologne Cathedral; St. Paul's Chapel, London; Magdalen College, Oxford; Imperial Chapel, St. Petersburg; and King's College, Cambridge.

⁵⁶⁵ G. Edward Stubbs, "Choir Schools," *CMR* 4, no. 37 (November 1904): 22-23. Stubbs argues that church choir schools and seminaries should be the foundation for attaining higher standards in church music; wealthy men are sponsoring new colleges, and schools for science and law and should also found schools fostering choral worship.

⁵⁶⁶ G. Edward Stubbs, "Choir Schools," *CMR* 4, no. 38 (December 1904): 64-65.

⁵⁶⁷ G. Edward Stubbs, "Choir Schools," *CMR* 4, no. 39 (February 1905): 107-08. Grace Church in New York and St. Paul's Church in Baltimore are boarding schools; St. John's Cathedral in New York is a day school. English choir schools providing board and lodging included St. Paul's Cathedral in London, Westminster Cathedral, and Magdalen College in Oxford, while day schools providing education included Canterbury, Chichester and York Cathedrals.

⁵⁶⁸ Stubbs, "Choir Schools," 4, no. 38, 64-65.

⁵⁶⁹ Stubbs, "Choir Schools," 4, no. 39, 107-08.

⁵⁷⁰ Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America*, 163.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 166.

fect as the boy choir with none of its vices.⁵⁷² In his monograph on church music, Lutkin expresses an opinion similar to Davidson's:

On the one hand we have the male choir with its traditional authority and fitness plus coarse singing, poor interpretation, and boisterous behaviour; on the other we have the mixed choir with its violation of churchly custom plus better voices, more artistic finish, and better conduct. The writer would at once cast his vote for the latter provided always that the girls or women were not permitted to sit in the chancel. They could occupy seats in the front pews where they would be sufficiently near the men.⁵⁷³

In contrast to the boy choir school models, other NMR contributors recommend the establishment of children's choirs from the membership of the congregation. When led by a sincere musician, the children can develop a beautiful tone and become enthusiastic about church music, leading to increased attendance, appreciation of worship, increased interest in church music by the parents, and later, prosperous adult choirs.⁵⁷⁴ They recommend teaching service music, therefore allowing children to participate in worship, yet children also enjoy anthems, and the congregation expects to hear them.⁵⁷⁵ One model advocates children singing in unison for one year to develop ensemble and tone, with descant used sparingly after six months of training.⁵⁷⁶ The second and third

⁵⁷²Ibid., 165.

⁵⁷³Lutkin, *Music in the Church*, 205.

⁵⁷⁴Elizabeth Van Fleet Vosseller, "The Possibilities of Church Music in the Country," *NMR* 7, no. 77 (April 1908): 307-08. After use in a little town, the system results in improved Sunday services, oratorio performances, loyalty in the choirs, and children anxious to participate.

⁵⁷⁵Elizabeth Van Fleet Vosseller, "Training the Junior Choir," *NMR* 33, no. 394 (November 1934): 387. She deems it highly valuable to teach children hymns, chorales, responses and other service music; teaching chant helps their diction and exposes them to a new style.

⁵⁷⁶Ibid. Although children love part-singing, introducing it too early will ruin their carefully developed tone. The unison work should first sound as if it were one beautiful voice.

years feature two-part singing, with steady development and a strong musical foundation the goal of the children's choirs.⁵⁷⁷

Contributors of the *NMR* advocated that all persons involved in the service, the clergy, congregation and musicians, join in the music. The reformers prefer choral music — whether sung by a mixed choir, a choir of boys and men, or a children's choir — to solo or quartet music for glorifying God rather than the individual. Through the full participation of all these groups and the thoughtful selection of repertory by an educated musician, music is an integral, democratizing and meaningful part of worship.

⁵⁷⁷Ibid. See also Elizabeth Van Fleet Vosseller, "Flemington Children's Choir," *NMR* 8, no. 92 (July 1909): 450-51. The Flemington children's choir in New Jersey with members aged ten to seventeen years from three churches in the community was held as a model system where voice culture, musical literature of the church, reverence, musical expression and self-control were taught. The Children's Choral Club of Berkeley followed another successful system. W. Becket, "A Musical Pioneer," *NMR* 25, no. 299 (October 1926): 348.

Chapter 6: Church Music Repertory

Contributors to the NMR believed that it was “inappropriate” for music with secular characteristics to be performed in churches. That secular music figured extensively in church music repertory at the beginning of the twentieth century was perceived by those contributors as an abomination requiring recognition and correction. Considered as a whole, their articles constitute an attempt to police the music of America’s Protestant churches and to mold it to an aesthetic and spiritual ideal.

To the NMR’s contributors, only suitable repertory could fulfill the purposes of sacred music, as discussed in the previous chapter on church music reform. Yet those purposes were much neglected or avoided: In the view of British musician Henry Hadow, congregants were too tolerant in their standards of church music, much of which lacked gravity and reverence.⁵⁷⁸ In fact, appropriate repertory was widely available, even if not regularly selected for use: One author admonishes that enough good music had been written for the English service, and unless a composer is very able and inspired, he should refrain from adding to the “trash” often published.⁵⁷⁹

Contributors to the NMR describe four main characteristics to which successful and “appropriate” sacred music should aspire: dignity, musical substance, meaningful texts, and unification of the service’s disparate elements.

⁵⁷⁸W. H. Hadow, “Music as an Element in Worship,” *NMR* 21, no. 251 (October 1922): 350-54. Reprinted from the edition by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London England.

⁵⁷⁹C. H. Kitson, “Some Faults in Church Music,” *NMR* 18, no. 212 (July 1919): 206-09.

The preponderance of opinion prescribes rather conservative church music, with lofty, noble and dignified characteristics.⁵⁸⁰ Many authors emphasize stately, dignified rhythms,⁵⁸¹ with one claiming that only through the use of such rhythms and reverence could sacred music purify and ennoble the listener.⁵⁸² The authors expect sacred music to complement the spirit of worship with a reverent and poetical sense, because, they believe, congregants translate their sensations of music into emotional experience.⁵⁸³ They propose, moreover, that diatonic melody serve as the base of church music,⁵⁸⁴ while reminding readers that even simple music can be dignified.⁵⁸⁵

To the NMR's contributors, music in all churches should "outwardly and inwardly be religious,"⁵⁸⁶ with Anglican Church service music reflecting the religious feeling of the Prayer Book.⁵⁸⁷ They describe faith as essential for the composition of sacred music,⁵⁸⁸ and deem a "concert room attitude" to be inappropriate for listening to or performing sacred music.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁰Hubert Parry, "The Essentials of Church Music," *CMR* 3, no. 35 (September 1904): 541. Extract from an essay by Hubert Parry. Richardson also emphasized these characteristics. A. Madeley Richardson, "Fellow Workers, Ministers and Musicians," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 77-81.

⁵⁸¹Daniel Gregory Mason, "Church Music from the Musician's Standpoint," *NMR* 4, no. 44 (July 1905): 352-55. Address delivered before the Manhattan-Brooklyn Conference of Congregational Churches.

⁵⁸²Hadow, "Music in Worship," 350-54.

⁵⁸³Mary Williams Belcher, "Music to Holy Mystery," *NMR* 24, no. 284 (July 1925): 298-300.

⁵⁸⁴Mason, "Church Music," 352-55.

⁵⁸⁵Peter Christian Lutkin, "Music as an Aid to Religion," *NMR* 11, no. 133 (December 1912): 549-53. Paper read at the Thirtieth Church Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church at St. Louis, Mo.

⁵⁸⁶"A Common Standard," *CMR* 1, no. 1 (November 1901): 2-3.

⁵⁸⁷"Music in the Church," *NMR* 9, no. 97 (December 1909): 37-38. Reprinted from *London Graphic*. The author advised following the sincere spirit exemplified by Elizabethan composers Tallis, Byrd, and Gibbons, with only modern church music in the Church style used.

⁵⁸⁸"What Dean Robbins Said," *NMR* 25, no. 295 (June 1926): 202-03. Dean Robbins's address to the AGO, reprinted from *The Christian World*.

⁵⁸⁹Lutkin, "Music as Aid," 549-53.

Church musicians underrate listeners' capacity for understanding music, according to Lutkin, who suggested performances and repetition of works by "masters" such as Mendelssohn, even in revival settings, rather than "cheap, sentimental" compositions.⁵⁹⁰ In fact, as noted in the NMR, the more conservative and traditional music of the Anglican Church was becoming widely used by other denominations because flamboyant anthems were perceived to have no "lasting effect."⁵⁹¹

According to Lutkin, only meaningful texts reinforced by music suit the liturgy, a product of "scholarly minds and experienced judgment."⁵⁹² He considers vocal music a powerful reiteration of the scriptures, with an emotional, lasting effect;⁵⁹³ Hall argues that the content of a musical text can be as meaningful as a sermon.⁵⁹⁴

Insistence on carefully planned repertory and its placement in the service is a prominent theme in the NMR, and articles admonish ministers for calling out hymns merely to fill up time in parts of the service.⁵⁹⁵ Some authors offer following the liturgical calendar as an advantageous solution, because it allows preparation of appropriate hymns and anthems in advance.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁰Ibid., 549-53. He argued that the repetition of classical forms provides the audience with a more substantial musical foundation.

⁵⁹¹Ibid.

⁵⁹²Ibid., 550.

⁵⁹³P. C. Lutkin, "Unity in the Church Service," *CMR* 1, no. 2 (December 1901): 12-13.

⁵⁹⁴Walter Henry Hall, "Music as a Ministration," *NMR* 26, no. 308 (July 1927): 242-44.

⁵⁹⁵Mary Williams Belcher, "Music to Holy Mystery," *NMR* 24, no. 284 (July 1925): 298-300. Lutkin presented a similar viewpoint, advising that music should be selected in advance and add to the presentation of a unified service. P. C. Lutkin, "Music in its Relation to Public Worship," *NMR* 27, no. 319 (June 1928): 237-44.

⁵⁹⁶A. Madeley Richardson, "Fellow Workers, Ministers and Musicians," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 77-81.

The NMR contributors disparage certain contemporary characteristics (insincerity, sensationalism, music as mere entertainment) in sacred music with the same fervor they use to promote others they deem suitable; they make suggestions not only to guide the selection of existing repertory, but also to influence composers writing new sacred music.

Henry Hadow advises the avoidance of tawdry works distracting to the worshipper, of sentimental part-songs, overly ornamental works and pieces lacking devotion or having false reverence,⁵⁹⁷ while Richardson opposes bombastic works and those suggesting secular styles such as opera arias.⁵⁹⁸ Contributors deem compositions with trite harmonies, cheap thematic material, rhythmic peculiarities, or aping vaudeville songs unsuitable for sacred music, even though they might be classified as such by a publisher.⁵⁹⁹ Sacred texts, they claim, should not be disregarded or obscured by popular musical idioms.⁶⁰⁰ Nor is all music of recognized masters appropriate for church: Morton finds Wagner too sensuous, Beethoven too often jovial and boisterous, and even Bach fugues often too given to individual display.⁶⁰¹

The journal's authors consider solo songs, arias and prayers inappropriate for the service because they highlight the individual, with quartets little better.⁶⁰² They advocate

⁵⁹⁷Hadow, "Music in Worship," 350-54.

⁵⁹⁸Richardson, "Fellow Workers," 77-81.

⁵⁹⁹R. Buchanon Morton, "Church Music and Worship: Church Music in the Protestant and Evangelical Churches," *NMR* 28, no. 333 (August 1929): 328-30.

⁶⁰⁰Hadow, "Music in Worship," 350-54. Hadow assigned the beginning of this practice to the advent of counterpoint when the sacred text and tune were found in the cantus firmus, but the elaborate music of the other parts made it difficult to understand.

⁶⁰¹Morton, "Church Music and Worship," 328-30. Other contributors would find this criticism of Bach extreme.

⁶⁰²Mason, "Church Music," 352-55.

the use of Choirs rather than soloists or quartets, which, they believe, do not exalt the individual human personality.⁶⁰³

To NMR contributors, music's purpose is not to create sensation or to improve church attendance.⁶⁰⁴ For this reason they object to the use of dance forms, as well as climactic and sentimental effects common in opera and other secular music.⁶⁰⁵ C. H. Kitson, in an article intended for students and composers of sacred music, also deems many styles and musical devices inappropriate for sacred music; for example, endings with boisterous accompaniment that incite applause; "thick" accompaniment that suggests a ballad; waltzes; jubilant treatment of serious liturgical pieces such as the Te Deum; word painting;⁶⁰⁶ and excessive chromatic harmony that suggests sentimentalism.⁶⁰⁷

Some NMR contributors deride the use of contemporary secular music in the church service, such as Parry who argues against the use of arrangements of secular music in church.⁶⁰⁸ In trying to define and promote an ideal for sacred music, another contributor argues for church music strictly differentiated from that played in concert halls, the opera and the streets.⁶⁰⁹ Collectively, the NMR's authors urge that all churches con-

⁶⁰³Morton, "Church Music and Worship," 328-30.

⁶⁰⁴Belcher, "Music to Holy Mystery," 298-300.

⁶⁰⁵Mason, "Church Music," 352-55.

⁶⁰⁶While "dangerous" in church music, word painting was deemed permissible in oratorios and concert works.

⁶⁰⁷Kitson, 206-09. For what is appropriate and good style in sacred music, Kitson refers composers to the Boyce Collection of Cathedral Music and Walker's *History of Music in England*.

⁶⁰⁸Parry, 541.

⁶⁰⁹"A Common Standard," 2-3.

form to their standard of “quality” for religious music in worship, and that it be performed with integrity, rather than for mere display.⁶¹⁰

With the close historical relationship of secular music and sacred music, it was often difficult to distinguish one from the other. The NMR’s authors were understandably challenged to define more precisely the meaning of “appropriate” in this context.⁶¹¹ While they offered no succinct definition of appropriateness, their many discussions urged church musicians to consider the background and purpose of each individual work selected for the service. The debate over the use of secular music in church arises again in articles about hymn tunes, because many have secular origins.

With the emphasis on congregational singing promoted in the NMR, many articles treat the importance of hymns and their selection. Hymns have been an essential part of worship since the beginning of Judeo-Christian services. The publication dates of the NMR correspond with a renewed interest in hymn singing and a questioning of the quality of tunes being sung. “Dissatisfaction with Victorian hymnody had gathered momentum toward the end of the 19th century,”⁶¹² with many hymns described as “pretty sticky and sentimental,” or “incredibly dull.”⁶¹³ Furthermore, the gospel type of hymn that became popular “reflected a disturbing self-centeredness.”⁶¹⁴ Articles on the history of car-

⁶¹⁰Ibid., 2-3.

⁶¹¹Hall, “Music as Ministration,” 242-44.

⁶¹²Harry Eskew and Hugh T. McElrath, *Sing with Understanding: An Introduction to Christian Hymnody*, 2nd ed. (Nashville, Tenn.: Church Street Press, 1995), 160.

⁶¹³Charles L. Etherington, *Protestant Church Music: Its History and Practice* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 185.

⁶¹⁴Ibid., 190.

ols⁶¹⁵ and the background of historical hymn tunes⁶¹⁶ draw attention to those that offer alternatives to Victorian tunes.

Hymn singing has a long history, and contributors to the NMR emphasize their historical importance to the American congregation. The authors considered services with hymns to be of great religious force, enabling the congregation to participate in the expression of religious ideals and worship. Hall emphasizes that all religious revivals have included congregational song.⁶¹⁷ Lutkin promotes the congregational participation invited through hymn singing and its bond between many Christian churches; he notes the long history of hymns with over half a million hymns catalogued and millions of hymnals sold.⁶¹⁸

Accepting that hymns are essential to the service, authors argue that their careful selection is imperative; with so many choices available, the NMR sought to encourage adoption of particular hymns in individual congregations. Many well-known contributors to the NMR, including Daniel Gregory Mason, P. C. Lutkin, and W. H. Hadow, offer suggestions about those elements to be considered when selecting hymn tunes.

They advise uniformity, but not monotony, with the ideal hymn using the same motive in all phrases at different pitch levels.⁶¹⁹ They encourage selection of tunes with strong, well-balanced melodies and definite rhythm to stimulate congregational singing,

⁶¹⁵J. R. Griffiths, "Christmas-tide: its Hymns and Tunes," *CMR* 3, no. 26 (December 1903): 351-53. Wakeling Dry, "Carols," *CMR* 2, no. 2 (December 1902): 154-55. S. Jackson Coleman, "The Music of Yule, in Many Ages and Many Climes," *NMR* 18, no. 206 (January 1919): 12-14.

⁶¹⁶James Warrington, "The 'Old Hundredth,'" *NMR* 29, no. 340 (March 1930): 610-12. Orlando A. Mansfield, "The Hymn Tune 'Hanover,'" *NMR* 32, no. 373 (February 1933): 85-87.

⁶¹⁷Walter Henry Hall, "Church Music as Ministrant," *NMR* 33, no. 391 (August 1934): 301-02. Given before the AGO Convention held June 25-29, 1934.

⁶¹⁸Lutkin, "Public Worship," 237-44.

⁶¹⁹Mason, "Church Music," 352-55.

while urging avoidance of “sentimental” hymns.⁶²⁰ They advise tuneful, interesting, and bright melodies appropriate for the text; while characterizing ragtime and vaudeville songs unsuitable.⁶²¹ They prefer a sturdy harmony with a steady rhythm, deem many of the old hymn tunes, psalm tunes and chorales best, and pronounce Victorian hymn tunes too cloying and operatic in nature.⁶²² The music need not be elaborate, as simple, pure, dignified hymn-tunes are effective.⁶²³

According to P. C. Lutkin, the tune is secondary to the poetry of a hymn, and for this reason the texts selected for use should be inspired.⁶²⁴ Emotions and intellect are to be emphasized as considerations in the selection of hymns; noble and sentimental hymns must serve a purpose, and thus a participant in the singing of hymns should expect the ideals of hymns to develop toward deeper spiritual concerns.⁶²⁵ Another contributor, George Gardner, concurs that hymns of hope, courage and resolve should be sung more often, with melancholy Victorian hymns no longer providing the majority.⁶²⁶ He suggests using a smaller selection of hymns,⁶²⁷ and identifies one widely used hymnal — *Hymns Ancient and Modern* from 1889 — as a singularly poor selection of hymns that

⁶²⁰Ibid.

⁶²¹Richardson, “Fellow Workers,” 77-81. Only good and suitable tunes should be used; hymnals are getting better, yet some tunes are not worthy of use.

⁶²²Morton, “Church Music and Worship,” 328-30.

⁶²³Hadow, “Music in Worship,” 350-54.

⁶²⁴Lutkin, “Public Worship,” 237-44.

⁶²⁵Hall, “Church Music as Ministrant,” 301-02.

⁶²⁶George Gardner, “The Best in Church Music,” *NMR* 23, no. 265 (December 1923): 545-48. An address given at the Lincoln Diocesan Conference, October 24, 1923.

⁶²⁷George Gardner, “Congregational Worship,” *NMR* 21, no. 252 (November 1922): 394-98.

are too sentimental, fail to treat national interests and nature adequately, and have trivial melodies.⁶²⁸

The NMR's articles offer many suggestions on the performance of hymns with the purpose of inspiring church musicians to lead their congregations more effectively. They advise singers to strive for balance rather than volume, with a good choir leading the congregation in singing.⁶²⁹ Contributors suggest care with phrasing,⁶³⁰ avoidance of sudden and overstated expression,⁶³¹ use of unison singing to contrast verses in harmony, and the alternation of the choir and congregation in singing verses.⁶³² They advise against the omission of verses (unless the hymn continues to make sense without them), meaningless repetition of the same verse to fill time, and the indiscriminate addition of "Amen" to the ends of hymns.⁶³³

Reportedly, most churches at the time used less than ten percent of the selections in their hymnals, and NMR authors advise choirmasters to introduce new hymns to their congregations, as they are readily learnable when explained and led carefully.⁶³⁴ Likewise, writers implore the organist to lead the hymns steadily and clearly, with attention to

⁶²⁸Ibid., 394-98. The *English Hymnal* was offered as a better alternative, although hymns with incongruous theology were not advocated. American hymnals were regarded as less advanced than English hymnals which included traditional melodies, centuries-old hymns, and folk-songs of other nationalities.

⁶²⁹Mason, "Church Music," 352-55.

⁶³⁰Richardson, "Fellow Workers," 77-81.

⁶³¹Hall, "Church Music as Ministrant," 301-02.

⁶³²Richardson, "Fellow Workers," 77-81. Further variations given by Lutkin included dividing verses for the choir, for the women or the men. Lutkin, "Public Worship," 237-44.

⁶³³Richardson, "Fellow Workers," 77-81.

⁶³⁴Lutkin, "Public Worship," 237-44. Lutkin emphasized the message of the hymn and how the music emphasized it: the organ plays the tune, then the choir sings the hymn and finally the congregation joins.

the text and variation of registration.⁶³⁵ Furthermore, contributors advise the organist to avoid drowning out the congregants' singing with the accompaniment⁶³⁶ and to transpose hymns to a comfortable key for unstrained singing.⁶³⁷

Two 1906 articles debate the use of secular melodies as hymn tunes. One contributor argues that hymn tunes should be dignified, rather than merely copied from popular or classical music.⁶³⁸ Yet another defends the use of secular tunes,⁶³⁹ as musicians have used them as a basis of religious compositions for centuries. Others join the debate with similar themes. Some contributors believe that hymns are to be sung by the people, and thus tunes of popular origin often work best;⁶⁴⁰ they defend the use of a secular tune, arguing that sacred words, strict measure and careful counterpoint provide the lasting qualities in a hymn.⁶⁴¹ With so many popular hymns having secular origin, contributors taking the opposing position acknowledge that this practice cannot easily be abandoned. Archibald Davison cleverly suggests that once the congregation no longer remembers the secular version of the tune, it has no "profane" association and can be used in church.⁶⁴²

The practice of descant, a method for enriching the harmony of hymn tunes, was renewed at the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States, gaining popularity

⁶³⁵Ibid., 237-44.

⁶³⁶Hall, "Church Music as Ministrant," 301-02.

⁶³⁷Gardner, "Congregational Worship," 394-98.

⁶³⁸Howard Bayles, "Unholy Hymn Tunes," *NMR* 5, no. 58 (September 1906): 1171-73. Bayles did acknowledge that tunes such as that use for "Drink to me only with thine eyes," and melodic fragment from Beethoven and Brahms were easily sung. Three examples from *Sacred Songs and Solos* by Sankey illustrated this practice; even Mendelssohn's tune for "Hark! The herald angels sing" had secular origins.

⁶³⁹Philip H. Goepf, "Hymns, Ancient and Modern," *NMR* 5, no. 60 (November 1906): 1305-06. An example is the tune "L'homme armé."

⁶⁴⁰The ultimate hymn tunes are folk songs; Luther frequently used folk songs with hymns.

⁶⁴¹Ibid.

⁶⁴²Archibald T. Davison, *Protestant Church Music in America* (Boston: E. C. Schirmer, 1933), 151. Goepf had suggested this also.

especially in the 1920s. As Charles L. Ethington describes, “the judicious use of descant does much to brighten hymn singing,” and as the strength of congregational singing grows, congregations will “enjoy carrying their part against the descant.”⁶⁴³ As the practice likely was unfamiliar to many choristers, organists and congregants, a number of articles described its origin and use. Descant involves an obligato part sung by the trebles,⁶⁴⁴ and originated at the time when the melody was in the tenor part, thus requiring little rehearsal.⁶⁴⁵

The advantages of descant led to its widespread revival. As valued by one contributor, descant can be successfully practiced in any church with a few treble voices.⁶⁴⁶ In the use of descant, the majority of singers continue to sing the melody, and thus the congregation may participate.⁶⁴⁷ Yet writers warn that when overused or performed too loudly, there is a danger of the descant replacing the actual tune.⁶⁴⁸ While descant adds much to hymn singing, one contributor argues that newspapers overemphasized its power as revolutionary. The NMR still reports a decline in active hymn singing reported in some congregations, however, with suggestions that people would rather criticize the service than participate.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴³Charles L. Ethington, *Protestant Church Music: Its History and Practice* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 215.

⁶⁴⁴Walter Henry Hall, “Descant and Hymn Singing,” *NMR* 25, no. 292 (March 1926): 105-07.

⁶⁴⁵H. G., “Descant” *NMR* 25, no. 291 (February 1926): 73-75.

⁶⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 73-75.

⁶⁴⁷Hall, “Descant,” 105-07. This is a great contrast to the trained choirs demanded by the revival of the Tudor anthems.

⁶⁴⁸“The Proper Use of Descants,” *NMR* 29, no. 348 (November 1930): 936. This is an excerpt from *The Descant Carol Book*. For example, the congregation most often sings the elaborate treble part of the Tallis Festal Responses, rather than the main tune of the tenor part. Similarly, Bach’s counter-subject to “Puer natus” has survived rather than the medieval carol itself.

⁶⁴⁹Hall, “Descant,” 105-07.

A variety of writers provide much advice for implementing descant in churches. They encouraged its use. They recommend that descant be used sparingly for one verse of the hymn, most often the last,⁶⁵⁰ and never more than three times.⁶⁵¹ Contributors emphasize that an explanation of the principle of descant should be introduced to the congregation before it is first used, with the congregation reminded to sing the original melody in unison.⁶⁵² With its higher pitch than the tune, it takes little power for descant to stand out, and choirmasters are warned that the descant should never be louder than the hymn itself.⁶⁵³ The NMR recommends Geoffrey Shaw's *Descant Hymn-Tune Book* and Novello's *National Songs with Descants*,⁶⁵⁴ even as descant became so popular that by the mid-twentieth century, one author declares "[t]oo many people are writing descants these days," or rather "producing unmelodious upper parts which they call descants."⁶⁵⁵

The anthem is an additional piece of music used by almost all denominations to enhance the musical aspect of worship. "[G]ood anthems became the property of all denominations on both sides of the Atlantic, regardless of by whom they were written."⁶⁵⁶ As articles in the NMR elucidate, anthem publication had a long history in the United States, and many well-regarded anthem composers were American.

Typical of the way the NMR treated many topics, contributors trace the history and background of the anthem so that its placement and purpose may be understood. Ar-

⁶⁵⁰H. G., "Descant," 73-75. Hall made this exact point in Hall, "Descant and Hymn Singing," 105-07.

⁶⁵¹"The Proper Use of Descants," 936.

⁶⁵²H. G., "Descant," 73-75.

⁶⁵³"The Proper Use of Descants," 936.

⁶⁵⁴Hall, "Descant," 105-07.

⁶⁵⁵Etherington, *Protestant Church Music*, 215.

⁶⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 192.

ticles on the anthem's history note that the motet came from a chant sung during preparation of the Oblation, and the anthem in turn exhibits a new style derived from the motet;⁶⁵⁷ the anthem became standard in sixteenth-century English services with the music of Christopher Tye and Thomas Tallis.⁶⁵⁸ One article divides the history of the English anthem into three epochs: the motet period, the verse anthems and arrangements, and the anthems of the nineteenth century.⁶⁵⁹ The NMR also defines the elements necessary for a successful anthem: the spiritual effect must be immediately evident; the text must have meaning and be clearly understood; and the composition must be accessible to many choirs.⁶⁶⁰

The anthem holds an important place in the American church service and has a long history of publication and composition in the United States relative to the country's age. One author delivers a lengthy history of anthems published in the United States, concentrating on the many published collections.⁶⁶¹ Many early collections, such as *The*

⁶⁵⁷Frank L. Sealy, "The Anthem, its History and Place in the Service," *NMR* 25, no. 296 (July 1926): 239-42.

⁶⁵⁸Wakeling Dry, "The Choral Service as an Act of Worship," *CMR* 1, no. 10 (August 1902): 108-09.

⁶⁵⁹Clement Antrobus Harris, "Practical Notes for an Illustrated Lecture on the History of the Anthem," *NMR* 23, no. 275 (October 1924): 464-72. Frank Sealy also gave an account of the development of the motet and anthem in England. Sealy, "The Anthem," 239-42.

⁶⁶⁰Sealy, "The Anthem," 239-42. Sealy recommended that fewer chromatic harmonies and dissonances should be employed, and that works of the great masters should be studied to understand how to convey meaning in a simplified manner.

⁶⁶¹Frank L. Sealy, "What has America Done for the Anthem?" *NMR* 27, no. 321 (August 1928): 327-30. The Handel and Haydn collections published by Lowell Mason consist of hymn and psalm settings, with almost no anthems, with Webb and Bradbury compiling later editions. Samuel Dyer published collections of church anthems in from 1817 through 1837 to be used by a choir or singing society, including works by Chapple, T. Jarman, John Stevenson, Haydn, Pucita and Bradbury with a pleasing melody, a style neither too light nor heavy, and not too difficult or long. A. N. Johnson brought out collections from 1849-62, including *The Empire Collection* with the first use of a quartet. These early collections sold well and were of high quality, forming good taste in American church music. Dudley Buck published his first collection in 1864 with original compositions and selections from German rather than English sources; it included an organ accompaniment on separate staves. Harrison Millard published a poor collection of works for quartet choir in 1868.

Empire Collection, the Handel and Haydn collections, and collections edited by Samuel Dryer, reportedly sold well, were of high quality, and helped form good taste in American church music.⁶⁶² A considerable part of the music in these publications was actually written by European composers. Milligan argues that little church music of value by American composers was published before the Civil War, and finds anthems of the 1870s and 1880s little better.⁶⁶³ He acknowledges the vitality and suitability for the voice of Dudley Buck's important anthems, but, because of its nineteenth-century Italian opera influence, finds most of his work out of place in the church,⁶⁶⁴

Frank Sealy argues that America's musical output did not equal its output of material goods in the early twentieth century — either in quantity or quality. He hypothesizes that the lack of master anthem composers in the United States is due to a number of factors: the country is still young; people are too hurried and do not study enough; there is insufficient familiarity with the great music masters' writings; and the nation lacks reverence.⁶⁶⁵ Harold Vincent Milligan argues that church music is not as progressive as secular music in the United States, as new harmonic devices were just beginning to enter some works in the 1920s.⁶⁶⁶ He infers that the traditional style of many anthems is due to church musicians' consideration for the attitudes of the clergy and congregation in the selection of music.⁶⁶⁷ Although some NMR contributors portray a deficient state of the

⁶⁶²Ibid.

⁶⁶³Harold Vincent Milligan, "American Anthems," *NMR* 24, no. 279 (February 1925): 105-09. Read at an all-American musical service held under the auspices of the AGO in NYC.

⁶⁶⁴Ibid., 105-09. Yet it is acknowledged that many of Buck's works remained popular at this time, and his independent organ accompaniments were forward-looking.

⁶⁶⁵Sealy, "The Anthem," 239-42.

⁶⁶⁶Milligan, "American Anthems," 105-09.

⁶⁶⁷Ibid., 105-09. Furthermore, Milligan encouraged repetitions of new anthems so they may become established rather than being discarded because they are new.

contemporary anthem in the United States, they anticipate improvement and note promise in many young American composers.

Contributors praise the anthem-writing efforts of a number of aspiring American composers and observe marked improvement in the anthems of the younger generation, many of them members of the AGO.⁶⁶⁸ Sealy cites Horatio Parker, whose compositions are in a German-American style rather than an English one, as one of the most successful composers of church music after Dudley Buck.⁶⁶⁹ The French and Russian schools influence compositions of Philip James,⁶⁷⁰ while those of T. Frederick Candlyn follow the English.⁶⁷¹ Contributors note Clarence Dickinson as a successful editor and composer and praise other American composers for good anthems, including William Y. Webbe, Joseph W. Clokey, James H. Rogers, W. R. Voris, William Lester and Harvey Alexander Matthews.

Sealy proposes that encouragement and the possibility of public performances of sacred music attract the best composers in the United States to write for the church as well as the concert hall.⁶⁷² Although many anthems written by American composers during the first decades of the twentieth century are of a traditional nature, others are not: “While what we may call an extension of the Victorian school was very active during the first half of the nineteenth century some composers were breaking away from a style that

⁶⁶⁸Ibid. Thus, he asserts that the AGO has been influential in improving the standards for church music composition.

⁶⁶⁹Sealy, “What has America Done,” 327-30.

⁶⁷⁰Influence from the Russian school included a focus on massed harmonies and chord progressions rather than melody, a large range of dynamics, and flexibility of rhythm.

⁶⁷¹Sealy, “What has America Done,” 327-30.

⁶⁷²Ibid., 327-30.

had become almost stereotyped.”⁶⁷³ Further, “Americans were also numbered among the church musicians who were seeking to break new ground.”⁶⁷⁴ The efforts of American composers writing anthems are not wasted, as their anthems are performed much more frequently than American secular symphonic music.⁶⁷⁵

The NMR provided a great service to its readers, especially the choirmasters among them, by suggesting contemporary anthems for performance. The journal gives repertory recommendations for summer music,⁶⁷⁶ Lenten anthems,⁶⁷⁷ Peace anthems,⁶⁷⁸ newly published anthems,⁶⁷⁹ pieces appropriate for current issues,⁶⁸⁰ contemporary Christmas music,⁶⁸¹ and works by contemporary composers.⁶⁸² During the 1932 American Guild of Organists’ convention, Howard McKinney acknowledges the role of Ameri-

⁶⁷³Etherington, *Protestant Church Music*, 220.

⁶⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 220.

⁶⁷⁵Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music* (1953; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 134-35.

⁶⁷⁶“Summer Music no. 2,” *CMR* 1, no. 9 (July 1902): 101-02. Short anthems by Martin, William Shore, Field, C. Lee Williams, J. Varley Roberts, Samuel Baldwin, Frank Sealy, G. R. Vicar, Bruce Steane are discussed in this article.

⁶⁷⁷“Music for Lent,” *CMR* 2, no. 16 (February 1903): 187-88. This article features anthems by Gounod, Bach, Haydn, Spohr, Garrett, Dvorak, Stroud, J. L. Hopkins, J. E. West, H. Walford Davies, Hague Kinsey, Arthur Whiting, J. Varley Roberts, and others.

⁶⁷⁸“Peace Anthems,” *NMR* 18, no. 206 (January 1919): 17-18. Repertory suggested included the following: Bernard Hamblen, “Dear old Glory”; Elgar, “The Birthright”; Elliott Schenck, “Home Coming, A Song of Peace”; Walter Ruel Cowles, “Freedom’s Altar”; T. Tertius Noble, “A Prayer of Thanksgiving,” “Rejoice today with one accord,” “The Soul Triumphant,” and works by John E. West, John B. McEwen, E. V. Hall, Ebenezer Prout, Henry Hiles and others. Musicians were also encouraged to resume the performance of cantatas after the war. “Church Cantatas,” *NMR* 18, no. 208 (March 1919): 88-89.

⁶⁷⁹Cecil Forsyth, “Recent Music,” *NMR* 25, no. 291 (February 1926): 77-79. Repertory discussed included Hugh A. Mackinnon’s “Lord Christ came walking,” James Hurst Hall’s “Life of Life,” and Gustav Holst’s *Ave Maria*.

⁶⁸⁰Howard D. McKinney, “A Review of Recent Church Music,” *NMR* 31, no. 368 (July 1932): 341-47. Read before the 1932 AGO convention in Boston. Works by W. Lawrence Curry, Francis W. Snow, Edward Shippen Barnes, Cuthbert Harris, Van Denman Thompson, Gretchaninoff, Lvorsky, Federlein, H. D. Sleeper and John Finley Williamson are reviewed.

⁶⁸¹*Ibid.*, 341-47. The article features works by Clarence Dickinson, Whitehead, Mabel Daniel, and McKinney.

⁶⁸²*Ibid.* Suggestions include works by Charlotte Lockwood, Harvey Gaul, Rimsky-Korsakov, Seth Bingham, Edward C. Bairstow, and Walford Davies.

can publishers in making this contemporary repertory available and in helping to stabilize the musical culture of the United States.⁶⁸³

The NMR also promotes readily available modern editions of church music classics by composers such as Bach, Gluck, Vittoria, Schütz, and Brahms, with the caveat that this quality music should only be used when appropriate to the service; the authors often deem work by a contemporary composer more suitable.⁶⁸⁴ Contributors suggest other sources for appropriate anthems, such as the Bach chorales,⁶⁸⁵ choruses from cantatas and oratorios, and historical works.⁶⁸⁶

The NMR provides not only concrete suggestions for church service repertory, but also instruction for church musicians to learn to think critically about their selections. In offering those tools, its contributors encouraged their subjective vision of a higher standard for sacred music through the use of thoughtfully chosen repertory.

⁶⁸³McKinney, "A Review," 341-47. McKinney argues that publishers have been a large part of building a stable musical culture in the United States by giving composers an outlet and musicians a place to acquire music at a fair price. Inspirational firms cited are Oliver Ditson, A. P. Schmidt, E. C. Schirmer, G. Schirmer, Carl Fisher, H. W. Gray Company, Theodore Presser, John W. Church and Clayton F. Summy.

⁶⁸⁴Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵William Y. Webbe, "Bach Chorales," *NMR* 28, no. 327 (February 1929): 89-90.

⁶⁸⁶R. Buchanon Morton, "Church Music and Worship," *NMR* (September 1929): 366-68. Morton proposed that Pre-Reformation music by Palestrina, Vittorio and others is beautiful, but not suited to the Protestant church, while music of Bach is very appropriate. He suggests choruses from oratorios by Handel, Haydn and Mendelssohn as anthems when the texts are appropriate, as well as selections from Dvorak's *Stabat Mater*. Morton found Russian anthems to be models of good church music, but because they are liturgical, sometimes inappropriate. Morton praised English church music of the Tudor period with its wealth of material by Tallis, Byrd, Farrant, Whyte, Bull and Gibbons; he also advocated anthems by Purcell, Wesley and John Goss. He declared Victorian composers to be of little value, but acknowledged good works by modern composers such as Bairstow, Holst and Vaughan Williams. He found fewer examples of appropriate American works, accepting only one work by Parker: "In Heavenly Love Abiding." He found promise in Philip James, Joseph Clokey, and Healy Willan.

Chapter 7: The Organ in the United States

The twentieth century brought new enthusiasm for the organ in America. Technological and mechanical innovation permitted organ builders to create bigger and better instruments. Expositions featured large organs where thousands of Americans listened to a wide variety of compositions; the organ was as popular as the Ferris Wheel at the 1904 Exposition in St. Louis,⁶⁸⁷ and in San Francisco over 300,000 people purchased tickets to hear the organ concerts at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition.⁶⁸⁸ Concerts on newly-built municipal organs attracted thousands of enthusiastic attendees, often to hear transcriptions of orchestral works as well as original organ compositions.⁶⁸⁹ In the United States, more organs were built in the 1920s than in any other decade and many of these remain important today.

Two NMR articles emphasize the organ's popularity during this time. William C. Carl, a noted organist of the era,⁶⁹⁰ describes the organ as the most popular instrument of the period, found not only in churches, but also in department stores, municipal halls, colleges, universities, high schools, private residences and motion picture theaters in the United States. American radio featured organ programs daily, and the organ was

⁶⁸⁷Craig R. Whitney, *All the Stops: The Glorious Pipe Organ and its American Masters* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2003), 25.

⁶⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 27.

⁶⁸⁹Orpha Ochse, *The History of the Organ in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), 329-30.

⁶⁹⁰Carl created an historical anthology of organ music, founded the Guilman organ school and was influential in bringing Guilman and Bonnet to tour the United States.

essential in educating and bringing music to the public.⁶⁹¹ Another article describes organ builders as busier than ever, with ample funds set aside for new instruments — even as movie houses abandoned the organ with the introduction of talking pictures.⁶⁹²

In fact, from the turn of the twentieth century until the Great Depression, many of the country's largest and most well known organs were built. The instrument would never again achieve the popularity it attained during this period after the advances of radio, gramophone recordings and talking pictures.

The NMR features hundreds of articles about the organ, on a wide range of topics. Introductory and descriptive articles, such as those describing the relationship between the piano and the organ, were intended to help the reader understand the instrument.⁶⁹³ Other NMR organ topics include the instrument's history and early development,⁶⁹⁴ its tonal development,⁶⁹⁵ its use in Puritan England,⁶⁹⁶ and early organs in the United States.⁶⁹⁷ The NMR features articles on many exceptional organs, describing them in detail giving painstaking specifications of their capabilities. Located in a variety of

⁶⁹¹William C. Carl, "The organ in France and America today," *NMR* 26, no. 312 (November 1927), 401-02. By contrast, in France organs were largely limited to churches and a few concert halls; only a few French theaters included them.

⁶⁹²Homer Nearing, "The problem of the silent organ," *NMR* 30, no. 358 (September 1931), 356.

⁶⁹³Orlando A. Mansfield, "The Kinship of the King and Queen of Instruments," *NMR* 2, no. 3 (January 1903); 2, no. 16 (February 1903); 2, no. 20 (June 1903). The article discusses differences in character and technique, as well as the benefits of practicing both.

⁶⁹⁴Daniel A. Hirschler, "The Organ," *NMR* 24, no. 285 (August 1925): 334-36.

⁶⁹⁵Parvin Titus, "Three Periods in the Tonal Design of Organs," *NMR* 34, no. 401 (June 1935): 205-08. Parvin Titus, "The Organ of the Romantic Era," *NMR* 34, no. 402 (July 1935): 247-49.

⁶⁹⁶Percy A. Scholes, "The Organ in Church, Home and Tavern in Puritan Days," *NMR* 33, no. 384 (January 1934): 37-39, 47.

⁶⁹⁷H. J. Storer, "Old Boston Organs," *CMR* 3, no. 34 (August 1904): 518-19. H. J. Storer, "Organists in Early Boston," *CMR* 4, no. 37 (November 1904): 23-24. Charles Radzinsky, "Organ Builders of New York, 1800 to 1909," *NMR* 9, no. 99 (February 1910): 165-68.

American cities, these instruments encompass different styles of organ building.⁶⁹⁸ Many articles describe large historical instruments all over the world, including organs in the Church of the Trinity, Libau, Russia; Town Hall, Sydney, New South Wales; the Royal Albert Hall, London; Auditorium Hall, Chicago; Church of St. Sulpice, Paris; St. Bartholomew's Church, New York; the Town Hall, Leeds, England,⁶⁹⁹ and the old music hall, Boston.⁷⁰⁰ Other articles provide information on organ maintenance and bibliographical information.⁷⁰¹ The NMR's ideas on proper organ care range from

⁶⁹⁸The Festival Music Hall of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Kansas City boasted the largest concert organ in the world at the time, with two consoles and the largest pedal organ ever constructed. Built by W. B. Fleming, the organ featured a Great, Choir, Swell, Solo and Echo Organ. Anonymous, "The Great Organ at the World's Fair," *NMR* 3, no. 36 (October 1904): 555-57. Hope-Jones described his unit organ at Ocean Grove auditorium, with only 18 stops but four manuals and 103 stop keys. Anonymous, "Ocean Grove Auditorium," *NMR* 7, no. 81 (August 1908): 529-30. Möller built the West Point organ with draw-knobs and easily-played tracker touch, as well as an orchestral organ built with consultations from Gustav Mahler and Walter Damrosch. Anonymous, "The West Point Organ," *NMR* 10, no. 118 (September 1911): 519-20. Anonymous, "An Ideal Home Organ," *NMR* 11, no. 131 (October 1912): 478. The Austin organ for the Philadelphia Curtis Institute introduced three great divisions. Anonymous, "The Big Organ," *NMR* 17, no. 198 (May 1918): 191. The divisions were at the two ends of the 3000 seat auditorium, with the third overhead between the two. The Wanamaker Building organ encompassed 288 stop tablets and required thirteen freight cars for transport from the St. Louis Exposition to the Philadelphia department store. Charles A. Radzinsky, "Great Organs of the World: Wanamaker Building, Philadelphia," *NMR* 17, no. 201 (August 1918): 276-81. See also Tyler Turner, "The Organ in Review," *NMR* 31, no. 364 (March 1932): 149-53. The organ at St. Mary the Virgin, New York, featured "the finest classic ensemble in America." An early example of the classical style, it featured maximum clarity with less predominance of 8' tone, and sparkling flues. Anonymous, "A Classic Church Organ," *NMR* 31, no. 369 (October 1932): 398-99. The organ at Northwestern Reserve University by Kimball Co. followed classical tonal design, but included modern color. Anonymous, "Organ at Northwestern Reserve University," *NMR* 32, no. 375 (April 1933): 173-78.

⁶⁹⁹Charles A. Radzinsky, "Great Organs of the World," *CMR* 2, no. 23 (September 1903): 304; 2, no. 24 (October 1903): 320; 2, no. 25 (November 1903): 340; 3, no. 27 (January 1904): 377-78; 3, no. 28 (February 1904): 399-400; 3, no. 29 (March 1904): 419-20; 3, no. 30 (April 1904): 440-41; 3, no. 31 (May 1904): 462; 3, no. 32 (June 1904): 483-84; 3, no. 33 (July 1904): 503-04; 3, no. 34 (August 1904): 522-23; 3, no. 35 (September 1904): 537-38. Also included in these articles are the organs in the Cathedral, Riga, Latvia; the Cathedral of the Incarnation, Garden City, New York; St. George's Hall, Liverpool, England; Cathedral of St. Mary, Ulm, Germany; and St. George's Church, Doncaster, England.

⁷⁰⁰H. J. Storer, "The Historic Organ in the Old Music Hall, Boston," *NMR* 3, no. 30 (April 1904): 435-36; 3, no. 31 (May 1904): 455-56.

⁷⁰¹Frank H. Marling, "The Literature of the Organ," *NMR* 3, no. 33 (July 1904): 499-500. Treatises on the organ, books on organ building, and tuning. Frank H. Marling, "The Literature of the Organ," *NMR* 3, no. 35 (September 1904): 533-34. Overviews of organists, and practical manuals. Charles N. Boyd, "The Literature of Organs and Organ Music," *NMR* 19, no. 225 (August 1920): 295-96. Books on organ construction, the history of the organ, its music, methods for organ instruction, on registration, and accompaniment of motion pictures.

amusing (likening organ maintenance to steam engine repair, dislodging cats from organ pipes) to dangerous (using a Bunsen burner in the organ chamber).⁷⁰²

The majority of articles discuss the organ's contemporary development and ensuing controversies. Many important organ builders of the time, such as Robert Hope-Jones and E. M. Skinner, contributed articles about their views on organ building; Hope-Jones advocates for improvements and explains his proposed changes.⁷⁰³ Well-known and influential organists of the time, especially Edwin Lemare, describe their preferences for the console arrangement and tonal development of the organ.⁷⁰⁴ Additionally, many articles in the NMR chronicle the efforts toward standardization of the organ led by the AGO.

Developments in Organ Building

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the growing use of electricity facilitated many changes in organ construction. Critically, the organ's wind supply no longer depended on a human being's physical labor to pump the bellows. Sound no longer required the depression of an organ key to open the pipe mechanically with a tracker — a long strip of wood connecting the back of each key to sliders opening the pipes — and newly-developed pneumatic and electric systems allowed a lighter touch

⁷⁰²“The Care of an Organ, no. 1,” *CMR* 2, no. 18 (April, 1903): 218-19. “The Care of an Organ, no. 2,” *CMR* 2, no. 19 (May 1903): 239-40. “The Care of an Organ, no. 3,” *CMR* 2, no. 20 (June 1903): 257. “The Care of an Organ, no. 4,” *CMR* 2, no. 23 (September 1903): 301. The series actually provided practical information on why changes in temperature, dampness and dust caused problems in the organ and offered solutions to the problems.

⁷⁰³Robert Hope-Jones, “The Future of the Church Organ,” *NMR* 6, no. 70 (September 1907): 654-56. This is the first in a series; these articles are discussed beginning on page 7.

⁷⁰⁴Edwin Lemare, “The Modern Organ Console: A Few Criticisms and Suggestions,” *NMR* 7, no. 84 (November 1908): 674-78. This is only one of Lemare's seven contributions to the NMR. Many organs were built to Lemare's specifications, so it is helpful to understand his principles.

and a movable console. The NMR chronicles these revolutionary developments in wind supply and action.

A series of articles describes a new method for forcing wind through the pipes, causing them to “speak” By replacing bellows weights with springs, Hope-Jones developed a method that allowed wind pressure to be constant,⁷⁰⁵ leading to quicker action and pipe speech.⁷⁰⁶ He describes and defends his methods for providing high, steady wind pressure to the organ in his series of six articles published in 1907 and 1908.⁷⁰⁷ Hope-Jones mentions the articles himself in a letter to the Wurlitzer firm in which he describes them as one of many means to attract additional organ contracts for his organ building firm.⁷⁰⁸ Curiously, Hope-Jones’s biographer fails to comment on these articles.⁷⁰⁹

Hope-Jones argues that the series rotary blower, made of multiple motor-powered electric fans designed to supply the organ with specific wind pressures, is the best supplier of wind for modern organs, eliminating low mechanical efficiency and noisy action.⁷¹⁰ He notes that wind chests, reservoirs that receive the air from the blower to deliver to the pipes, without bellows weight or wind-trunks can provide steady wind

⁷⁰⁵David H. Fox, *Robt. Hope-Jones* (Richmond, Va.: Organ Historical Society, 1992), 176.

⁷⁰⁶William H. Barnes, *The Contemporary American Organ, Its Evolution, Design and Construction*, 9th ed. (New York: J. Fischer, 1971), 22.

⁷⁰⁷Robert Hope-Jones, “The Future of the Church Organ,” *NMR* 6, no. 70 (September 1907): 654-56. This is the first in a series, with other articles under the same title in successive months.

⁷⁰⁸Robert Hope-Jones to the Wurlitzer firm, 21 January 1913, in Fox, *Robt. Hope-Jones*, 85.

⁷⁰⁹Fox, *Robt. Hope-Jones*.

⁷¹⁰Robert Hope-Jones, “The Future of the Church Organ,” *NMR* 6, no. 70 (September 1907): 654-56.

pressure with the use of springs,⁷¹¹ and their advantages include four times the volume and the possibility of variety of effect for the organ.⁷¹²

Hope-Jones advocates a specific wind chest with pallets and sliders controlling the air supply for the best tonal results.⁷¹³ He dislikes the disc valve pallets, found in the pitman chest developed by Skinner, often used in American organs because they require restriction of the wind pressure at the pipe's toe and augmenting the tone.⁷¹⁴ Free access to the pipe toe enables a clean attack, and better tone quality; Hope-Jones also created a device to help attack in the largest flue pipes in case the wind supply was not direct.⁷¹⁵ Other contributors appreciate the increased wind pressure produced by fan blowers for the increased volume, fullness in sound, and characteristic tone quality.⁷¹⁶ Yet some, such as E. M. Skinner, a former partner of Hope-Jones, believe the pressures Hope-Jones used in his tonal voicing were too high.⁷¹⁷

The development of pneumatic actions — as opposed to mechanical ones — led to immense progress in the ease of playing an organ. There were advantages to both

⁷¹¹Robert Hope-Jones, "The Future of the Church Organ," *NMR* 6, no. 71 (October 1907): 714-15. For example, the Universal Air Chest invented by John T. Austin provides steady wind pressure. Unsteady wind pressure can be determined by pulling out all the stops and playing full chords.

⁷¹²Robert Hope-Jones, "The Future of the Church Organ," *NMR* 6, no. 72 (November 1907): 783-84.

⁷¹³*Ibid.*, 783-84. It must be made of mahogany, with a limit of five stops per pallet.

⁷¹⁴*Ibid.* See also Robert Hope-Jones, "The Future of the Church Organ," *NMR* 7, no. 73 (December 1907): 44-47. An explanation of the pneumatic blow shows the inefficiencies of the round pallet and the restricted pipe toe. For a description of the pitman valve see pages 162-177 in William Barnes's *The Contemporary American Organ*.

⁷¹⁵Robert Hope-Jones, "The Future of the Church Organ," *NMR* 7, no. 74 (January 1908): 108-10. He advocates reeds mounted over long pallets without a restricted toe when a pneumatic blow is used, so they would emit their full tone with no rattle or buzz; this method also improves flue pipes' tone.

⁷¹⁶F. S. Palmer, "Modern Organ Building from an Organist's Viewpoint," *NMR* 7, no. 82 (September 1908): 570-72.

⁷¹⁷Fox, *Robt. Hope-Jones*, 64. Hope-Jones worked for the E. M. Skinner Company in the years 1905 and 1906; Skinner and Hope-Jones had many differences concerning both organ building methods and business practices.

electro-pneumatic action, that employs an electrical current to connect the organ key to the wind chest, and tubular pneumatic action, that requires lead tubing to send wind impulses from the organ key to the pipe control valve; American organ builders favored electro-pneumatic action.⁷¹⁸ Differences in opinion about organ action persist today, but their presence in NMR articles confirm that there has been disagreement about the value of pneumatic action since its invention. Histories of action development, such as those by William Harrison Barnes and William Sumner,⁷¹⁹ reveal that the adoption of new ideas was a slow process, taking decades. Tyler Turner's series of articles highlight this point while providing a summary of the history.⁷²⁰

F. S. Palmer appreciates both tubular-pneumatic and electro-pneumatic actions because they allow a lighter touch, faster repetitions and the use of more couplers than a strict tracker organ.⁷²¹ William Reed prefers electro-pneumatic action with a firm touch.⁷²² Edwin Lemare acknowledges that the electric organ is popular in the United States, because the console is movable; it is easier to add couplers, pistons and accessories; and the organ can be put into an odd or small space.⁷²³ He finds tubular-pneumatic action superior because it permits better touch and rarely malfunctions.⁷²⁴

⁷¹⁸Barnes, *Contemporary American Organ*, 132.

⁷¹⁹*Ibid.*, 186-193. William Leslie Sumner, *The Organ: Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use*, 4th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 332-48.

⁷²⁰Tyler Turner, "Organ Action, An Account of Nineteenth-Century Developments. Part 1," *NMR* 29, no. 347 (October 1930): 889-93. Articles continued in November and December of 1930.

⁷²¹F. S. Palmer, "Modern Organ Building," 570-72.

⁷²²William Reed, "The Modern Organ – A Plea for Modification," *NMR* 6, no. 65 (April 1907): 337-38.

⁷²³Edwin Lemare, "Organs and Organ Building," *CMR* 4, no. 40 (March 1905): 161-64.

⁷²⁴*Ibid.*, 161-64.

Some articles in the NMR, especially those by Tyler Turner, provide a history of organ action development during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to educate the readers. In Turner's history of organ action, he credits Booth, Erard and Hamilton with creating the first pneumatics, between 1827 and 1835,⁷²⁵ and Charles S. Barker for the invention of the pneumatic lever applied to many French organs.⁷²⁶ Turner recognizes Prosper-Antoine Moitessier for publicly introducing a pneumatic action in 1835, and Henry Willis for building an organ with pneumatic-tubular action in 1872.⁷²⁷ Turner identifies Albert Peschard as inventor of the first successful electric action and creator of the electro-pneumatic action working with Barker; Gauntlett and Goundry also made contributions in the application of electricity to organ action.⁷²⁸ Turner acknowledges the Bryceson Brothers in England, Roosevelt in the United States, and Boden in Germany for embracing electricity and making advances in organ action.⁷²⁹

Turner recognizes the importance of both Hope-Jones and Skinner, themselves contributors to the NMR. Turner credits Hope-Jones with designing a new electric action along with the first movable console, stop-keys, double touch, suitable bass and unison

⁷²⁵Tyler Turner, "Organ Action, an Account of Nineteenth-Century Developments. Part 1," *NMR* 29, no. 347 (October 1930): 889-93.

⁷²⁶*Ibid.*, 889-93. Especially organs built by Cavaillé-Coll and then Daublaine and Callinet; his invention was not a pneumatic action, but tracker action assisted with wind pressure.

⁷²⁷*Ibid.* Willis also created a variation of the Barker lever in 1851.

⁷²⁸*Ibid.* Although Turner considers other names, he credits Henry John Gauntlett with introducing electric action to the organ, and John Wesley Goundry for placing the magnet on a relief pallet rather than a solid type.

⁷²⁹Tyler Turner, "Organ Action, an Account of Nineteenth-Century Developments, Part II," *NMR* 29, no. 348 (November 1930): 929-32. In France, Schmole and Mols patented an action with two pneumatic parts: a magnet controlled wind pressure in the pouch whose disc-valve controlled the wind into the motor pneumatic. Further, Turner recognizes August Gern for his chest, in which all stops shared the same body of wind, and Randebroek for the invention of the Universal chest with individual trackers for each note.

off coupler.⁷³⁰ As the creator of the hairpin organ magnet, requiring less electrical current, Hope-Jones popularized electric action.⁷³¹ Turner also describes the Pittman chest, invented by Ernest M. Skinner to keep un-drawn stops from speaking.⁷³²

Among other advances, Skinner created a single contact electro-pneumatic action, a self-playing attachment for residence organs, and the Erzähler stop, a quiet stop with narrow, tapered pipes.⁷³³ Prior to contributing an article on American organ development to the NMR, Skinner published his book, *The Modern Organ*, in which he discusses his own theories on wind pressure, action, the swell box, and the pedal division. In the NMR, he encourages American builders to embrace electric action, noting that developments are adopted more quickly in England.⁷³⁴ As contributions made by Americans, he recognizes development of electro-pneumatic action, the individual valve wind chest, adjustable combination action, and a diapason to balance the Willis reed.⁷³⁵ Further, he warns readers to beware of inaccuracies and mistaken attributions in books about the organ.⁷³⁶

⁷³⁰Tyler Turner, "Organ Action, an Account of Nineteenth-Century Developments, Part III," *NMR* 30, no. 349 (December 1930): 11-13. Hope-Jones's Electric Organ Company began in 1892 as a business making actions only, but soon made complete organs; he was associated with many firms from 1897 until his death in 1914, including Norman and Beard in England, the Skinner Co., Hope-Jones Organ Company and Wurlitzer in the United States.

⁷³¹*Ibid.*, 11-13. He used electric coupler contacts rather than trackers and introduced the comb switch, but used pipe pallets for better tone quality instead of disc-valves.

⁷³²*Ibid.* Skinner employed flap valves, later replaced by disc valves.

⁷³³Dorothy Holden, *The Life and Work of Ernest M. Skinner*, 2nd ed. (Richmond, Va.: Organ Historical Society, 1987): 27-29.

⁷³⁴Ernest M. Skinner, "America's Contribution to the Art of Organ Building," *NMR* 19, no. 225 (August 1920): 300-01. The English were first to adopt the swell-box, Barker lever and radiating pedal board.

⁷³⁵*Ibid.*

⁷³⁶*Ibid.* This is likely a reference to the many claims for organ developments by Hope-Jones, disputed by Skinner.

Organ Standardization

With the proliferation of organ building developments, and the wide variety of organs available for purchase, several contributors to the journal debated the pros and cons of organ standardization. In particular, the *NMR* discusses the opinions of E. M. Skinner and Robert Hope-Jones, two of the most renowned organ builders of the time. In an ironic twist, Skinner defends standardization, while Hope-Jones warns against it.⁷³⁷

E. M. Skinner argues that a standardized organ would enable composers to write for an exact “color” as with other instrumental music, thus encouraging more composers to write for the organ.⁷³⁸ Indeed, he calls for the organ to be “as scientifically exact in all its elements, as is the orchestra!”⁷³⁹ He advocates a standard of manufacture to eradicate inferior workmanship — and to equalize the bidding process for new organs.⁷⁴⁰ Further, he recommends a standard specification, mechanism, wind pressure, pipe construction and tone; with standardization an organist performing on a new instrument could gather enough from the specification to plan a program adequately.⁷⁴¹

Advantages of standardization, according to Skinner, include the elimination of inferior instruments, an action with reduced cipher and defects available to all builders,

⁷³⁷Ultimately Hope-Jones, through his work with the Wurlitzer Company, facilitated standardization in organ building. Fox, *Robt. Hope-Jones*, 97. Hope-Jones’s relationship with the Wurlitzer Manufacturing Company was frustrating for both parties, however, as Wurlitzer wanted standard Unit Orchestra Organs built exactly as the models, while Hope-Jones continued to “improve” on the models and make changes for individual instruments.

⁷³⁸Skinner, “America’s Contribution,” 300-01. He also makes this point in 1909, declaring that more composers would write for the organ if it were a standard and lasting medium. Ernest M. Skinner, “Correspondence,” *NMR* 8, no. 93 (August 1909): 488.

⁷³⁹*Ibid.*, 301.

⁷⁴⁰Ernest M. Skinner, “Correspondence. Standardizing Church Organs,” *NMR* 7, no. 82 (September 1908): 573-74. Skinner advises that the number of pipes does nothing to determine an organ’s worth; rather, he argues that adding the pitches of each stop, with mixtures counting nothing, is a better estimate.

⁷⁴¹*Ibid.*, 573-74. With variations in the pedal board, stop names, stop keys, combination and the keyboard, an organist can surmise little from a specification, and often a planned piece cannot be performed.

less time spent by organ builders looking for corner-cutting expedients, and reduction of commonplace tone and unmusical voicing. All would be advances in the art of organ building (and all would reduce Skinner's competition from low-end organ builders).⁷⁴² Lemare likewise acknowledges that standardization would help organ committees in builder selection, and allow recitalists to concentrate on music rather than the instrument, but he does not trust modern "systems" enough to standardize them.⁷⁴³

One proposal suggests movement toward standardization only for smaller organs, with pianos offering a model.⁷⁴⁴ Issues to consider for such standardization include the selection of stops and combinations; quality and character of tone; and requirements of the console, while emphasizing available space, economy and durability.⁷⁴⁵

Hope-Jones — himself an organ builder with many progressive inventions — refutes standardization because, he maintains, it would curtail development too early.⁷⁴⁶ He encourages builders to create new innovations, trusting the market to adopt or discard each according to its merits.⁷⁴⁷ He argues that although equal temperament, electric action and the concave radiating pedal board met opposition, they ultimately became

⁷⁴²Ibid.

⁷⁴³Edwin Lemare, "The Modern Organ Console: A Few Criticisms and Suggestions," *NMR* 7, no. 84 (November 1908): 674-78 (citing Hope-Jones's unit organ). Lemare also endorses standard measurements to allow organists to easily adapt to new instruments in his article, "Organs and Organ Building," *NMR* 4, no. 41 (April 1905): 204-06.

⁷⁴⁴F. H. Hastings, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 86 (January 1909): 110-11. Hastings commends and encourages the AGO's work in making recommendations to organ builders so that fads hindering progress might be avoided.

⁷⁴⁵Ibid., 110-11. He also notes that over-attention to profit and unsystematic effort will result in an unsuccessful builder.

⁷⁴⁶Robert Hope-Jones, "From a Lecture Delivered Before the National Association of Organists on the 15th of August, 1909, at Ocean Grove, N.J.," *NMR* 8, no. 94 (October 1909): 581.

⁷⁴⁷Ibid., 581.

preferred methods for organ building.⁷⁴⁸ Although some instruments like the violin and piano have been standardized, Hope-Jones insists that the organ is in a critical state of transition and technological development — one that builders and musicians should encourage rather than inhibit.⁷⁴⁹

Another writer underscores other problems with standardization: churches and halls differ in size and acoustic properties; organists and builders have preferences for console arrangement, and are not likely to agree on standards;⁷⁵⁰ only imitative builders following others' trends would benefit; and the art of tonal blend and balance is impossible to standardize.⁷⁵¹ Further, he argues that uniformity and simplicity in consoles and organs had increased without formal attempts at standardization.⁷⁵²

With the important exception of mass-produced electronic organs, such as those manufactured by the Hammond Company, standardization of organ tone never gained momentum; too many options and preferences discourage a uniform sound. Pipe organs remain unique and highly variable instruments — a diversity that continues to attract composers, performers and audiences.

⁷⁴⁸Robert Hope-Jones, "Correspondence," *NMR* 9, no. 107 (October 1910): 548-49. He advises builders to look to the younger generation for encouragement and insight, noting that Beebe employed double touch properly after one try, and Mark Andrews preferred the new suitable bass combination pedal.

⁷⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 548-49.

⁷⁵⁰There are too many variations regarding crescendo pedals, tone-color, combination pistons, stop-keys or knobs and their placement, and numbers of stops.

⁷⁵¹Anonymous, "Standardization of Organ Consoles," *NMR* 11, no. 129 (August 1912): 396-97. Summary of W. E. Woodruff's article against standardization from the Wilkes-Barre *Record*. He argues that organ building is an art form, like painting or sculpture, and involves far too many variables to be standardized.

⁷⁵²*Ibid.* The author notes that standardization might deter progress, and that that the failures to standardize out-dated practices such as tracker action and straight pedal boards were fortunate.

Standardization of the Organ Console

While the organ itself remains a varied instrument, the movement to standardize the organ console and its measurements during the same period met with greater success. The console is comprised of the keyboard, the pedal board, stop knobs, pistons and swell pedals, all used to manipulate the sounds emanating from the organ's pipes. Once freed from mechanical tracking, builders could change a console without influencing the end result of the organ's sound. Organists acquire preferences related to comfort and habit, and many organists and builders argued for acceptance of their console preferences as standard in the *NMR*.

The *NMR* chronicles debate over the best pedal board, the use of draw stops compared to stop keys, and the mechanics of combination pistons.⁷⁵³ The AGO strove to standardize the console both by committee and as a larger organization, and all such activities are chronicled in the *NMR*. These articles exhibit the controversial design issues attending these efforts and how much work was required to reach agreements on the few items that became standard.⁷⁵⁴

A history of controversy over the development of the organ and its console began long before the twentieth century. Disagreements described in the *NMR* include arguments about whether to have organs in churches at all,⁷⁵⁵ the position of the organ in

⁷⁵³In particular, whether pistons should be adjustable and whether the stop knobs should move.

⁷⁵⁴William H. Barnes, "Console Standardization," *NMR* 31, no. 368 (July 1932): 335-40.

⁷⁵⁵Opposition to organs in Anglican churches ceased after the Restoration, but the Presbyterian Church continued to reject them.

churches,⁷⁵⁶ the compass of the manuals and pedals,⁷⁵⁷ and the adoption of equal temperament.⁷⁵⁸

The most prevalent contemporary controversy reported in the *NMR* is that of the straight pedal board versus a concave-radiating pedal board (also known as the Wesley-Willis pedal board).⁷⁵⁹ While there were few American organs with a concave-radiating pedal board before 1900, many organs built after 1910 had them; this considerable change occurred quickly. Articles and correspondence in the *NMR* reveal the persuasion needed for organists and organ builders to adopt the new pedal board.

To begin the selection process for a standard pedal board, the AGO formally surveyed organists and builders to solicit ideas about the pedal board and location of its pistons, combination pedals, and swell pedal.⁷⁶⁰ A summary of the results in the *NMR* reveals the majority's preference for a straight pedal board with longer black keys at the extremes, and the swell pedal placed right of center.⁷⁶¹

Even with the prevalence of the straight pedal board, there are many arguments in favor of adopting the concave-radiating Willis pedal board, especially among those with experience playing on one. One correspondent urges AGO committee members to spend

⁷⁵⁶For years the organ was placed in the west gallery to the consternation of musicians, as the better position for the organ is in front of the congregation, or on the north or south side.

⁷⁵⁷The CC compass was adopted around 1850, however a few (Dr. S. S. Wesley) continued to favor the older range for the Great organ.

⁷⁵⁸Orlando A. Mansfield, "Organ Controversies: Recent and Remote," *NMR* 30, no. 350 (July 1931): 285-87. Equal temperament also became standard around 1850, but some organs remained unequal.

⁷⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 285-87. Mansfield noted that the Wesley-Willis pedal board had been adopted in England and was gaining acceptance in the United States at the time of his 1931 article. Other controversial issues acknowledged by Mansfield include whether to use the German system of pure toeing or a legato approach with heels; a balanced or level Swell pedal; sloping or straight draw-knobs; and tracker or pneumatic action.

⁷⁶⁰Anonymous, "The Uniformity of the Organ Console," *CMR* 1 (November 1901): 5.

⁷⁶¹*Ibid.*

time practicing on a Willis pedal board.⁷⁶² Audsley, organ builder and architect, argues that a concave-radiating pedal board is a necessity for developing noteworthy organists in the United States, and emphasizes the Royal College of Organists' resolutions advocating a concave and radiating pedal board.⁷⁶³ After practicing on a Willis pedal board in London, one American organist concluded that the radius is too short, and requests extension of the pedals further under the manuals.⁷⁶⁴

Because concave-radiating pedal boards were relatively rare in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century, organists had difficulty evaluating them. Consequently, the NMR published announcements for new concave-radiating pedal boards, along with open invitations encouraging other organists to play them. Early examples include a Willis pedal board built for the organ at Grace Church, Manhattan,⁷⁶⁵ one at the First Baptist Church in Arlington, Massachusetts,⁷⁶⁶ and one with the Austin organ for the City Park Chapel, Brooklyn.⁷⁶⁷ The NMR also includes reports on discoveries of older pedal boards in the concave radiating style — rarities in the United States — such as an early radiating pedal board that may have been slightly concave built by Hooks in 1859 for the Beneficent Congregational Church in Providence, R. I.,⁷⁶⁸ and a

⁷⁶²Walter Heaton, "Correspondence," *CMR* 1, no. 6 (April 1902): 66.

⁷⁶³George Ashdown Audsley, "Notes on the Pedal Clavier," *CMR* 1, no. 11 (September 1902): 121. In 1881 the English College of Organists had mandated a straight pedal board; initially there was some confusion over the two decisions.

⁷⁶⁴J. Prower Symons, "Correspondence," *CMR* 1 (March 1902): 52.

⁷⁶⁵Ernest M. Skinner, "Correspondence," *CMR* 1, no. 7 (May 1902): 78.

⁷⁶⁶William E. Wood, "Correspondence," *CMR* 1, no. 10 (August 1902): 112.

⁷⁶⁷W. H. Hillman, "Correspondence," *CMR* 1, no. 11 (September 1902): 123.

⁷⁶⁸N. H. Allen, "Correspondence," *CMR* 2, no. 22 (August 1903): 291.

concave-radiating pedal board, no longer in use, built by George S. Hastings for the Old South Church, Boston.⁷⁶⁹

In 1902, an AGO committee again began working to establish a standard pedal board.⁷⁷⁰ Arguments presented in favor of adopting the Willis pedal board include growing discontent for the straight pedal board in England; the maximum control it offers; the best placement and dimensions for a thirty-two-note range; and the preference of all those playing it.⁷⁷¹ To encourage the work toward standardization, Hutchins and other organ builders agreed to build only the pedal board adopted as standard.⁷⁷² The committee invited other organists and builders to give input as they continued their work.⁷⁷³

After Lemare introduced drawings of the Willis pedal board to those interested at the New England Conservatory, they commissioned a pedal board; this second pedal board incorporated modifications suggested by Wallace Goodrich, George Chadwick and Dunham.⁷⁷⁴ The Conservatory adopted this modified Willis pedal board for all its organs, and then submitted plans to the AGO committee,⁷⁷⁵ which defined it as

⁷⁶⁹“Pedal board, 1875 – 1904” *CMR* 3, no. 30 (April 1904): 436. The pedal board was likely made by Willis for B. J. Lang; it was noticed when a new organ was being built in 1875, but had been replaced by a straight, German-style pedal board for many years.

⁷⁷⁰“A standard pedal-board,” *CMR* 1, no. 3 (January 1902): 27-30. The AGO formed the committee originally in 1899.

⁷⁷¹*Ibid.*, 27-30.

⁷⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁴Wallace Goodrich, “The New Pedal-Board” *CMR* 3, no. 30 (March 1904): 416.

⁷⁷⁵Members are Gerrit Smith, R. H. Woodman, Richard Henry Warren, William C. Carl, Frank Taft, and Will C. Macfarlane.

“standard”⁷⁷⁶ in 1903.⁷⁷⁷ The Hutchings-Votey Co., builder of the pedal board, provided blueprints with measurements, and a supplement to the NMR offered a scaled drawing.

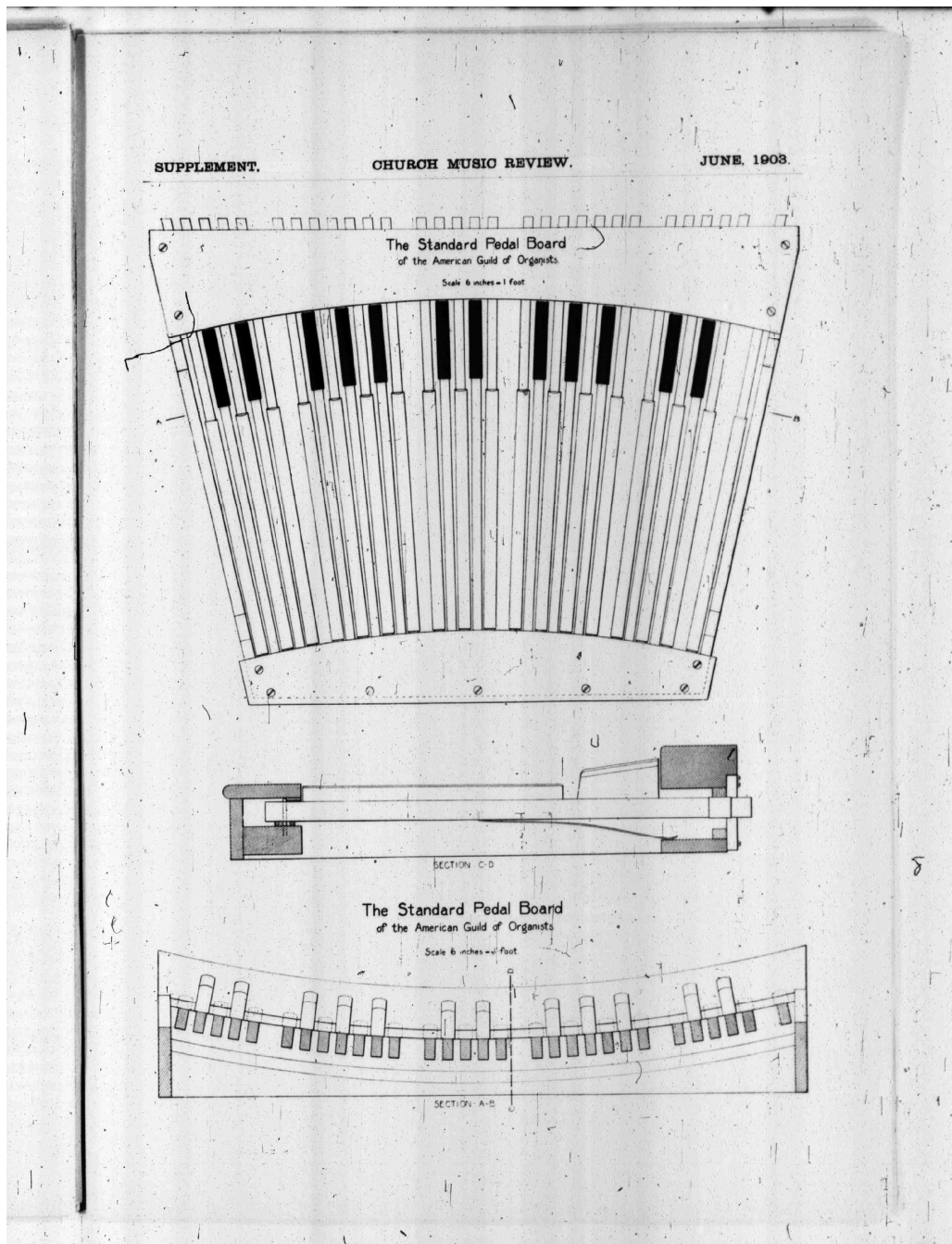


Illustration 3: The Standard Pedal Board

⁷⁷⁶Ibid., 416. Trinity Church, Boston was the first church to adopt the concave and radiating pedal board in its correct position with the D pedal lying under C1 of the manuals.

⁷⁷⁷“Report of the Committee on the Standard Pedal Board,” *CMR* 2, no. 19 (May 1903): 242.

Many institutions building new organs incorporated this pedal board the same year: St. Bartholomew's Church and Brick Presbyterian Church of New York; the New England Conservatory; Trinity Church, Boston; Carnegie Hall, Pittsburgh; Yale University; St. Paul's Church and St. Mark's Church of Philadelphia.⁷⁷⁸

Two years later, a standard for placement of the pedal board in relation to the keyboard was decided by a vote of the AGO membership.⁷⁷⁹ Organ builders, including Hutchings-Votey Co., Austin Co., Hook & Hastings, Hope-Jones & Harrison, Hillgreen & Lane, Estey Organ Co. and Ernest M. Skinner, presented their current dimensions, and a negotiated discussion determined pedal board placement and other recommendations, such as placement of the expression pedals.⁷⁸⁰

Even with agreement on the placement of expression pedals, other aspects of organ construction lacked standardization. Lemare promotes the mechanical swell pedal, allowing only an electric one with a movable console;⁷⁸¹ he also rejects the crescendo pedal as an aid for unskilled, amateur organists.⁷⁸² Other contributors object to the use of enclosed divisions⁷⁸³ other than the Swell.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁷⁸“American Guild of Organists' Pedal Board,” *CMR* 2, no. 20 (June 1903): 259.

⁷⁷⁹“General Meeting,” *NMR* 4, no. 39 (February 1905): 106.

⁷⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 106. The decided placement was in central position, with a distance from the middle pedal white key to the surface of the lowest manual of 29.5 inches; and the tip of the middle pedal sharp key should be 8.5 to 10.5 inches from the front edge of the lowest manual key. Additional recommendations advised adjustable benches, location of the Swell Pedal between the E flat and F sharp pedal keys, the Choir Pedal to the left of the Swell Pedal, the Solo Pedal to the right of the Swell Pedal, and the Crescendo Pedal to the right of the Solo Pedal. Also repeated in William H. Barnes, “Console Standardization,” *NMR* 31, no. 368 (July 1932): 335-40.

⁷⁸¹Edwin Lemare, “Organs and Organ Building,” *NMR* 4, no. 41 (April 1905): 204-06.

⁷⁸²Edwin Lemare, “The Modern Organ Console: A Few Criticisms and Suggestions,” *NMR* 7, no. 83 (October 1908): 618-21.

⁷⁸³Enclosed divisions are groups of pipes placed in a box with shutters. The shutters can be opened or closed by a pedal to allow the pipes to sound loudly or quietly.

⁷⁸⁴See, e.g., William Reed, “The Modern Organ – A Plea for Modification,” *NMR* 6, no. 65 (April 1907): 337-38. Symphonic organs often featured enclosed Choir and Great divisions.

Although the concave-radiating pedal board became more or less standard by 1932, Barnes admits in the NMR that its dimensions still varied.⁷⁸⁵ He acknowledges that small variations do not cause a problem, but recommends providing blueprints to organ builders to ensure complete standardization.⁷⁸⁶

On the subject of the adoption of the concave-radiating pedal board, William Barnes states,

Happily, this matter is now finally closed and not even the most obscure organ builder in this country would consider building an organ without a radiating, concave pedal board of some sort, though some of them have apparently not taken the trouble to learn the correct measurements.⁷⁸⁷

William Leslie Sumner correctly summarizes the more universal situation when he admits, “There is no consensus of opinion throughout the world concerning organ pedal-boards.”⁷⁸⁸ While organists in the United States and England favored the Willis pedal board, those in France and Germany preferred those straight and flat, or only slightly concaved pedal boards. Even though the standardization was not worldwide, it was a great accomplishment to standardize pedal board preferences in such a large country as the United States. The NMR was instrumental in spreading new ideas about the pedal board and building consensus toward that standard.

⁷⁸⁵William H. Barnes, “Console Standardization,” *NMR* 31, no. 368 (July 1932): 335-40.

⁷⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 335-40.

⁷⁸⁷Barnes, *Contemporary American Organ*, 195.

⁷⁸⁸Sumner, *The Organ: Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use*, 352. Contemporary to the NMR, George Ashdown Audsley bemoans the fact that efforts to create a standard pedal board came to naught in his *The Organ of the Twentieth Century*; he argues that the ideal pedal board had yet to be designed, preferring among other things the radius shortened from eight feet six inches to seven feet, and lengthened sharp keys. George Ashdown Audsley, *The Organ of the Twentieth Century* (1919; repr., New York: Dover Books, 1970), 175, 184-89.

Draw Knobs Versus Stop Keys

Edwin Lemare presents most of the arguments in favor of using draw stops rather than stop keys found in the NMR. Along with his unit organ, Hope-Jones had created the stop key, a new device to activate an organ stop. The stop key was designed to replace the draw knob, the traditional mechanical lever used to activate and deactivate sets of pipes. At the time Lemare criticized it in the NMR, the stop key was a relatively new way to control the organ.

Lemare argues that one is unable to read stop keys when looking at music,⁷⁸⁹ and changing them causes a break in concentration; he concludes that the stop keys are more difficult to manipulate than easily moving draw knobs.⁷⁹⁰ He prefers draw-knobs because they can be reached with either hand, are ordered by pipe octaves (32' at the bottom, 2' at the top), and their accompanying centered thumb pistons fall within the patterns for playing the keyboard.⁷⁹¹

William Horatio Clarke defends stop keys, preferring their placement in the range of vision rather than looking side-to-side for knobs, noting that an organist can learn their relative locations as readily as those of draw-knobs.⁷⁹² He claims that thousands of organists appreciate the ease of use stop keys provide.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸⁹Edwin Lemare, "The Modern Organ Console: A Few Criticisms and Suggestions," *NMR* 7, no. 84 (November 1908): 674-78.

⁷⁹⁰Edwin Lemare, "The Modern Organ Console: Stop Keys," *NMR* 8, no. 96 (November 1909): 625-28.

⁷⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁷⁹²Wm. Horatio Clarke, "Organ Stop Control," *NMR* 8, no. 87 (February 1909): 174. Yet students should learn simple combinations, worrying about many registration changes and pistons only after mastering the instrument.

⁷⁹³*Ibid.*, 174.

In 1932, Barnes declared that draw knobs or stop keys were unlikely to become standardized.⁷⁹⁴ In fact, the layout of stop keys was becoming standardized at a faster rate than draw knobs, with the top row for the Swell, followed by the Choir, and the Echo or Solo, with the Pedal and Great keys on the bottom row.⁷⁹⁵ Lemare advocates for a traditional arrangement of draw knobs, with two vertical rows best for visual accommodation; he argues that the different arrangements found in American organs occur only to accommodate low and movable consoles.⁷⁹⁶

Lemare's contemporary Audsley also expected stop keys, also known as tablets, to fail: "Respecting the other forms of draw-stops which have been used during late years in a certain class of Organ little need be said, for there is very little likelihood of there coming into general use in the Organ of the Twentieth Century."⁷⁹⁷ In fact, the Austin Company adopted stop keys, later used by many other builders in the United States. William Barnes became "satisfied and comfortable with either type,"⁷⁹⁸ and Sumner noted that the choice is an individual preference of organists.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁴Barnes, "Console Standardization," 335-40.

⁷⁹⁵Barnes, "Console Standardization," 335-40. Each division is expected to be arranged from loudest to softest, with couplers at the ends of the divisions they affect. Yet the NMR still describes a controversy as to whether manual pistons should affect couplers and pedal stops.

⁷⁹⁶Edwin Lemare, "Modern Organ Console," 7, no. 83 (October 1908): 618-21. A detailed description for the placement of stop-knobs, couplers and combinations is found in his article "Organs and Organ Building," 4, no. 41 (April 1905): 204-06. The arrangements are also discussed in his article "Modern Organ Console," 7, no. 84 (November 1908): 674-78.

⁷⁹⁷Audsley, *The Organ of the Twentieth Century*, 160.

⁷⁹⁸Barnes, *Contemporary American Organ*, 193.

⁷⁹⁹Sumner, *The Organ*, 349.

Adjustable Versus Fixed Combination Pistons

As early as 1905 articles in the NMR express strong preferences for combination pistons, buttons that add or change the group of stops sounding on the organ.⁸⁰⁰

Advantages of fixed combinations conveyed in the NMR include allowing the organist to leave his hands on the manuals while implementing new combinations, and the suitability of the set combinations to both church and concert performances.⁸⁰¹ Lemare first writes in defense of the fixed combinations,⁸⁰² yet a few years later argues in favor of adjustable pistons that allow individual stop selection for combinations.⁸⁰³ He only supports adjustable pistons with movable stops,⁸⁰⁴ however, noting that lifeless draw-stops cause difficulty in playing orchestral transcriptions⁸⁰⁵ and in mixing tone-colors.⁸⁰⁶ Other contributors agree that combination pistons should be adjustable, while showing what stops are drawn.⁸⁰⁷

Although the majority of contributors prefer adjustable pistons, some defend non-movable stop knobs. As described in the NMR, advantages of changing the combination without the stop knobs include less interference to the flow of music, less sensitivity to temperature and humidity in the organ, the possibility of having two combinations at

⁸⁰⁰A series of articles treating the question of combination pistons also appeared in *The American Organist*, in 1918. These were published later than many of the arguments found in the NMR, and they were not in conjunction with opinions on other aspects of organ building.

⁸⁰¹Reed, "Modern Organ," 337-38. Often, organ builders use regular couplers and the crescendo pedal to employ changes in the fixed combination system.

⁸⁰²Lemare, "Organs and Organ Building," 4, no. 40 (March 1905): 161-64.

⁸⁰³Lemare, "Modern Organ Console," 7, no. 83 (October 1908): 618-21.

⁸⁰⁴Movable stops are found with the composition pedal and thumb pistons in England. *Ibid.*, 618-21.

⁸⁰⁵Lemare, "Modern Organ Console," 7, no. 84 (November 1908): 674-78.

⁸⁰⁶Lemare, "Organs and Organ Building," 4, no. 40 (March 1905): 161-64.

⁸⁰⁷F. S. Palmer, "Modern Organ Building from an Organist's Viewpoint," *NMR* 7, no. 82 (September 1908): 570-72.

once, and fewer movements needed for achieving the desired combinations.⁸⁰⁸ This system requires the organist to remember and hear the combination without seeing it on the knobs.⁸⁰⁹ Contemporaries express preferences for this dual system of combinations with non-movable stops and adjustable pistons because it provides the greatest flexibility for immediate changes in tone color.⁸¹⁰

NMR contributors also discuss the placement of the combination pistons. Some expect the pistons to be centrally placed under the manual to which they belong,⁸¹¹ while others desire a separate set of pistons for the pedal organ.⁸¹² Another option finds the reversible pistons at the left of the console.⁸¹³

With the many different systems of pistons, organists describe difficulty in learning to use them all.⁸¹⁴ Suggestions for their implementation include having pistons assist, not replace hand registration; memorization of their set-up; appointment of only frequently used combinations to pistons, with a crescendo arrangement; and a piston for Full-Swell.⁸¹⁵

⁸⁰⁸Everett E. Truette, "Uniformity of the Console," *NMR* 13, no. 146 (January 1914): 98-99. A chart is given for the registration of a piece using both non-movable and moving stop knobs, defending the theory that the organist needs fewer movements with the non-movable system.

⁸⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 98-99.

⁸¹⁰Audsley, *The Organ of the Twentieth Century*, 155-56. Although organists in Germany preferred dual action with non-movable stops, American and British organists generally prefer adjustable pistons. Sumner, *The Organ*, 349-50.

⁸¹¹Lemare, "Modern Organ Console," 7, no. 84 (November 1908): 674-78.

⁸¹²Reed, "Modern Organ," 337-38.

⁸¹³Barnes, "Console Standardization," 335-40.

⁸¹⁴George Lee Hamrick, "Piston Registration," *NMR* 29, no. 346 (September 1930): 857-58.

⁸¹⁵*Ibid.*, 857-59. Recommended for limited use; but not Full-Great, as that would duplicate the Crescendo pedal. Readers were reminded that an organ mechanic can adjust the Sforzando piston and Crescendo pedal. Hamrick suggests varied registration rather than reliance on a few set pistons.

Additional Attempts at Standardization

Articles in the NMR provide a valuable history of the AGO's efforts at organ standardization. Because no agreement resulted, their effort to create one model or set of plans for console measurements and component placement was forgotten. For example, the organ constructed in Jordan Hall, at the New England Conservatory, followed the AGO's new standards for the pedal board, and the organ committee hoped it would also serve as a model of action, voicing and arrangement.⁸¹⁶ The Jordan Hall organ featured artificial touch replicating a light tracker action, terraced draw knobs, tilting tablet couplers, and unmovable, adjustable, combination pistons.⁸¹⁷

The AGO adopted further motions concerning console arrangements at its 1906 general meeting.⁸¹⁸ These recommendations defined measurements, shape and placement of the expression pedals;⁸¹⁹ placement of the stop knobs;⁸²⁰ means for turning off the organ;⁸²¹ and placement of upper octave pipes.⁸²² Additionally, the membership appointed a committee to refine names of the stops.

In 1907, AGO committee members Samuel A. Baldwin, R. Huntington Woodman and S. Archer Gibson led a discussion about the proper nomenclature of stops, trying to

⁸¹⁶Wallace Goodrich, "The New Pedal-board," *NMR* 3, no. 29 (March 1904): 416.

⁸¹⁷*Ibid.*, 416. Pistons were placed over their manuals, to the left of center, with foot pistons outside the beater bar. Additionally, the swell pedal was in the center, and the choir pedal to its right. Register check blocks are curved and they move 1.5 inches.

⁸¹⁸"General Meeting," *NMR* 5, no. 51 (February 1906): 716-17.

⁸¹⁹*Ibid.*, 716-17. The expression pedals should be placed as near as possible to the foot pedals, and the AGO adopted a standard for a plain boxwood expression pedal, 4 inches wide and 11 in length, with a slight curve at the toe.

⁸²⁰Swell and Pedal stop knobs placed left of the manuals, with Great and Choir stop knobs to the right.

⁸²¹The AGO recommended shut-offs for each part of the organ on the console in the event of a cipher, a pipe that remains open and continually sounds.

⁸²²*Ibid.* The AGO advised placement of extra upper octaves of pipes above the usual five octaves to allow the best use of the super-coupler.

simplify the stop names, using the English language as much as possible.⁸²³ As reported in the NMR, they suggested the elimination of the superfluous terms *contra*, *double*, *open*, *super*, *sub*, and *grand*; as well as clear indication of a sound from the stop's name, such as the classification of Diapason 1, 2, 3 and 4 to represent the pitches 8', 16', 4' and 2', and terms like *flute* and *string*.⁸²⁴

Ironically, the NMR published an article on the nomenclature of stops five years before the committee report offered opposite suggestions. The earlier writer defends the more descriptive terms *Principal Diapason*, *Open Diapason* and *Dolce Diapason* rather than *Diapason nos. 1, 2 and 3*; the term *Bass* for pedal stops; and *Contra Bass* as a more accurate term than *Violone*, the indefinite one.⁸²⁵

At the AGO's 1908 general meeting, an open discussion on the nomenclature of stops concluded there are five classes of stops: *diapasons*, *flutes*, *strings*, *reeds* and *mixtures*.⁸²⁶ The membership requested the addition of pitch indication (32' – 2') and power (*ff*-*pp*) to the stop knobs.⁸²⁷ In 1913, the AGO issued additional recommendations toward console standardization through the NMR.⁸²⁸ This missive promotes stop-knobs over stop-keys, fixed combination pistons with unmovable stops rather than adjustable

⁸²³“General Meeting,” *NMR* 6, no. 63 (February 1907): 195-96.

⁸²⁴*Ibid.*, 195-96. Flute and string are also easily abbreviated, another advantage.

⁸²⁵Carlton Mitchell, “Nomenclature of Organ Stops,” *NMR* 2, no. 2 (December 1902): 158.

⁸²⁶“General Meeting,” *NMR* 7, no. 75 (February 1908): 178.

⁸²⁷*Ibid.*, 178.

⁸²⁸J. Warren Andrews, Samuel A. Baldwin and Clifford Demarest, “Recommendations,” *NMR* 12, no. 137 (April 1913): 181-82.

ones,⁸²⁹ an adjustable bench, and defined placement of the pedal board and expression pedals.⁸³⁰

Another large AGO undertaking toward console standardization ended with a report in 1933. The report compiled previous AGO recommendations along with new opinions, including those in works by Lynwood Farnam, T. Scott Buhrman and organ builders such as E. M. Skinner, Basil G. Austin, and W. W. Kimball.⁸³¹ The committee pushed for quick adoption of the recommendations, because with the economic depression organ builders would have time to study and implement them.⁸³² The committee believed that most builders would follow the guidelines, rather than be criticized for not adapting to them.⁸³³

The report is in two sections. Part One, given unqualified and unanimous endorsement by the AGO provides the measurements and construction details for the pedal and manual keyboards.⁸³⁴ Part Two, which provides the arrangement of stop

⁸²⁹Further recommendations place combinations in order from soft to loud, with a preference for combination pistons over pedals where only one was available.

⁸³⁰*Ibid.*, 181-82. The AGO suggests central placement of the pedal board, with middle D of the pedals under middle C of the manuals. Expression pedals should be placed as near as possible to the foot pedals. The Swell Pedal should be between the E flat and F sharp pedal keys, with the Choir Pedal to the left and the Solo Pedal to the right. The Crescendo Pedal should be to the right of the Solo Pedal, and reversible coupler pedals to the left of the Choir Pedal. The Crescendo Pedal should be adjustable and a little removed from the expression pedals.

⁸³¹W. H. Barnes, H. B. Porter, and A. Snow, "The Guild Report on Console Standardization," *NMR* 32, no. 374 (March 1933): 142-43. Sources include Lynwood Farnam's 1926 article on console standardization for *Rotunda*; former recommendations of the Guild, adopted in April 1913; a questionnaire conducted by T. Scott Buhrman through TAO on arrangement of stop knobs; a compilation of measurements for the pedal board and console used by a large number of organ builders; and articles and opinions of organ building authorities such as Skinner, R. P. Elliot, Basil G. Austin, W. W. Kimball, Charles M. Courboin, and H. Leroy Baumgartner.

⁸³²*Ibid.*, 142-43.

⁸³³*Ibid.*

⁸³⁴"Amended and Final Report on the Standardization of Organ Consoles," *NMR* 32, no. 378 (July 1933): 294-98. The report contains specific measurements for placement and dimensions of the pedal board, expression pedals, manual keys and keyboards. Anonymous, "Recommendations of the Committee on the Standardization of Organ Consoles," *NMR* 32, no. 374 (March 1933): 143-47.

knobs, stop keys, coupler controls, combination pistons, and toe studs, remained controversial.⁸³⁵ There was no finality to these recommendations, and a permanent committee of William H. Barnes, Hugh B. Porter and Albert W. Snow worked to keep them up to date.⁸³⁶ The AGO advised builders to follow all recommendations in Part One and as much of Part Two as they chose.⁸³⁷

W. H. Barnes, chairman of the Standardization of the Console Committee in both 1932 and three decades later in 1961, drew “the conclusion that there will never, for many years to come, be any standard system of stop control, nor any standard system of what the individual manual combinations will affect.”⁸³⁸ The majority opinion of the country’s forty leading organists was presented in the revised recommendations of 1961.⁸³⁹

The Unit Organ

Robert Hope-Jones incorporated many innovations into his unit organ, an instrument with pipes by grouped by sound in sections of String, Foundation, Woodwind, Brass, and Percussion stops, rather than keyboard divisions of the Great, Swell, Choir and Pedal found in the traditional organ; this arrangement provides freedom to draw any group on any manual at any pitch.⁸⁴⁰ The unit organ relies on only a few extended ranks

⁸³⁵“Amended and Final Report on the Standardization of Organ Consoles,” 295-98. “Recommendations of the Committee on Standardization,” 143-47.

⁸³⁶Ibid., 294-98.

⁸³⁷Ibid.

⁸³⁸Barnes, *Contemporary American Organ*, 193-94.

⁸³⁹Ibid., 198.

⁸⁴⁰Fox, *Robt. Hope-Jones*, 162-63. Traditional organs feature the divisions of Great, Swell, Choir, and Pedal, rather than sections of String, Foundation, Woodwind, Brass and Percussion stops.

of pipes to provide the sound for numerous stops, while the traditional pipe organ has one rank of pipes per stop.⁸⁴¹ Popular as a theater organ, the unit organ supports many percussion stops such as a Thunder Sheet, Xylophone, Electric bells and Bass Drum.⁸⁴² The unit organ features other changes from standard practice, including most pipes under expression,⁸⁴³ and the omission of mixtures. These controversial changes generated substantial opposition among organists and builders.⁸⁴⁴

Unsurprisingly, Robert Hope-Jones strongly promoted his Orchestral Unit Organ in the *NMR*, claiming that it produces greater ranges of expression than an orchestra, with tones not found in an orchestra and more colorful than a traditional organ.⁸⁴⁵ He envisions the organ at the center of all orchestral concerts, both as a supplement to and occasionally supplanting the strings; in his ideal, the organist surpasses the first violinist as orchestra leader.⁸⁴⁶ He maintains that every pipe of an organ should be enclosed for expression, with the delicacy of new shutters alleviating the need for soft stops.⁸⁴⁷

NMR contributors extol advantages of the unit organ, such as the availability of the swell reeds for all manuals, having the solo voice and accompaniment stops in the same swell box so they may crescendo together, the ability to lock together the

⁸⁴¹*Ibid.*, 268. Hope-Jones Unit Orchestra Style 1 created 30 stops from only 5 ranks of pipes; Style 2 created 42 stops from 8 ranks of pipes.

⁸⁴²*Ibid.*, 95.

⁸⁴³Located in a Swell box, the dynamics of pipes under expression are manipulated by shutters, controlled by a foot pedal. Traditionally, only pipes of the Swell manual are enclosed in a box.

⁸⁴⁴In particular, Hope-Jones and E. M Skinner did not agree; they briefly worked in partnership, but their styles were too different to reconcile.

⁸⁴⁵Robert Hope-Jones, "From a lecture delivered before the National Association of Organists on the 15th of August, 1909, at Ocean Grove, N.J.," *NMR* 8, no. 94 (October 1909): 581.

⁸⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 581. This did not turn out to be the case; with the economic depression in the 1930s there was a decline in organ building and later in its popularity.

⁸⁴⁷*Ibid.*

expression pedals to manage multiple boxes at a time, and the convenience of the set combinations.⁸⁴⁸ Another contributor commends the ease of registration provided by the unit system, with its many tone colors and multiple stops found in both the foundation and string boxes.⁸⁴⁹ While still another welcomes the cement swell boxes and double touch system.⁸⁵⁰

A greater number of contributors oppose the unit organ, however, with five different writers voicing objections to the unit system in 1910 alone.⁸⁵¹ Edwin Lemare counters Hope-Jones's theories on many points, but especially disagrees with "borrowing." Lemare finds that having the same stop available for all manuals results in a loudly-voiced, one manual instrument suitable only for solos.⁸⁵² He argues that "borrowing" only makes sense in the pedal register, as an orchestra's charm is in its numbers, and ten stops do not have the impact of thirty.⁸⁵³ He finds mixtures necessary to achieve distinctness, brilliance and overtones in an organ's sound, and the elimination of 16' and 4' stops results in one voice with poor tone in sounds an octave lower or higher.⁸⁵⁴ Lemare recognizes the usefulness of having all stops under expression, but contends that pipes for each manual should be enclosed together rather than grouped by

⁸⁴⁸Richard Tattersall, "Correspondence," *NMR* 9, no. 106 (September 1910): 502.

⁸⁴⁹Ferdinand Dunkley, "Correspondence," *NMR* 9, no. 106 (September 1910): 503-04. With the presence of many stops in both boxes and the organist playing many notes at once, Dunkley refuted the idea that the unit system is like having one violin in the orchestra.

⁸⁵⁰Chester H. Beebe, "Correspondence," *NMR* 9, no. 108 (November 1910): 595-96. Mark Andrews demonstrated the many possibilities of the unit organ in a concert for which he received praise.

⁸⁵¹Most articles about the unit system in the *NMR* are contemporaneous with its advent. *The American Organist* also published articles debating the unit organ's pros and cons, but these were retrospectively instigated by the editors and written more than ten years later than those in the *NMR*. They are found in volume six, from 1923.

⁸⁵²Edwin Lemare, "The Modern Organ: Borrowing and Other Ideas," *NMR* 9, no. 105 (August 1910): 438-42.

⁸⁵³*Ibid.*, 438-42.

⁸⁵⁴*Ibid.*

families of tone-color.⁸⁵⁵ In his biography of Hope-Jones, David H. Fox mentions that Lemare's criticism of the unit organ overwhelmed participants at the National Association of Organists Convention at Ocean Grove.⁸⁵⁶ The NMR published Lemare's article during the same month as the convention, so this may be the criticism to which Fox refers.⁸⁵⁷

Other contributors to the NMR identify faults with the unit organ, with continued condemnation of the expression boxes grouped by sound and the "borrowing" method used for many stops.⁸⁵⁸ Some contributors find having the pedal under expression unnecessary,⁸⁵⁹ and prefer a simpler console with little machinery.⁸⁶⁰ They describe innovations such as a 32' on the great, lifeless stop knobs and double touch as useless, and they deride the notion that the organ could substitute for eighty orchestral musicians as absurd.⁸⁶¹ One writer calls the unit organ's tone monotonous, and suggests more pipes rather than so many electronic controls.⁸⁶² Another observes that although loud, the unit

⁸⁵⁵Ibid.

⁸⁵⁶Fox, *Robt. Hope-Jones*, 91.

⁸⁵⁷It could, however, be criticism published elsewhere.

⁸⁵⁸Ward, "Correspondence," 503. More than three years later James W. Bleecker argues there is damage to the harmony of a work when played on a unit organ with borrowed stops. He explains that when drawing the 16', 8' and 4' stops and playing a six-note chord, eighteen pipes sound on a traditional organ, but only thirteen sound on the unit organ due to cancellations from pipe overlaps. James W. Bleecker, "Short Comings of Certain Types of Modern Organs," *NMR* 13, no. 149 (April 1914): 243.

⁸⁵⁹If preferred, it can be expressive by coupling 16' stops from other manuals.

⁸⁶⁰Ward, "Correspondence," 503.

⁸⁶¹Charles Galloway, "Correspondence," *NMR* 9, no. 107 (October 1910): 548.

⁸⁶²Frank L. Carter, "Correspondence," *NMR* 9, no. 107 (October 1910): 549-50. The traditional organ will have three different 4' flute stops, with distinguished tone qualities rather than one sound available for any manual.

organ lacks blend, richness and a variety in its tones, producing a muddy sound as a result of slow-speaking 16' stops.⁸⁶³

In 1931 a contributor acknowledges resistance to changes in organ building, and the difficulty of determining permanent and beneficial contributions.⁸⁶⁴ He characterizes the unit system as an undesirable change that should be discarded, arguing that its discrepancy with the historical organ makes playing most repertory difficult, and the more flexible extension system provides many of the same benefits.⁸⁶⁵

Discussion of the problems of organ pipe unification continued long after the NMR's demise.⁸⁶⁶ One author warns "unification upsets the scaling of this set [of pipes] for power and color balance," electrical problems most often occur in unified stops, and unification provides no real substance.⁸⁶⁷ He ends by noting, "none of the great organs of the world is unified."⁸⁶⁸ Hans Klotz's *Organ Handbook*, written in German in 1965, and published in an English translation in 1969, warns purchasers against the unit organ, citing its "irresponsible"⁸⁶⁹ use of "duplexing."⁸⁷⁰ In *Two Centuries of American Organ*

⁸⁶³W. E. Woodruff, "Correspondence," *NMR* 9, no. 108 (November 1910): 595. Woodruff postulates the presence of sufficient 4' and 2' stops, and often a quint and nazard, as a defense against the claim of a muddy sound. See Dunkley, 503-04.

⁸⁶⁴Francis Burgess, "This Extension Business," *NMR* 30, no. 358 (September 1931; reprint from *The Organ*): 357-39. Electro-pneumatic actions, electric actions, and combination actions are examples of reliable and lasting improvements. On the other hand, some musicians venerated unnaturally low wind pressure after the adoption of mechanical blowers, even though it was no longer needed.

⁸⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁶But one author defends discretionary use of unification for flexibility in low-priced installations, or those limited in space. Jack C. Goode, *Pipe Organ Registration* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), 38-39.

⁸⁶⁷James Blaine Jamison, *Organ Design and Appraisal* (Milville, N.Y.: H. W. Gray, 1959), 161-63.

⁸⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 163.

⁸⁶⁹Hans Klotz, *The Organ Handbook*, trans. Gerhard Knapf (St. Louis: Concordia, 1969).

⁸⁷⁰Duplexing is the practice of using one rank of pipes for multiple stops; the traditional organ has one stop for each rank of pipes.

Building, Barnes attempts to put to rest the disagreement over use of the unit organ: “A debate that raged for many years, for and against ‘unification’ in church organs finally now seems to be closed in favor of no unification, or very limited use of it in small organs.”⁸⁷¹

Although most builders did not adopt the unit organ or its principal features, it was a prototype for the theater organs so popular in the United States during the 1920s.⁸⁷² The controversy surrounding the unit organ and the strong reactions it provoked demonstrate the impact of technological innovations on organ building and the impact of competing musical visions on those technological developments.

Tonal Structure and Voicing

Organ builders in the United States were most adventurous in developing the instrument’s tonal structure, the combination of the pipe’s tones. The orchestral style found immense popularity in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century, when most builders in Europe still followed traditional specifications. American experimentation reached its height with the many theater organs built in the 1920s. G. Donald Harrison’s work with the Skinner Company in the same decade heralded the classical tonal approach for specifications, still used by organ builders today. Articles in the *NMR* describe in real time some of the major changes in the organ’s tonal structure, as well as the resistance — often overlooked — they faced. An astounding amount of development and change occurs contemporaneous to the journal.

⁸⁷¹William Harrison Barnes and Edward B. Gammons, *Two Centuries of American Organ Building* (Glen Rock, N.J.: J. Fischer, 1971), 52-53.

⁸⁷²Over 4,000 such organs were built. Stephens Irwin, “Homage to Robert Hope-Jones,” *Theatre Organ* (1973-74), excerpted by American Theatre Organ Society, http://www.atos.org/Pages/Journal/HopeJones/hopejones_1.html (accessed October 28, 2009).

The NMR article, “Our Piebald Organ Industry,” offers an overview of organ tonal development in the United States in the early 1900s. Arthur J. Thompson describes the American organ building industry before 1900 as insular firms, experimenting with action and following conventional, second-class European standards with no guiding tradition differentiating good and bad instruments.⁸⁷³ By 1915 controversy between those advocating the orchestral “unit” organ and those preferring the straight organ ensued, but neither organ offered classic foundation stops.⁸⁷⁴ Between 1921 and 1927, Thompson contends that companies built thousands of organs — marketed with highly aggressive sales techniques — with good actions but negligible tonal sound and ensemble.⁸⁷⁵ With the advent of sound in motion pictures, he declares the theater organ invalid by 1927.⁸⁷⁶

The popularity and development of the theater organ, with its tone so distinct from the traditional organ, is a source of contention for some NMR contributors. One derides the new style of organ for straying from the instrument’s original voice, losing the natural idiom in imitation of the orchestra.⁸⁷⁷ The numerous “freak” special effect stops overwhelm the foundation stops, thus endangering the organ’s instrumental sound, while performances of organ symphonies and transcriptions outnumber the traditional

⁸⁷³ Arthur J. Thompson, “Our Piebald Organ Industry,” *NMR* 31, no. 369 (October 1932): 393-96. Hilbourne Roosevelt proved the exception creating organs with remarkable mechanics and individual tonal structure.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Comparing the two is like comparing a jazz ensemble to a string quartet. *Ibid.*

⁸⁷⁷ Homer Nearing, “The Fatal Orchestral Influence,” *NMR* 28, no. 327 (February 1929): 87-89. Nearing argues that Beethoven started the trend when he used symphonic sketches to write piano sonatas, and thus the piano has been adapted to be so strong that it is more suited for a gymnasium than a music room. As a result, players neglect music for intended for the original pianos such as Scarlatti’s sonatas and Mozart’s Fantasias.

organ repertory.⁸⁷⁸ The author pleads for a return to the organ's original character, arguing that orchestral imitation is no longer needed in a country with so many orchestras and radio broadcasts.⁸⁷⁹

A similar argument blames the addition of theatrical stops to church organs for creating an instrument less suited to providing music for worship services.⁸⁸⁰ In fact, the Lutheran Conference issued a warning that devices⁸⁸¹ from movie organs should not be used on church organs; they insisted church instruments must retain a majestic character with a strong foundation of diapason tone.⁸⁸²

Since its development, entire tomes have been written on the theater organ, including Turley's *Mighty Music at the Movies*, Foort's *The Cinema Organ*, and Junchen's *Encyclopedia of the American Theatre Organ*.⁸⁸³ Theater organ enthusiasts even have their own societies (with journals) including the American Theatre Organ Society and the Cinema Organ Society.

In the 1930s, Harrison conceived of the "Classical" tonal organ as a way to incorporate new developments in organ building with traditional organ voicing. Yet even this organ caused disagreement, as one contributor describes its tone as an "organ

⁸⁷⁸Ibid., 87-89. Nearing believes that movie organs further encouraged the idea of the organist as a one-man orchestra, thus the public is now accustomed to organ music of an "unidiomatic style."

⁸⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰"Movie Organs," *NMR* 24, no. 281 (April 1925): 201.

⁸⁸¹These include the many solo stops and additions developed to achieve theatrical effects, such as the thunder sheet, drums, and xylophone.

⁸⁸²Ibid., 201. It is argued that "older, sweet-toned organs" were more suited for service playing than modern organs with coarse tone. The article included a quote from Richard Terry published in *Musical News and Herald*.

⁸⁸³Fred Turley, *Mighty Music at the Movies* (Sheffield: Sheaf, 1990). Reginald Foort, *The Cinema Organ: A Description in Non-technical Language of a Fascinating Instrument and How it is Played* (Vestal, N.Y.: Vestal Press, 1970). David L. Junchen, *Encyclopedia of the American Theatre Organ* (Pasadena, Calif.: Showcase Publications, 1985).

ensemble” containing smaller, brighter Diapasons, balanced Mixtures, smooth Trumpet tones, and noise.⁸⁸⁴

G. Donald Harrison, innovator of the classical organ style so important to American organ building, explains its benefits in his article, “The Renaissance in Organ Building.”⁸⁸⁵ He clarifies that the renaissance relates to the fundamental organ tones and does not exclude modern developments.⁸⁸⁶ He argues that a flue chorus of foundation stops with mutations and upper work that blend for ensemble and buildup is essential to the classic organ; chorus reeds complement the flue stops without obscuring them.⁸⁸⁷ He argues that organs with classical designs better perform the wide range of organ literature with clarity and richness; the addition of modern solo voices allow orchestral works to be performed, while the Diapason Chorus is ideal for accompaniment.⁸⁸⁸ Harrison asserts that organists lost their sense of blend with the advent of high-pressure reeds that changed the Diapason sound and with the abandonment of Mixtures.⁸⁸⁹ He advocates a Diapason for the fundamental tone, with the formant tone for at least the first seven upper partials.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁴George Lee Hamrick, “Molto pesante!,” *NMR* 31, no. 370 (November 1932): 446. He argues that parts of the organ have been depleted to enable the ensemble — including the elimination of the Swell and Pedal Bourdons — leaving only a Great Bourdon neither suitably loud for the Bourdon, nor as soft as the Lieblich in the Pedal. He also describes the French Trumpet replacing the Cornopean as useful only in loud finishes.

⁸⁸⁵G. Donald Harrison, “The Renaissance in Organ Building,” *NMR* 33, no. 392 (September 1934): 321-24.

⁸⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 322.

⁸⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 321-24.

⁸⁸⁸*Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁹*Ibid.* Organists in England and especially the United States became accustomed to hearing the 8’ stop stand out; he contends the departure from the classic organ only occurred in England and America.

⁸⁹⁰*Ibid.*

Another contributor promotes the advantage of the large classical tone organ's ability to become a "museum of organ building," representing both past and present ensembles and stops.⁸⁹¹ He defends the style, noting its selection of diapasons, flutes, strings and reeds provides both beautiful voices and a beautiful ensemble, contrary to an emphasis on solo stops that leads to unfortunate effects.⁸⁹²

Selection of an Organ

American churches installed new organs at a rapid rate during the first decades of the twentieth century, some funded by the congregations, and quite a few by Andrew Carnegie.⁸⁹³ New organ installation is a substantial capital investment for any church, and organ selection committees faced the difficult dilemma of trying to choose, with their limited knowledge, the best instrument among a wide variety of choices. The *NMR* published many articles to advise organ selection.

Contributors repeatedly suggest that churches enlist a knowledgeable organist to assist in their instrument selection.⁸⁹⁴ Contributors warn of the lack of knowledge inhibiting a volunteer committee,⁸⁹⁵ and they recommend hiring a paid advisor to ensure a proper choice.⁸⁹⁶ One *NMR* article cautioning against organists receiving commissions from organ builders alludes to serious questions of influence and conflicts of interest.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹¹Tyler Turner, "The Organ in Review," *NMR* 31, no. 362 (January 1932): 54-58.

⁸⁹²Tyler Turner, "The Organ in Review," *NMR* 31, no. 364 (March 1932): 149-53.

⁸⁹³G. Edward Stubbs, "Ecclesiastical Music," *NMR* 19, no. 219 (February 1920): 98-102. The *NMR* features additional descriptions of many new organs donated by Carnegie.

⁸⁹⁴Palmer, "Modern Organ Building," 570-72.

⁸⁹⁵Stanley Williams, "The Organ," *NMR* 24, no. 285 (August 1925): 332-34.

⁸⁹⁶H. A. Hamilton, "How Do You Like Our Organ?" *NMR* 31, no. 367 (June 1932): 292-93.

⁸⁹⁷Lemare, "Organs and Organ Building," 4, no. 40 (March 1905): 161-64.

The problem of organizing a knowledgeable committee and finding a trustworthy advisor remains relevant today.⁸⁹⁸

With so many variables present in the construction of an organ, comparing bids from different companies is described as problematic.⁸⁹⁹ One contributor lists desirable traits: crisp, responsive action; light, but firm touch; reliable mechanism; comfortable arrangement of the console; durable contacts and ease of repair; reliable combination; effective Swell box for phrasing; silent, accurate stop action; adequate, steady wind supply; stops that sound well in combinations and solos; an even, gradual crescendo in the voicing; brilliant and powerful full organ; and quality pipes with accurate pitch and speech.⁹⁰⁰ Another contributor suggests evaluating craftsmanship, quality of materials, and the inclusion of the best new innovations for selection rather than advertising and salesmanship.⁹⁰¹ He notes disappointing results for electric organs, but foresees their great possibilities in the future.⁹⁰²

Contributors advise against selecting an organ too large for the space,⁹⁰³ noting that an instrument's size and power should always suit its location.⁹⁰⁴ With the "biggest"

⁸⁹⁸Barnes, *Contemporary American Organ*, 330.

⁸⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 332-33. Even in 1908 choices include whether to have a straight or concave pedal board, stop-keys or draw-stops, and which pipes to include in the swell box; a list of stops, couplers, swells, wind pressure, exact material of pipes, scale of pipes and whether stops are borrowed are suggested as points for proper comparison. Palmer, "Modern Organ Building" 570-72.

⁹⁰⁰Williams, "The Organ," 332-34.

⁹⁰¹Tyler Turner, "The Organ in Review," *NMR* 31, no. 366 (May 1932): 244-47. Turner held the Estey organ at Claremont College as an ideal — combining the best tonal elements of the English, French and German organs.

⁹⁰²Tyler Turner, "The Organ in Review," 31, no. 362 (January 1932): 54-58. This was accurate foresight; electric (electronic) organs are now installed at a greater rate than traditional pipe organs.

⁹⁰³Lemare, "Organs and Organ Building," 4, no. 40 (March 1905): 161-64. Hamilton also makes this point more than twenty years later, as he declares that the organ's size and power should suit the room in which it is located. H. A. Hamilton, "How Do You Like Our Organ?," *NMR* 31, no. 367 (June 1932): 292-93.

⁹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 292-93.

organs drawing much attention,⁹⁰⁵ purchasers often mistakenly perceived bigger as better.⁹⁰⁶ While ambitious plans or the largest number of stops may spur unmusical buyers, one contributor advises consideration of tonal beauty and balance rather than console arrangement.⁹⁰⁷ In fact, as another contributor underscores, only three pedal stops are necessary for balance in smaller organs: the Gedeckt, Bourdon and Double-Open.⁹⁰⁸ In the second half of the 1900s, many notable organs were smaller, especially with the increased use of tracker action. Rather than procure the largest instrument available, one article emphasizes a voicing for smaller organs equivalent to large ones; the success of an organ requires adjustment of tonal balance to the room.⁹⁰⁹ An expert mechanic is recommended for care for the organ, and for making slight changes in the voicing.⁹¹⁰

Still other articles suggest that churches invest capital in musicians in addition to instruments. After acquiring a new instrument, often the excitement quickly dissipates, leaving the organ rarely played.⁹¹¹ One contributor recommends an endowment for organ

⁹⁰⁵Nearing adds that Americans are not the only ones promoting the bigger-is-better fallacy; the French are also under its influence.

⁹⁰⁶Homer Nearing, "Bigger and Better," *NMR* 29, no. 346 (September 1930): 859-60. For instance, a six-manual organ is not necessarily more effective than a three-manual one, as an organist has only two hands.

⁹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 859-60. Nearing argues that many small churches have installed organs too large for practical use because they tried to get the most stops for the money rather than the best quality. As a comparison, he notes that while composers have written pieces in excessive length, with organ symphonies lasting up to an hour, many of the masterpieces are only two or three pages.

⁹⁰⁸Hamilton, "How Do You Like Our Organ?" 292-93. He provides a summary of recommended stops to serve as a guide for those purchasing a new instrument and includes an Aeoline on the Swell and a Dulciana and Tremulant on the Great among the suggested stops.

⁹⁰⁹George L. Hamrick, "A Plea for the Small Organ," *NMR* 34, no. 396 (January 1935): 41-42, 47. Per Hamrick, pipes of the same register should sound at the same level of loudness, with consideration given to the balance and relationships between the stops and the divisions; the Diapasons should have a complete and full tone, and Tremolos should be adjusted for a pleasing and musical effect.

⁹¹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹¹Homer Nearing, "The Problem of the Silent Organ," *NMR* 30, no. 358 (September 1931): 356.

recitals and an organist capable of caring for and making the most of the organ, ensuring a new instrument's permanent use.⁹¹²

The difficulties of organ selection persisted long after the NMR stopped publishing. In his book on *Organ Design and Appraisal*, James Jamison, who spent his life designing and selling organs, devotes a large portion of the book to “how to tell a good organ from a poor one.”⁹¹³ After writing a pamphlet that became the AGO's guide to organ selection,⁹¹⁴ John Ogasapian expanded the subject into a book. In *Church Organs: A Guide to Selection and Purpose*,⁹¹⁵ at least half the information is dedicated to differentiating pipe organs, electronic organs, and reed organs; and in the pipe organ section, between tracker action and electric. Other matters treated include organ restoration, the size of an organ, and choosing a builder. Like the NMR, Ogasapian advocates using a consultant to aid in the selection process.

⁹¹²Ibid., 356. To further the instrument's popularity, he argued that organists should pay attention to public tastes in music and what the audience can understand, rather than relying exclusively on what appeals to organists.

⁹¹³Jamison, *Organ Design and Appraisal*, 136-63. He includes suggestions on how to evaluate an organ's, and thus the builder's, strengths and weaknesses in tonal balance, progression, timbre, blend, and voicing. Ibid., 159-60.

⁹¹⁴John K. Ogasapian and Carlton Russell, *Buying an Organ: Guidelines for Churches* (New York: American Guild of Organists, 1976).

⁹¹⁵John K. Ogasapian, *Church Organs: A Guide to Selection and Purchase* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1983).

Chapter 8: Organ Repertory

Organ transcriptions and the selection of organ repertory stirred unusually strong debate in the NMR. At the turn of the century, organs were found in municipal buildings, sporting venues, and concert halls, rather than exclusively in churches. Organ recitals provided both popular entertainment and a form of musical instruction. Early twentieth-century organists often performed arrangements of works originally written for other instruments or for non-sacred purposes; organists had strong feelings about the propriety of these practices and debated them intensively. The NMR served as a forum for the controversy over the use of organ transcriptions, and its articles document a struggle over the aesthetic direction of American organ music.

The NMR's authors often opine on "appropriate" organ repertory for concerts, radio programs and church services. Musicians deployed the organ in a wide variety of contexts in the early 1900s (unlike today, when the organ is largely relegated to church use), and the NMR's analyses and suggestions of works suited to those occasions, as well as its repertory examples, shaped American organists' musical tastes. The ideals debated and espoused in the NMR largely remain relevant to practicing American organists. Moreover, the NMR's contemporaneous repertory suggestions provide insight into music played at the turn of the century.

In contrast to its emphasis on accompaniment the NMR rarely discusses original organ compositions in detail, outside of their selection for programs. AGO examiners commend the performance of solo organ repertory, but maintain that accompaniment

needs more attention. Accompaniment is a necessary skill that all church organists must learn.

Transcriptions

The NMR and other contemporaneous journals debate whether transcriptions are a viable, appropriate means to make additional organ repertory available to musicians.⁹¹⁶ In his book *Organ Registration*, Everett Truette divides transcriptions into two categories: those similar in style to organ music “proper,” and those with a different character and effect to that of music originally composed for the organ. Truette concludes that the use of transcriptions, like choosing registrations, “is purely a matter of personal taste,” and that the question of their use cannot be decided objectively.⁹¹⁷ Herbert Ellingford published the definitive book on transcription in 1922, claiming that even with fine American orchestras, the organ remains especially useful in allowing audiences to hear great orchestral works in the many locations having no orchestra.⁹¹⁸ Transcriptions of carefully chosen works “can be made to sound as grand and as beautiful, as ennobling and as edifying, as the finest organ music ever written.”⁹¹⁹ Contributors to the NMR both defend and decry the use of transcriptions.

According to concert organist Mark Andrews, transcriptions are necessary for organists to play music by the greatest composers: Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin,

⁹¹⁶Jonathan Ambrosino, “Present Imperfect: A Perspective on the Past Century of American Organ Building,” *The Tracker* 42, no. 3 (1988): 22-36. Ambrosino notes that the question of using transcriptions arose in organ journals of the 1890s.

⁹¹⁷Everett Truette, *Organ Registration* (Boston: C. W. Thompson, 1919), 138-39.

⁹¹⁸Herbert Ellingford, *The Art of Transcribing for Organ* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1922).

⁹¹⁹*Ibid.*, 154.

Tschaikovsky, Grieg, Schubert and Brahms — none of whom composed for organ.⁹²⁰

Andrews recommends using an organ transcription of an excellent piece, such as the Good Friday music from Wagner's *Parsifal*, rather than mediocre music written expressly for the organ; Andrews even claims that some music — such as Chopin's *Funeral March* — is more effective on the organ than in its original instrumentation.⁹²¹ Although some organists in England and the United States reportedly play arrangements that sound worse than an orchestra performance of the piece, he argues that suitable works for transcription sound like very good organ music.⁹²² Andrews further insists that composers writing for orchestra or piano, in fact, have greater imagination than those writing for organ; he allows the notable exception of Bach, but asserts an organist cannot play Bach alone.⁹²³ Andrews's argument is forcefully subjective; arguments for transcriptions by other authors are of a more practical nature.

In fact, many great composers themselves wrote transcriptions of their own works, as NMR contributors reveal. That organ transcriptions had been written and performed for hundreds of years by esteemed musicians justifies their performance for many organists. Skinner cites organ transcriptions by Bach, especially his Organ Concertos, as a defense for the performance of transcriptions.⁹²⁴ Another author acknowledges that

⁹²⁰Mark Andrews, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 90 (May 1909): 337-38. Ernest Skinner notes that the modern organ differs from the instrument known to the earlier composers, thus many of the "greatest composers" did not write for it. Ernest M. Skinner, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 93 (August 1909): 488.

⁹²¹*Ibid.*, 337-38.

⁹²²Mark Andrews, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 92 (July 1909): 443.

⁹²³Andrews, "Correspondence," 8, no. 90 (May 1909): 337-38. Although Andrews views Bach's music as the ideal for the organ, Ashmall suggests that the recent use of three staves for organ music does not determine what defines organ music; Bach's music was originally on two staves and could have been played on a two-manual harpsichord. William Edwin Ashmall, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 93 (August 1909): 488-90.

⁹²⁴Ernest M. Skinner, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 96 (November 1909): 630.

Beethoven used the same music in different media, for example, a version for piano of the Violin Concerto.⁹²⁵ Other famous composers of “arrangements,” as identified by E. T. Best, an arranger himself, include Franz Liszt, Alexandre Guilmant, John Stainer and Henry Smart.⁹²⁶

Many NMR contributors argue that modern organ developments create a suitable medium for transcriptions of orchestral compositions. Although Skinner acknowledges that the organ imitates the orchestra, he maintains that the organ is a worthy rival for interpretation of orchestral works.⁹²⁷ He declares that orchestral color expands the organ’s possibilities, and hopes that this addition might tempt orchestral composers to write pieces for the organ.⁹²⁸ Andrews also claims the new woodwind, string and tuba tones on the organ permit and even enhance transcriptions; and that the organ may transmit faithfully the melody and harmony of an orchestral work.⁹²⁹

W. T. Best argues that large municipal organs were built for large-scale works, not only sonatas and preludes, and that the organ provides a better resemblance of an or-

⁹²⁵“Organ Transcriptions,” *NMR* 20, no. 239 (October 1921): 363-64.

⁹²⁶W. T. Best, “Organ Arrangements,” *NMR* 21, no. 246 (May 1922): 182-84. Reprint from *The Organ*.

⁹²⁷*Ibid.*, 182-84. Similar to a point made by Andrews, Skinner also claimed that some pieces have been heard with finer effect on the organ than in their original interpretation by an orchestra.

⁹²⁸Ernest M. Skinner, “Correspondence,” *NMR* 8, no. 90 (May 1909): 338-39. He also expected that the organ of the future would parallel the resources and dignity of the orchestra; Skinner argued that more composers would write for the organ if it were a standard and lasting medium. Ernest M. Skinner, “Correspondence,” *NMR* 8, no. 93 (August 1909): 488.

⁹²⁹Andrews, “Correspondence,” 8, no. 90 (May 1909): 337-38. He argued that too much attention was given to tone-color. An article written more than ten years later in 1921 also states that it is the technically advanced modern organ that allows for transcriptions of modern orchestral works; modern technique and instruments make comparisons to historical performance inadequate. The author claims that content, not color, determines good music. “Organ transcriptions,” *NMR* 20, no. 239 (October 1921): 363-64. Another contributor emphasizes that hearing an orchestral work from organ transcriptions as an acceptable substitute when unable to hear it from an orchestra. Ashmall, “Correspondence,” 488-90.

chestral score than do other instruments.⁹³⁰ Ellingford concurs that organs in locations other than churches permit the performance of more secular music,⁹³¹ while emphasizing musicality and the spirit of the original composition as important traits in a transcription.⁹³²

Numerous authors point to the effectiveness of using transcriptions to attract, please and educate an audience. Contributors praise transcriptions for allowing audiences to hear rarely performed orchestral pieces,⁹³³ or even awaken musical interest by performing masterpieces in a small community or for those who do not attend orchestral concerts.⁹³⁴ Organ performances educate the audience in multiple ways, and one contributor even recommends transcriptions for attracting a bigger audience to educate.⁹³⁵ In fact, Best considers many modern organ compositions dull for the listener, and advises transcriptions to keep the audience interested.⁹³⁶ Skinner finds audience enjoyment a sufficient defense for transcriptions,⁹³⁷ although he laments a lack of enthusiasm for conven-

⁹³⁰Best, "Organ Arrangements," 182-84.

⁹³¹"Ellingford on Transcription," *NMR* 21, no. 248 (July 1922): 269-70. He notes that Great changes in organ building allow the organist to play both the music of Bach and that of a different nature.

⁹³²*Ibid.*, 269-70. Ellingford emphasized that a transcription's worth lies in its intrinsic musical quality; the transcriber should convey the spirit of the original composition in the best possible manner suited to the organ. Quarles agreed that transcriptions may be used if they are musical, but he argued that the organ is not an orchestra and some things will not work; he found transcriptions better used in communities with no symphony orchestra. James T. Quarles, "The Organist in the Concert Field," *NMR* 19, no. 228 (November 1920): 403-06.

⁹³³William Reed, "Organ Recital Programs," *NMR* 5, no. 50 (January 1906): 660-61.

⁹³⁴Rowland W. Dunham, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 11 (July 1909): 444. Ashmall also agrees that transcriptions allow the audience to hear new works, as he states the following month. Ashmall, "Correspondence," 488-90.

⁹³⁵Dunham, "Correspondence," 444. In 1925, William C. Carl argues that the organ has the ability to educate the public about music because it can express all emotions and "is a complete orchestra in itself" in William C. Carl, "Organ Recitals," *NMR* 24, no. 285 (August 1925): 336-37.

⁹³⁶Best, "Organ Arrangements," 182-84.

⁹³⁷Skinner, "Correspondence," 8, no. 90 (May 1909): 338-39.

tional organ music.⁹³⁸ He argues that if transcriptions give the organist pleasure, he should share them with the public, and advocates concerts providing both transcriptions and traditional music.⁹³⁹ Many great organists during this era, such as Edwin Lemare, regularly played transcriptions.⁹⁴⁰

As well as pleasing the audience, the use of transcriptions benefits the organist. Transcriptions allow a busy organist the opportunity to play beautiful, melodious music often easier to prepare than works by Old Masters.⁹⁴¹ Organ arrangements assist an organist by increasing finger skill and instrument management, as well as by refining an organist's style.⁹⁴² John Hermann Loud, who scorns the use of arrangements and only performs transcriptions in recitals by request, admits the usefulness of transcriptions as service music; he suggests oratorio choruses for postludes and slow symphony movements for devotional preludes or offertories.⁹⁴³

Alexandre Cellier, a writer for the *Musical Times*, classifies three types of transcriptions — reductions, amplifications, and true transcriptions — and argues that one should be selective in performing them.⁹⁴⁴ According to Cellier, a reduction is a work written originally for a large group of instruments and later arranged for a solo instrument

⁹³⁸Skinner, "Correspondence," 8, no. 93 (August 1909): 488.

⁹³⁹Ibid., 488. In response to J. Hermann Loud; in fact, a recital by Loud featured a transcription of a Wagner work. Samuel Baldwin's recitals that prominently featured both works by Bach and transcriptions of Wagner were very popular.

⁹⁴⁰"Organ Transcriptions," 363-64. Robert Stewart was the first modern organ transcriber; he played from full-score. W. T. Best had great enthusiasm for transcription; he published a series of transcriptions following the tradition of artistic freedom. Herbert F. Ellingford wrote a new book on the principles of transcription. Ashmall notes that Frederic Archer, a great musician and organist, played a wide repertory of overtures arranged for organ in Ashmall, "Correspondence," 488-90.

⁹⁴¹Ashmall, "Correspondence," 488-90.

⁹⁴²Best, "Organ Arrangements," 182-84.

⁹⁴³John Hermann Loud, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 94 (September 1909): 528.

⁹⁴⁴Alexandre Cellier, "Is Transcription Permissible," *NMR* 25, no. 294 (May 1926): 170-72. Reprint from *The Musical Times*.

or smaller group;⁹⁴⁵ an amplification is a work written originally for a solo instrument or small group and later orchestrated for a much larger group;⁹⁴⁶ while true transcription is a work transferred to an equal, but different instrument or group of instruments.⁹⁴⁷ Cellier advises that many reductions, amplifications and transcriptions succeed on the organ, but cautions against transcription of certain pieces, such as operatic arias; he advises good taste and care in selecting pieces for transcription.⁹⁴⁸

The debate over the use of transcriptions rages in the *NMR* throughout 1909, and during this year a number of contributors protest that organ transcriptions should not be used for public performance at all. The author of the *NMR*'s "Editorials" section argues that performers must retain the organ's individual and noble diapason tone: the organ is for organ music, not "surprising imitations of orchestral performance."⁹⁴⁹ This Editor expressly disagrees with Goss-Custard's claim in the *Daily Telegraph* that organs are "far more interesting instruments than they used to be. . . . We can give orchestral effects as we were never able to do in the old days."⁹⁵⁰

The Editor also insists that musicians respect a work's original instrumentation.⁹⁵¹ He refutes Skinner's reasoning that instrumentation is random, asserting that composers

⁹⁴⁵Ibid., 170-72. Cellier contends that pieces of a small, intimate character often may be successfully reduced. He finds piano reductions are practical, although out of place in a large concert hall.

⁹⁴⁶Ibid. Cellier argues they can succeed in a broadly conceived orchestral style, such as Chopin's Polonaise in A major and Schumann's *Evening Song*. He advises that intimate pieces and those capable of being fully expressed by a single performer should not be amplified.

⁹⁴⁷Ibid. Cellier maintains that it is better to perform good transcribed music than bad original music; the viola has need for transcriptions, but the pianist has little call for them — one reason he refuses to condone transcriptions of organ music on the piano.

⁹⁴⁸Ibid.

⁹⁴⁹"Editorials," *NMR* 8, no. 89 (April 1909): 262.

⁹⁵⁰Ibid., 261.

⁹⁵¹Ibid., 261-62. He notes that transcriptions were really orchestrations and finds them unappealing.

did not intend their orchestral works to be performed on the organ.⁹⁵² Another contributor agrees, acknowledging that although the quality of organ building and orchestral tone improved significantly from the late 1800s, the organ will never rival the orchestra as a medium for orchestral works.⁹⁵³

In the *NMR* issue of June 1909, Clifford Demarest and John Herman Loud both argue that organists should use the instrument's orchestral color for expression of organ music. Demarest claims that musicians should use orchestral and color tones only in "legitimate" organ music rather than transcriptions,⁹⁵⁴ while Loud promotes the use of the organ's orchestral effects to bring out the harmonies in works by Bach, Mendelssohn and Merkel.⁹⁵⁵ According to Demarest, the organ music and style of composers like Rheinberger, Guilmant and Widor lead to the creation of superior organs with orchestral variety; thus, organists should highlight music by these composers and other works intended for organ — not transcriptions — on the modern instruments.⁹⁵⁶

The *NMR*'s Editor argues that organists should perform the instrument's extensive original repertory, by masters such as Liszt, Franck, Handel, Max Reger, and Schumann, rather than works written for other instruments.⁹⁵⁷ He emphasizes that American organists originally used transcriptions in small towns in the 1800s, when music written

⁹⁵²"Editorials," *NMR* 8, no. 91 (June 1909): 373-76

⁹⁵³Walter P. Stanley, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 92 (July 1909): 443-44.

⁹⁵⁴Clifford Demarest, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 91 (June 1909): 394.

⁹⁵⁵John Hermann Loud, "Correspondence," *NMR* 8, no. 91 (June 1909): 394.

⁹⁵⁶Demarest, "Correspondence," 394.

⁹⁵⁷"Editorials," *NMR* 8, no. 91 (June 1909): 373-76.

for the organ was little known; although he describes some modern organ music as sentimental and unfit, he argues that much of it is “legitimate” and interesting.⁹⁵⁸

According to Loud, recitals of music written specifically for the organ managed to attract an audience at the time, with few requests for transcriptions at these well-attended performances.⁹⁵⁹ He advises organists to play arrangements only for personal pleasure and study,⁹⁶⁰ noting that good judgment in the selection of original organ music for recitals suffices to retain the audience.⁹⁶¹ Demarest further argues that transcriptions fail musically on average organs, and artistic organists consequently must not rely on them.⁹⁶²

The NMR reaches no consensus or conclusion on the proper use of organ transcription, but the journal frames a debate that continues to the present day.⁹⁶³ Putting aside the lack of resolution, the debate’s larger significance is to document a struggle over the American organ’s proper use and the shape of its musical development. At least two themes emerge from the debate: First, writers disagreed on how best to promote the organ as an instrument — would transcribed works eclipse original organ music, or would they create a wider audience for the organ, saving the instrument from obscurity? Second, some musicians and critics sought to protect the instrument from the “degrada-

⁹⁵⁸Ibid., 373-76. For instance, the “Editor” refutes Andrews’s claims that organ music by Buxtehude and Boely is “bourgeois,” and he also deems the music of Rheinberger, Gigout, Dubois, Lemmens and Silas worth playing.

⁹⁵⁹John Hermann Loud, “Correspondence,” *NMR* 8, no. 91 (June 1909): 394.

⁹⁶⁰Ibid., 394

⁹⁶¹Loud, “Correspondence,” 8, no. 94 (September 1909): 528.

⁹⁶²Demarest, “Correspondence,” 394.

⁹⁶³Guy Bovet, a prominent contemporary organ recitalist, reopens the question in a 1999 article. He argues that while an organist may play transcriptions in private, she should only perform them publicly when they exceed the original composition’s quality. He concludes that musicians should not use organ transcriptions of orchestral compositions in concerts when an orchestra would better perform the work. Not all organists agree, however, and many of them continue to publish and play organ transcriptions today. Guy Bovet, “Fin de siècle – Congrès de Winterthur: Transcription: L’Orgue “Ersatz,” *La Tribune de l’Orgue* 51, no. 4 (December 1999): 4-7.

tion” of transcribed works — an effort unique to the organ. Their attempt to control composers’, performers’, and audiences’ access to the organ demonstrates an elitist vision for the instrument.

Selection of Repertory and Program Planning

Organ recitals and church services enabled many people to hear quality music at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many recitalists were in high demand, and it was not unusual for thousands of people to attend a performance in a large auditorium. Choosing the program was a primary concern; while organists wanted a balance of music, they also wanted to keep the audience’s attention. With the advent of the radio recital, performers had to consider both repertory and new difficulties in transmission. Music appropriate for recitals was not necessarily suitable for a church service, where organists took care to ensure selections provided an atmosphere for worship.

Articles in the NMR give practical advice to the organist for planning both concert programs and church services; this advice and accompanying repertory suggestions provide insight into what organists were performing at the time. Radio recitals and the accompaniment of motion pictures were new fields, and contributors to the NMR explain the difficulties organists faced in adapting to new media.

Concert Recitals

As noted in the NMR, the field of organ concert artists was expanding at the beginning of the twentieth century; as early as 1906 the professional organist was replacing

the local church organist as recitalist.⁹⁶⁴ Yet with this elevation to professional status came greater responsibility for giving stimulating, artistic recitals.⁹⁶⁵ In 1920 James T. Quarles predicts a great future for concert organists owing to the construction of good organs in churches and concert halls, employment of municipal organists to perform in auditoriums, and the development of musical taste in schools.⁹⁶⁶

General recommendations for building appealing concert programs found in *NMR* articles include development of audience appreciation through quality music;⁹⁶⁷ avoidance of violent contrast; observation of key-relationships between pieces in different keys; avoidance of overly academic works; consecutive selections with contrasts in tempo, rhythm, length or registration;⁹⁶⁸ programming only two or three arrangements, but a light opening number; including American compositions rather than exclusively European ones;⁹⁶⁹ performing improvisation;⁹⁷⁰ and building the program to a climax.⁹⁷¹

In a contemporary volume published for the organ recitalist, a number of authors also offer suggestions on creating a program, insinuating that many American organists of the era were not skillful in this regards. One author suggests unity and new repertory

⁹⁶⁴William Reed, "Organ Recital Programs," *NMR* 5, no. 50 (January 1906): 660-61.

⁹⁶⁵William C. Carl, "Organ Recitals," *NMR* 24, no. 285 (August 1925): 336-37.

⁹⁶⁶James T. Quarles, "The Organist in the Concert Field," *NMR* 19, no. 228 (November 1920): 403-06.

⁹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 403-06. Quarles notes that "sentimental" music creates only fleeting success. In 1925 William Carl also warns that playing should neither be for effect nor have a mechanical nature. Carl, "Organ Recitals," 336-37.

⁹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 336-37. Like Reed, Carl also emphasizes that musicians should contrast key, style and tone color in a recital.

⁹⁶⁹Reed, "Organ Recital Programs," 660-61.

⁹⁷⁰Carl elaborates that organists should create more enthusiasm for improvisation in America, should study it at greater length, and should include it in more recital programs. Carl, "Organ Recitals," 336-37.

⁹⁷¹Carl, "Organ Recitals," 336-37.

as the essential elements to programming and attracting an audience; he advises that simply adhering to a principle of the “correct” sequence of keys, or alternating loud works with those of a quiet character, will never inspire an audience.⁹⁷² Yet in a different article from the same publication, a more conservative contributor advocates “an equal number of loud and soft pieces” and warns against a program of “nothing but the ultra-modern school,” as the audience will not all be “super-musicians.”⁹⁷³ Another author merely suggests “interest, variety and brevity” in programming.⁹⁷⁴

Although the NMR records many suggestions on creating organ programs, one contributor, Lucien Chaffin, describes the great improvements that had already been made. In 1925, he claims that organists have greater technical agility than those of fifty years before, due to improvements in action, better methods of instruction and higher standards.⁹⁷⁵ He describes performances of Bach’s compositions as much more interesting, with faster tempos and changes of registration, and applauds the use of many more composers on organ programs.⁹⁷⁶ Even he, however, warns organists that programming requires careful consideration, and should entail more than one stunt after another, with contrasts in speed and limited use of Full Organ.⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷²Yorke Bannard, “The Construction of the Organ Programme,” in *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, ed. Herbert Westerby (London: J. A. Godfrey and Sons, 1927), 53-55.

⁹⁷³Herbert Hodge, “Advice to Young Organists,” in *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, ed. Herbert Westerby (London: J. A. Godfrey and Sons, 1927), 60-62.

⁹⁷⁴L. D. Gibbin, “How to Organize an Organ Recital,” in *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, ed. Herbert Westerby (London: J. A. Godfrey and Sons, 1927), 56-60.

⁹⁷⁵Lucien Chaffin, “Half a Century of American Organ Playing,” *NMR* 24, no. 280 (March 1925): 152-56. Yet he argues that performers must couple technique and speed with interpretation skills, good use of registration, examination of a work’s character, steady tempo and dignity.

⁹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 152-56. For instance, organists hardly performed works by the French composer Batiste, despite his earlier influence, and programs of earlier times relied much more on transcriptions.

⁹⁷⁷*Ibid.*

Radio Programs

As radio stations and networks began to broadcast organ recitals, American organists wrestled with how to produce live recitals. *NMR* contributors give specific advice regarding performance styles and repertory to facilitate radio broadcasting. Writing in 1924, Harvey Gaul, music director of the KDKA radio station in Pittsburgh, as well as an organist and prolific composer, suggests that clarity and precision in performance are more important than volume and distance from the transmitter.⁹⁷⁸ He recommends works with a melody and arpeggiated accompaniment because they transmit well, and suites with contrast because they are well-received.⁹⁷⁹ Further, he advises that compositions using solo stops and treated orchestrally with contrast will best succeed.⁹⁸⁰

Six years later it is noted that more recitals are broadcast from theaters than from churches, with great reliance on transcriptions from popular songs, musical plays and jazz.⁹⁸¹ Producers expect selected works to have a good melody, attractive modern harmonies, appealing musical texture and form, and inspiration.⁹⁸² Westerby, an experienced BBC recitalist, suggests pleasing and contrasting colors in broadcast recital programs; use of a piece in broad polyphonic style, with overture style or sonata style opening the program, and a movement in a bright style to close the recital; and avoidance of the Grand Choir style.⁹⁸³

⁹⁷⁸Harvey B. Gaul, "Organ Programs for Radio Recitals," *NMR* 23, no. 268 (March 1924): 151-52.

⁹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 151-52. Furthermore, marches should have a definite pulse and not too many full chords.

⁹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 151-52.

⁹⁸¹Herbert Westerby, "The Broadcasting Recital," *NMR* 29, no. 343 (June 1930): 735-39.

⁹⁸²*Ibid.*, 735-39.

⁹⁸³*Ibid.*

Gaul notes that Bach's toccatas and fugues transmit well when played crisply, as do works by French composers such as Franck, Widor and Guilmant; yet transcriptions are the most favorably received pieces, even with an overly familiar tune.⁹⁸⁴ Another contributor recommends that music in the modern Romantic style dominate the program: it should be popular, effective and have little solo pedal work.⁹⁸⁵ He suggests the following effects for success: arpeggio effects on soft flute stops, vibrating melodies on reeds, massed reeds, tinkling bell effects with a twelfth or mixture stop, a closed full swell and the full organ.⁹⁸⁶ These effects underscore the many characteristics of organ sound, and highlight its contrasts and unique sounds.

As a growing number of organists had the opportunity to perform recitals over the radio, these suggestions from experienced organists were pertinent. Radio broadcasts were an important means for Americans to hear organ music, especially in the 1940s and 1950s with the broadcasts of E. Power Biggs. Today organ music continues to be heard regularly on National Public Radio's "Pipe Dreams" broadcast.

Motion Picture Accompaniment

The development of the theater organ and its use to accompany the dramatic action of motion pictures made a big impact on organists during the first decades of the twentieth century. Some authors worry about the most talented organists playing in thea-

⁹⁸⁴Gaul, "Organ Programs," 151-52.

⁹⁸⁵Westerby, "The Broadcasting Recital," 735-39. Westerby purports that, because organ recitals have become an institution in America and England, many recital works by British and American composers incorporate the modern mechanism with varied effects. Westerby gives specific recommendations according to the following classifications: polyphonic; concerto or sonata style; overture or concert piece; fantasias; expressive cantabile; animated soft pieces; toccatas; scherzo and intermezzo style; nature studies; suites; marches; finales; and postludes.

⁹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 735-39.

ters rather than churches, and others prefer the traditional organ to the theater organ. Many contributors acknowledge the advantages of having organs and organists to accompany motion pictures. They hope that organists might provide better quality music than that often accompanying motion pictures; in elaborate theaters the organist often supplemented large orchestra and soloists. One author asserts that only an organist could change the style of playing, with registration and modulation, quickly enough to mirror the sentiment on the screen.⁹⁸⁷

Webbe, a contributor with experience as a theater organist, describes the lessons on composition and musicianship learned from spending time as a motion picture accompanist: the development of confidence to play through mistakes, the improvement of improvisational skills, and development of “better judgment in selecting and arranging musical ideas.”⁹⁸⁸ Although many theater organists started their careers in churches, only those with an extensive repertory, originality and imagination were successful in the theater.⁹⁸⁹

The NMR offers examples of musical devices forming successful theater accompaniments. One organist’s program includes a rhapsody of organ themes, a hint of popular melody displaying the resources of the organ, and character motives and themes developed and elaborated throughout the movie.⁹⁹⁰ The NMR describes the recurring theme as essential to satisfying the listener, and also suggests character painting, convey-

⁹⁸⁷Anonymous, “Organ Music for Movies,” *NMR* 13, no. 156 (November 1914): 527.

⁹⁸⁸William Y. Webbe, “The Screen Door,” *NMR* 20, no. 238 (September 1921): 336.

⁹⁸⁹“Organ Music for Movies,” 527.

⁹⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 527.

ance of mood and imitation.⁹⁹¹ Use of folk-song and popular tunes, according to the authors, creates a commonality with the audience.⁹⁹²

As noted in contemporary reports, finding suitable repertory for motion picture accompaniment challenged organists, as little extant organ music was appropriate; one contemporary author suggests improvisation as the best solution, because it most effectively allows the music to change with the scenes, atmosphere and action.⁹⁹³ Photo-play incidental music, scores written especially to accompany unspecified motion pictures from which performers could compile an accompaniment for the current motion picture selection, is also an option for the organist beginning to accompany motion pictures.⁹⁹⁴ With the large, diverse repertory required, theater organists struggled with the need to apply it appropriately and rapidly as scenes change.⁹⁹⁵

Although the organ often accompanied motion pictures in the United States and England, reports from abroad indicate that theaters did not use the organ in other countries, where orchestras, pianists and other instrumentalists performed accompaniments.⁹⁹⁶ When the movie industry introduced sound, colloquially referred to as “talkies,” in the

⁹⁹¹Webbe, “The Screen Door,” 333-36.

⁹⁹²Ibid., 333-36.

⁹⁹³George Tootell, “The Cinema Aspect,” in *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, ed. Herbert Westerby (London: J. A. Godfrey and Sons, 1927), 326-28.

⁹⁹⁴Quentin M. Maclean, “The Training of the Cinema Organist,” in *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, ed. Herbert Westerby (London: J. A. Godfrey and Son, 1927), 329-332.

⁹⁹⁵F. Rowland Tims, “The Cinema Organist’s Work,” in *The Complete Organ Recitalist*, ed. Herbert Westerby (London: J. A. Godfrey and Sons, 1927), 332-33. As also pointed out by an NMR contributor, theater jobs often do not suit church organists.

⁹⁹⁶George Cecil, “Cinema Music Abroad,” *NMR* 25, no. 292 (March 1926): 107-09. Some countries use native instruments: The tam-tam and three-stringed fiddle in Burma, and flutes in Egypt and Tunisia. Cecil reports that France has excellent music in its theaters, whether from a pianist or orchestra. In Germany, where the orchestra’s music program contributes to the theater’s success, the music is never inferior or faulty. Cinemas in Norway, Denmark and Sweden also have good music. The condition of cinema music is inferior in Italy, Belgium, Spain and England.

late 1920s and early 1930s, the art of the theater organ began to decline. Currently, few of the thousands of theater organs installed in the early twentieth century remain in their original locations.

Church Organ Recitals

Church organ recitals were a popular entertainment at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the NMR dispensed copious advice about planning such a recital. One recommendation advises performing a recital before the evening service, one-half hour in length, to avoid monotony or tiring the audience.⁹⁹⁷ The article suggests placing powerful and intricate pieces at the beginning of the recital, as well as the inclusion of soft selections with a popular air to help the audience become accustomed to the organ.⁹⁹⁸

Another ideal requires organ concerts once a week at community churches with a good organ to expose children to music of a high caliber.⁹⁹⁹ These concerts should be one hour long with no obvious educational aspect or formality, and the children allowed to come and go with the assistance of ushers; the aim is to provide moral and spiritual value for the children.¹⁰⁰⁰

Some organists discourage church organ concerts given at no charge. William C. Carl, himself a respected recitalist, argues that an organist should not give free recitals because he or she spends as much time in preparation and study as other artists who are

⁹⁹⁷Edward Shippen Barnes, "Some Thoughts on the Organ Recital," *NMR* 17, no. 200 (July 1918): 243-45.

⁹⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 243-45. Barnes warns that the organist should find satisfaction in his small group of friends that appreciate his music, rather than attendance numbers.

⁹⁹⁹P. P. Claxton, "Organ Music for Children," *NMR* 16, no. 190 (September 1917): 728. Neighboring churches could alternate if weekly was too much burden on one church or organist.

¹⁰⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 728.

recompensed for their performances.¹⁰⁰¹ Another organist agrees that while free recitals offer good education to the public, the organist should be compensated properly.¹⁰⁰²

Repertory for the Church Service

In the usual church service, the organist has two or three opportunities for performing solo works: the prelude before the service, the postlude after the service, and perhaps a voluntary or offertory. In the NMR's first volume (November 1901), one article notes that organs and organists are better than ever and "organ music is today one of the most promising fields of activity in composition."¹⁰⁰³ Through its columns and reviews of music, the NMR's editor strives to guide organists in their use of new music. In the same manner, an anonymous author, perhaps the editor himself, warns that the organist should be judicious in selecting music with no "trivialities"; the organist should choose music within his technical ability and perform it with "tasteful" registration.¹⁰⁰⁴

Contributors advise a quiet devotional nature for preludes, except on special occasions,¹⁰⁰⁵ with the goal of helping the congregation achieve a worshipful frame of mind.¹⁰⁰⁶ The NMR offers suggestions for many suitable works.¹⁰⁰⁷ One writer believes

¹⁰⁰¹Carl, "Organ Recitals," 336-37.

¹⁰⁰²Quarles, "The Organist in the Concert Field," 403-06.

¹⁰⁰³"Chats on Organ Music, No. 1," *CMR* 1, no. 5 (March 1902): 50.

¹⁰⁰⁴"Chats on Organ Music, No. 2," *CMR* 1, no. 6 (April 1902): 58-59.

¹⁰⁰⁵William Reed, "Concerning Organ Voluntaries," *NMR* 5, no. 51 (February 1906): 724-25.

¹⁰⁰⁶William H. Oetting, "Better Organ Music for Church Services," *NMR* 30, no. 355 (June 1931): 245-47.

¹⁰⁰⁷"Chats on Organ Music, No. 1," *CMR* 2, no. 5 (March 1902): 50. Current works suited for organs of limited capacity: Max Oesten's series *Festival Times*, Communion in D by Alfred Hollins, F. E. Gladstone's Postlude in B flat, works by Joseph Barnby, Meditation in D flat by Hamilton Clarke, Percy Flethcer's Prelude in F and Edwin Lemare's "Chant sans parole." Works for a more advanced organist with more registers include: Lemare's transcription of "Stradella," Minuet by Myles Foster, Intermezzo in D flat by Alfred Hollins, H. A. Wheeldon's *Contemplation*, Edward Cutler's *Andante Religioso*, and Leg-

organists neglect chorale preludes, despite their rich history¹⁰⁰⁸ and appropriateness; a list of suggestions includes works by T. Tertius Noble, John E. West, Healey Willan, Johannes Brahms, Leo Sowerby, Sigfrid Karg-Elert, Max Reger, Joseph Bonnet, Otto Malling, Edward Elgar, Joseph Waddell Clokey and T. Frederick H. Candlyn.¹⁰⁰⁹

Contributors assert that the voluntary deserves as much care as other parts of the service, with the perfection of a recital piece, and appropriate style and length.¹⁰¹⁰ One advises consideration of key-relationship if a vocal selection precedes or follows the voluntary,¹⁰¹¹ another suggests that it compliment the rest of the service.¹⁰¹²

The NMR describes the postlude as offering an organist the most freedom of choice, with marches, fugues and choruses suitable, as well as an improvisation on the final hymn.¹⁰¹³ Some authors argue that a postlude should retain the service's character.¹⁰¹⁴ Voiced objections include that it may be too loud following a quiet, devotional service, and that the postlude is irrelevant because the congregation rarely listens to it

ende by H. M. Higgs. More difficult works with greater organ resources include *Concert Rondo* and *C minor Concert Overture* by Alfred Hollins, John E. West's *Fantasia in F*, Wolstenholme's *Fantasia in E*, *Fantasy-Prelude* by Charles Macpherson, *Triumphal Song* by A. Herbert Brewer, *Sonata in D minor* by J. G. Topfer, works by Edwin Lemare and transcriptions by Sullivan.

¹⁰⁰⁸Edmondstone Duncan, "The Choral Prelude," *NMR* 23, no. 275 (October 1924): 490-92.

¹⁰⁰⁹Oetting, "Better Organ Music," 245-47.

¹⁰¹⁰Reed, "Organ Voluntaries," 724-25.

¹⁰¹¹*Ibid.*, 724-25.

¹⁰¹²Oetting, "Better Organ Music," 245-47. At least one article suggests appropriate works. "Chats on Organ Music, No. 2," *CMR* 2, no. 6 (April 1902): 58-59. For simple works, the NMR recommends the *Village Organist* series as well as works by Percy E. Fletcher. For works of medium difficulty: arrangements by Arthur Marchant, Hamilton Clarke's *Gavotte*, Herbert W. Wareing's *Coronation March*, works by A. Herbert Brewer and B. Luard Selby. For the recitalist: transcriptions by Lemare, John E. West and Edmund T. Chipp, *Meditation* and a *Toccata* by E. d'Evry and W. Wolstenholme's *Seraph's Strain* and *Le Carrillon*.

¹⁰¹³Reed, "Organ Voluntaries," 724-25.

¹⁰¹⁴Oetting, "Better Organ Music," 245-47.

quietly.¹⁰¹⁵ Others, however, defend the closing voluntary, or postlude, as a joyous release after a solemn service, and thus appropriately loud; moreover, as people make noise and talk when leaving church, a loud postlude masks the disturbance and preserves a worshipful atmosphere.¹⁰¹⁶

The NMR's repertory suggestions and publication notices document the relative popularity of organ composers in the early twentieth century. Today's organists no longer remember much of their music, either because it fell out of favor or was simply replaced by newer repertory. Thus the NMR supplies an important historical record of contemporaneous musical tastes.

Organ Accompaniment

In articles directed at those playing in a church, the NMR provides much helpful advice for the organist on accompaniment. These concentrate on suggestions for accompanying hymns, anthems, service music and oratorio performances. The articles underscore the NMR's mission of working toward the improvement of sacred music.

Described as the most difficult pieces to play on the organ, hymns require both a legato flow and rhythmic drive; one contributor recommends a legato and sustained style in the pedal, with repeated notes in the upper voices.¹⁰¹⁷ Other advice is contradictory, as another author recommends semi-staccato touch to help the congregation stay in tempo,

¹⁰¹⁵Homer Nearing, "In Defense of the Postlude," *NMR* 30, no. 360 (November 1931): 430-31.

¹⁰¹⁶*Ibid.*, 430-31. Many postludes are as carefully crafted as music for other parts of the service, and include Best's *Christmas Postlude*, Ropartz's Postlude in B flat, Merkel's Short Postlude in G, and Eslava's Postlude in C minor.

¹⁰¹⁷John Ross Frampton, "Hymn Tunes at the Organ," *NMR* 7, no. 74 (January 1908): 107-08. A long note should be repeated if it follows a short one regardless of the number of moving voices, and an accented suspension in the soprano requires a repetition in Frampton's method. He claims that this style provides sane fingering because the left hand has only one part and can take over the alto part if needed.

with repeated notes only in one voice, the soprano part.¹⁰¹⁸ This contributor proposes use of the pedals only for accent, not continuously¹⁰¹⁹ — suggesting changes of registration between verses, with no interludes.¹⁰²⁰

Contributors assert that introducing hymns is an essential task of the organist, as the introductions set up congregational singing in the service.¹⁰²¹ One author recommends an introduction of the hymn tune in tempo, with the melody played on a solo stop.¹⁰²² Conflicting advice suggests that the hymn melody should be introduced on a solo stop only if it is in the character of the hymn.¹⁰²³ Organ and choral attack are discussed at length, suggesting three methods for indicating the choral entrance.¹⁰²⁴ The *NMR* also provides much advice on the treatment of unison passages in hymn tunes.¹⁰²⁵

Suggestions for accompanying anthems explain how to support a weak section of singers,¹⁰²⁶ direct the choir while playing the accompaniment,¹⁰²⁷ and create an introduc-

¹⁰¹⁸Clifford Demarest, "Hints on Organ Accompaniment," *NMR* 9, no. 105 (August 1910): 454-58

¹⁰¹⁹*Ibid.*, 454-58.

¹⁰²⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁰²¹Orlando A. Mansfield, "The Organ and Choral Attack," *NMR* 5, no. 58 (September 1906): 1165-71.

¹⁰²²*Ibid.*, 1165-71.

¹⁰²³W. R. Waghorne, "Hymns and Hymn Playing," *NMR* 11, no. 121 (December 1911): 30-31. He further advises that the first word of the hymn should not be anticipated by the treble note.

¹⁰²⁴Mansfield, "Organ and Choral Attack," 1165-71. For experienced choirs he suggests that the choir breathe together during the pause before the first chord, and the striking of the first chord will then signal attack. In a second method, the bass note of the first chord may be held down to signal attack shortly before the choir comes in with the rest of the chord; this method works well for responses and chants. This style does not allow for a harmony change on the accented beat unless the rest is the accented beat. In yet another approach discussed by Mansfield, the melody note is anticipated before the full chord is given. This style aids choristers that do not know their note or a choir with bad intonation; Mansfield points out that the method is a rhythmic device rather than a melodic one, but it does give confirmation to the congregation and helps their singing. He further suggests that the initial note should not be embellished, the first chord should not be arpeggiated, and a pause of a whole bar between verses be given..

¹⁰²⁵Orlando A. Mansfield, "The Treatment of Unison Passages in Hymn Tunes," *NMR* 24, no. 286 (September 1925): 364-66.

¹⁰²⁶Demarest, "Hints on Organ Accompaniment," 454-58.

tion to aid the choral entry.¹⁰²⁸ The recommended accompaniment for a Psalm is a broad composition in the mood of the Psalm, leading to its climax,¹⁰²⁹ with responses unaccompanied after the first phrase.¹⁰³⁰

The NMR provides recommendations for adapting piano accompaniments to the organ because this practical skill is featured in the AGO's proficiency examinations. Articles give advice on conveying damper pedal indications, sustained voices, adding the pedal, and supporting the singers,¹⁰³¹ and also discuss treatment of an elaborate bass and the use of trills.¹⁰³²

Oratorios were often performed in churches as a special "musical service," or for the celebration of important days such as Easter, Good Friday, or Christmas, and the NMR includes advice about accompanying them. One author suggests that organists study a full orchestral score to provide orchestral color to the oratorio's accompaniment.¹⁰³³ Another discusses the organ part to Mendelssohn's *Elijah* at length because it

¹⁰²⁷Ibid., 454-58.

¹⁰²⁸Orlando A. Mansfield, "Extempore Anthem Preludes," *NMR* 24, no. 278 (January 1925): 60-61.

¹⁰²⁹W. H. Bell, "On the Accompaniment of the Church Service, No. 3," *CMR* 2, no. 1 (November 1902): 139-40. He cites the expression marks in Liszt's Thirteenth Psalm as an example. He suggests that unison passages used sparingly provide a variation, and modern harmonies can then be used in the accompaniment; some verses may be left unaccompanied and some accompanied only with a melody on a solo stop.

¹⁰³⁰W. H. Bell, "On the Accompaniment of the Church Service, No. 2, the Responses," *CMR* 1, no. 12 (October 1902): 126-27. For the Ferial responses and the Creed, he allows that the organ may accompany the choir; the Merbecke setting should be in at least one of the parts if the arrangement is harmonized and if accompanied, and only common chords in root or first inversion should be used.

¹⁰³¹Clifford Demarest, "Hints on Organ Accompaniment," *NMR* 9, no. 104 (July 1910): 405-09.

¹⁰³²E. H. Pierce, "Two Little Hints on Organ Accompaniment," *NMR* 30, no. 355 (June 1931): 247.

¹⁰³³Demarest, "Hints on Organ Accompaniment," 454-58. He suggests that the diapasons and flutes should be used most freely, while reeds should be used sparingly; string tones help brighten the tone color, but should not be used continually. He recommends that eight foot stops should predominate, vitality can be added to an accompaniment through tone color, and that changes of registration should not be too frequent.

was written out instead of given as figured bass, and thus offers a model for the organ accompaniment of an oratorio.¹⁰³⁴

Throughout the NMR, the authors strive to give practical advice and recommend music that can help improve the skills of organists and church musicians at all levels. This agrees with the goals set forth by both the NMR and the AGO for improving church music.

¹⁰³⁴Orlando A. Mansfield, "The Organ Part of Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Part I," *NMR* 3, no. 28 (February 1904): 393-94. Even though *Elijah* offers fewer expression and registration indications than *St. Paul*, it has fuller harmonies and staccato chords. Orlando A. Mansfield, "The Organ Part of Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Part II," *NMR* 3, no. 34 (August 1904): 514. With few exceptions, Mendelssohn excludes the organ from choruses assigned to pagans and persecutors, and most often uses the instrument "to amplify a thin harmony, or to enrich one already more or less full, to strengthen the vocal or orchestral basses, to add weight and dignity to the choral utterances, or . . . to impart an ecclesiastical tone-color not otherwise attainable.

Chapter 9: The American Guild of Organists

As the number of professional organists in the United States increased in the late 1800s, and only social organizations¹⁰³⁵ existed for organists, there was a need for a national organization with an educational agenda to address the organists' needs.¹⁰³⁶ At the time of the proposed group's organization, the development of American sacred music faltered in comparison with that of American secular music.¹⁰³⁷ With its Puritan influences, the United States lacked a musical tradition equal to that of Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in Europe. Concerned American musicians initiated an organization, eventually named the American Guild of Organists (the "AGO"), to "encourage a high order of choral and organ music."¹⁰³⁸

In 1896 a group of prominent organists founded the AGO in New York City. Gerrit Smith, an organist from New York City, visited England in the summer of 1894, and the work of the Royal College of Organists inspired him to create a similar organization in the United States. He gained the support of his colleagues, including Charles Ives, Henry G. Hanchett, and John Hyatt Brewer, and they held meetings that led to the AGO's creation.¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰³⁵For instance, the National Association of Organists.

¹⁰³⁶Barbara Owen, "American Guild of Organists Centennial, One Hundred Years Ago: The Founding of the AGO," *The American Organist* 30, no. 1 (January 1996): 35.

¹⁰³⁷By 1900, leading universities had established conservatories and music departments, there were groups of professional musicians performing for the Boston Symphony Orchestra and many other organizations, and music lessons were available in many areas.

¹⁰³⁸Ernest Douglas, "The Aim of the AGO," *The New Music and Church Music Review* 11, no. 125 (May 1912): 264. Address from the sixth public service of the Southern California chapter.

¹⁰³⁹*Ibid.*, 264.

In spring 1896, the Guild formally commenced, with the purposes of advancing the character, attainments and standing of church organists; improving the quality and appropriateness of church music; bringing about closer relations between clergy and professional church musicians; and advancing the cause of worship music.¹⁰⁴⁰ The organization that began with 145 founders in a single chapter¹⁰⁴¹ today includes over 20,000 members in 348 chapters. The first chapter outside New York City was established in Philadelphia in 1902; the New England chapter followed in 1905. By 1910 there were chapters in the Midwest (Chicago and Cleveland), the West Coast (Los Angeles) and Canada (Ontario and Quebec), among others.¹⁰⁴² Throughout its history, the organization has striven for high musical standards and greater appreciation of organ and choral music.

From the beginning of its publication, *The New Music Review* served as the AGO's "official organ," and each month an AGO column apprised members of the Guild's activities and news. Some of the regular content reports news and events from the headquarters chapter in New York City, including news about the Guild's officers, amendments to its constitution, and descriptions of its many public services and annual dinners. As the Guild expanded, reports on the establishment of local chapters and their activities become a regular feature, as do descriptions of organ recitals held around the country. The AGO column also prints programs of the AGO-sponsored "Organ Recital Series" and other recitalists performing in the United States.

¹⁰⁴⁰John Hyatt Brewer, "A Foreword," *The New Music and Church Review* 5, no. 50 (January 1906): 654.

¹⁰⁴¹Barbara Owen, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: The Founders of the AGO – Who Were They?," *The American Organist*, vol. 30, no. 2 (February 1996): 91.

¹⁰⁴²Barbara Owen, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: The Guild Grows," *The American Organist* vol. 30, no. 3 (March 1996): 45-46.

The NMR's AGO column reports activities and travels of the "warden," the Guild's highest officer, as well as issues of importance to organists, such as inadequate salaries, relief during the Depression, and the standardization of the organ pedal board and console.¹⁰⁴³ It records honors presented by the Guild to noted members, including wardens R. Huntington Woodman and Frank Sealy, as well as H. W. Gray, publisher of the NMR, and acclaimed organists Alexandre Guilmant and Marcel Dupré.¹⁰⁴⁴ Longer articles in the column pertain to the Guild's development, purpose and work and include copies of speeches about the Guild, its aims and accomplishments. The NMR includes extensive reports about the creation and continuation of the Guild's national conventions.¹⁰⁴⁵

While close, the AGO's relationship with the NMR was not exclusive. "From its very beginning, the AGO maintained a connection with a professional publication. For the first three years this was *The Pianist and Organist*, but for the next two years the

¹⁰⁴³Chapter 7, *supra*, discusses in detail the Guild's work toward a standardized organ pedal board and console.

¹⁰⁴⁴The AGO also gave a reception for the Belgian carillonneur Anton Brees and raised funds to aid the impoverished Louis Vierne.

¹⁰⁴⁵"First National Convention," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 76-77. "The Convention," *NMR* 19, no. 225 (August 1920): 297-300. Frank L. Sealy, "The Convention in Los Angeles," *NMR* 22, no. 264 (November 1923): 504, 521-23. Harold Vincent Milligan, "The Fourth General Convention," *NMR* 24, no. 285 (August 1925): 326-32. Channing Lefebvre, "Journal of the Convention," *NMR* 25, no. 296 (July 1926): 237-39. Frank L. Sealy, "The Guild Convention at Washington," *NMR* 26, no. 309 (August 1927): 303-04. "The Guild Convention," *NMR* 27, no. 321 (August 1928): 325-27. "Guild Convention at Memphis," *NMR* 28, no. 332 (July 1929): 297-99. Frank L. Sealy, "Guild Conventions, Past and Future," *NMR* 28, no. 335 (October 1929): 420-21. Frank L. Sealy, "The Ninth Convention of the Guild," *NMR* 29, no. 345 (August 1930): 831-32. James C. Warhurst, "Philadelphia Convention," *NMR* 29, no. 345 (August 1930): 832-33. "The Tenth General Convention," *NMR* 30, no. 357 (August 1931): 329-33. "1932 National Convention," *NMR* 31, no. 368 (July 1932): 352-55. "The National Convention," *NMR* 32, no. 379 (August 1933): 317-21. "The Rochester Convention," *NMR* 33, no. 391 (August 1934): 289-91. Arthur J. Thompson, "The Guild Comes to Town," *NMR* 34, no. 402 (July 1935): 241-43. A. Burr, "American Composers at the Convention," *NMR* 34, no. 402 (July 1935): 244, 257. These articles will not be discussed at length, as Arthur Lawrence has written a history of the conventions. Arthur Lawrence, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: AGO Conventions, 1914-1939," *The American Organist* 30, no. 4 (April 1996): 52-57.

Guild published its own *Bulletin*.”¹⁰⁴⁶ Commencing with the first issue of the NMR in 1904, the journal published the bulletin for the AGO each month. With the exception of the years 1918 and 1919, when the AGO published its own magazine, *The American Organist*, the NMR accounted for the AGO’s activities for the duration of NMR’s publication. The AGO again switched its publication to *The American Organist* in 1935, a move that may have precipitated the NMR to cease publication.

In working to advance church music reform in the early twentieth century, the Guild was essential in bringing church musicians together with a common goal. Scholarly accounts neglect this significant contribution to American musical life, leaving the AGO’s important role in the reform of sacred music largely unacknowledged. As examined below, the NMR clearly underscores the Guild’s purpose, its achievements, and the examinations it sponsors.

Despite its influence and importance, the AGO has generated few studies. In his book to celebrate the Guild’s fiftieth anniversary in 1946, Samuel Baldwin offers a brief, general history of the AGO, concentrating on its establishment and first few years of activity.¹⁰⁴⁷ A series of articles on the history of the Guild ran in *The American Organist* celebrating the Guild’s centennial. In this series various authors wrote about different aspects of the Guild: Barbara Owen discussed the Guild’s establishment,¹⁰⁴⁸ its founders,¹⁰⁴⁹ early activities, and the foundation of chapters in new locations, especially after

¹⁰⁴⁶Owen, “The Guild Grows,” 45.

¹⁰⁴⁷Samuel A. Baldwin, *The Story of the American Guild of Organists* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1946). Originally a series of articles from the *Diapason*, October 1945 to March 1946.

¹⁰⁴⁸Owen, “One Hundred Years Ago: The Founding of the AGO,” 34-36.

¹⁰⁴⁹Owen, “Founders of the AGO,” 91-96.

World War II;¹⁰⁵⁰ Arthur Lawrence describes the organization's conventions from 1914 to 1939¹⁰⁵¹; Mary Ann Dodd treats the establishment of prizes and competitions held by the Guild;¹⁰⁵² Agnes Armstrong considers the Guild's examinations and academic regalia;¹⁰⁵³ and Rollin Smith recounts the Guild's wardens through 1996.¹⁰⁵⁴ While useful, the available literature does not thoroughly evaluate the Guild's early accomplishments, nor does it analyze how quickly the Guild's influence expanded.

Purpose of the Guild

To fulfill its larger purposes,¹⁰⁵⁵ the AGO advocated high standards of musicianship for its members. These standards were enforced in three primary ways. First, at its outset, the Guild established "a standard of organ playing and musicianship, similar in character to that of the Royal College of Organists, of London, England."¹⁰⁵⁶ Second, only candidates of high professional standing were initially accepted as "Founders"; most had at least ten years of professional experience as organist and the respect of their musi-

¹⁰⁵⁰Owen, "The Guild Grows," 45-47.

¹⁰⁵¹Lawrence, "AGO Conventions, 1914-1939," 52-57.

¹⁰⁵²Mary Ann Dodd, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: One Hundred Years of Competition," *The American Organist* vol. 30, no. 5 (May 1996): 58-63.

¹⁰⁵³Agnes Armstrong, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: The Examination and Academic Regalia," *The American Organist*, vol. 30, no. 7 (July 1996): 44-55.

¹⁰⁵⁴Rollin Smith, "American Guild of Organists Centennial: AGO Wardens and Presidents," *The American Organist* vol. 30, no. 10 (October 1996): 70-75.

¹⁰⁵⁵As reported by Samuel A. Baldwin, a founder and fellow, those purposes are: "To advance the cause of worthy church music; to elevate the status of the church organist; to increase their appreciation of their responsibilities, duties and opportunities as conductors of worship, and to obtain acknowledgment of their position from the authorities of the church. To raise the standard of efficiency of organists by examinations in organ playing, in the theory of music and in general musical knowledge; and to grant certificates of associateship and fellowship to members of the Guild who pass such examinations. To provide members with opportunities for meeting, for the discussion of professional topics, and to do other such lawful things that are incidental to the purposes of the Guild." Samuel A. Baldwin, *The Story of the American Guild of Organists* (New York: H. W. Gray, 1946), 22.

¹⁰⁵⁶Frank Wright, "The Aim and Objects of the AGO," *NMR* 10, no. 119 (October 1911): 559.

cian colleagues.¹⁰⁵⁷ Some organists of high ability declined or neglected to accept an invitation to join the Guild as Founders; those enrolling later were required to submit to the rigors of the examinations.¹⁰⁵⁸

Requiring those wishing to join the Guild (other than the Founders, whose abilities were apparently deemed self-evident) to take examinations ensured a high musical standard;¹⁰⁵⁹ thus, the Guild implemented a system of examinations and certificates to help measure and raise the general proficiency of organists.¹⁰⁶⁰ The examination system established under the New York State Board of Regents included proctored annual examinations throughout the United States and Canada. Warden Frank Wright encourages scholarly organists outside the Guild¹⁰⁶¹ and even the Founders to take the Fellowship or Associateship examinations “to practice what they preach.”¹⁰⁶² Noted music critic W. J. Henderson¹⁰⁶³ argues that it is essential for the Guild to keep high standards for organ performance, because outside critics rarely review organ recitals and the standards themselves.¹⁰⁶⁴

¹⁰⁵⁷R. Huntington Woodman, “An Open Letter from the Warden to Members and Others Interested in the American Guild of Organists,” *CMR* 1, no. 5 (March 1902): 48-49. Some were specialized in their musical area of expertise, while others left music to enter the business world.

¹⁰⁵⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁹*Ibid.* “The Guild must stand for practical scholarship and a high standard of ability in the particular field of church musicianship.”

¹⁰⁶⁰Wright, “The Aim and Objects of the AGO,” 559-600.

¹⁰⁶¹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶²*Ibid.* Frank Wright served as Warden from 1910 to 1913; he previously held the offices of Registrar and Treasurer, and served as the organist/choirmaster of Grace Church, Brooklyn Heights, from 1897 to 1939.

¹⁰⁶³Henderson was a critic for the *New York Sun* and the *New York Times*, and wrote many books on musical topics such as singing, Wagner, musical taste and appreciation.

¹⁰⁶⁴W. J. Henderson, “Mr. Henderson’s Address,” *NMR* 5, no. 56 (July 1906): 137-38. He maintained that the Guild has a legacy in the old guilds of musicians and that its members must be credited with establishing high standards, which bring great results in the art world.

The Guild's ultimate purpose is to advance the cause of church music,¹⁰⁶⁵ and four key goals emphasize practical ways to further that purpose. First, the Guild hopes to facilitate a better understanding between clergy and organists.¹⁰⁶⁶ Ernest Douglas, an organist and professor active in the AGO,¹⁰⁶⁷ stresses that the Guild urges clergy to cooperate with organists in selecting and performing appropriate music.¹⁰⁶⁸ Another contributor advises the minister to consult the organist on all musical matters, and for both to work in harmony with the choir to achieve the greatest church life possible.¹⁰⁶⁹ Second, the AGO advocates a noble, sincere character for those leading church music.¹⁰⁷⁰ One clergyman emphasizes the organist's role in helping the clergy understand and accept his artistic ideals and convictions.¹⁰⁷¹ Another stresses that anything less than the musician's personal best during a service shirks duty to mankind, as only the best will uphold the righteousness of Christ.¹⁰⁷²

¹⁰⁶⁵Wright, "The Aim and Objects of the AGO," 559-600.

¹⁰⁶⁶Douglas, "The Aim of the AGO," 264.

¹⁰⁶⁷Douglas was the first dean of the Los Angeles chapter of the AGO and organist of St. Paul's Cathedral there; his well-known students include Roy Harris and Harold Gleason.

¹⁰⁶⁸Ibid., 264.

¹⁰⁶⁹Rev. Howard Duffield, "In What Way Can the Organists' Guild Unite with the Ministry in Enhancing the Dignity and Beauty of the Non-liturgical Service?," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 81-83.

¹⁰⁷⁰Henry Lubock, "Summary of Address," *CMR* 1, no. 3 (January 1902): 26-27.

¹⁰⁷¹Sydney Cross, "The Orthodox in Church Music," *CMR* 1, no. 8 (June 1902): 85-86 (address delivered to the American Guild of Organists at the nineteenth public service, held in St. James' Church, New York, May 8, 1902). In addition to being a pastor of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Westfield, New Jersey (among other places), Rev. Cross organized the boys' choir there, wrote the carol and music for "Christmas Bells," and published Sunday School lessons. He advocates high musical ideals and disdains the use of unorthodox music to bring people into the church.

¹⁰⁷²William M. Grosvenor, Address from the 24th Public Service, portion published in "Guild Notes," *NMR* 5, no. 52 (March 1906): 780. Rev. Grosvenor, Chaplain to the AGO and Rector of Church of the Incarnation, served as chaplain for ten years, and in 1911 became dean of St. John the Divine Cathedral. The Guild's yearbook emphasizes the following religious principles: "Wherefore we do give ourselves with reverence and humility to these endeavors, offering up our works and our persons in the name of Him without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy." Douglas, "The Aim of the AGO," 264.

Third, the AGO encourages organists to try their utmost to provide music appropriate for the church.¹⁰⁷³ One zealous contributor deems the Guild members “prophets” for the Church, working toward the advancement of church music with the power to enhance the understanding of church music and improve the selection of music through their solidarity.¹⁰⁷⁴ The AGO believed that the performance of appropriate music in church would enhance and intensify the service’s religious spirit; as organists realize the dignity of their calling, they are more likely to choose appropriate music.¹⁰⁷⁵ Cross implores Guild members to “create a love of the orthodox in church music,”¹⁰⁷⁶ arguing that a balance of color and design is the highest virtue for sacred music.¹⁰⁷⁷ Finally, music must have the same prominence as other parts of the service, and organists must become educators and ministers.¹⁰⁷⁸ As one contributor describes, through music the organist can express the same ideas that the ministers proclaim in speech providing rest, healing and inspiration to the congregation.¹⁰⁷⁹ The idea of organists being “ministers,” more than mere musicians, was innovative at the time.

The Guild stated other, less central purposes that benefited the membership, including opportunities for socializing and discussion among organists and for hearing model performances of sacred compositions.¹⁰⁸⁰ Organ recital series fostered organ play-

¹⁰⁷³Ibid., 264.

¹⁰⁷⁴Lubbock, “Summary of Address,” 26-27.

¹⁰⁷⁵Douglas, “The Aim of the AGO,” 264.

¹⁰⁷⁶Cross, “The Orthodox in Church Music,” 85-86.

¹⁰⁷⁷Ibid., 85-86. He warns against giving into the popular preference for color in music, and loud, fast-moving organ pieces and solos.

¹⁰⁷⁸Douglas, “The Aim of the AGO,” 264.

¹⁰⁷⁹Duffield, “Organists’ Guild Unite,” 81-83.

¹⁰⁸⁰Wright, “The Aim and Objects of the AGO,” 559-600.

ing and exhibited program planning, while the establishment of local chapters cultivated interaction and community spirit among members through lectures, public services, and other meetings.¹⁰⁸¹

A more practical purpose of the AGO was providing a central organization with a permanent location in New York City for the benefit of organists throughout the country.¹⁰⁸² The Guild established an office for the national organization, first located in donated office space in Trinity Parish, New York; in 1913, it created a bureau for record-keeping of available positions and candidates.¹⁰⁸³ Although members called for a permanent location and library for the Guild,¹⁰⁸⁴ as well as a formal concert organ hall,¹⁰⁸⁵ funds were insufficient to pursue these ideas. The AGO never purchased a building, and its national offices are now located in Riverside Church, New York City.

Accomplishments of the Guild

The Guild accomplished many goals during the NMR's 35 years of publication. With the exceptions of 1918 and 1919, the AGO bulletin appeared monthly in the NMR from 1904 to 1935, fostering communication among active members and stimulating old members and others to join the AGO.¹⁰⁸⁶ In 1918 the Guild withdrew the bulletin from

¹⁰⁸¹Ibid., 559-600.

¹⁰⁸²Ibid.

¹⁰⁸³“State of the Guild and its Chapters,” *NMR* 12, no. 144 (November 1913): 493-94.

¹⁰⁸⁴J. Warren Andrews, “History and Accomplishments on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Guild,” *NMR* 15, no. 172 (March 1916): 130-32.

¹⁰⁸⁵Walter C. Gale, “Annual Meeting,” *NMR* 16, no. 187 (June 1917): 624-25

¹⁰⁸⁶R. Huntington Woodman, “Warden’s Address,” *CMR* 1, no. 1 (November 1901): 4. Woodman served as warden from 1901-1903; he was organist of First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn for over sixty years, a well-regarded teacher, a composer of songs and editor of a hymnal with Charles Ives.

the NMR and began to publish its own magazine, *The American Organist*,¹⁰⁸⁷ which provided the news found in the bulletin as well as articles related to the organ and reviews of notable organ and sacred music publications.¹⁰⁸⁸ After a one-year trial, however, publication of *The American Organist* by the AGO halted because it was too expensive; the NMR again became the Guild's official magazine.¹⁰⁸⁹ The AGO Year Book was revived and published in 1920,¹⁰⁹⁰ and in 1933 the Guild printed and mailed its Constitution and By-laws to all chapter officers.¹⁰⁹¹

Committees did much work for the AGO, planning events, advancing its growth, preparing and grading the examinations, and completing special projects.¹⁰⁹² In 1913, committees succeeded in planning recitals, lectures, dinners and social gatherings for the headquarters chapter, and refining their recommendations for the standardized console.¹⁰⁹³ In 1933, at the Great Depression's nadir, the Relief Committee raised funds to help unemployed organists.¹⁰⁹⁴

Important American musicians associated with the Guild and its work. The composers and organists Dudley Buck, Horatio Parker, George W. Chadwick, Arthur Foote,

¹⁰⁸⁷This iteration of the *American Organist* ran from 1918 through 1970, but was not published by the AGO..

¹⁰⁸⁸Gale, "Annual Meeting," 624-25. The intention was to review "the really notable publications in the line of Church and Organ Music, so that the reader may feel that anything noticed and reviewed at all, is eminently worth while." Some persons may have felt that not all NMR reviews featured meaningful music; the NMR included thousands of reviews, including those of most pieces published by Novello (a music publishing house affiliated with H.W. Gray, the NMR's owner).

¹⁰⁸⁹Clifford Demarest, "The Annual Meeting," *NMR* 19, no. 223 (June 1920): 230-31.

¹⁰⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 230-31.

¹⁰⁹¹Charles Henry Doersam, "Warden's Report, May 29, 1933, Annual Meeting," *NMR* 32, no. 378 (July 1933): 299.

¹⁰⁹²In 1901 Warden Woodman praised their work: "Never in the history of the Guild has there been evidence of so much inherent strength, interest and power as I shown at the present time." Woodman, "Warden's Address," 4.

¹⁰⁹³"State of the Guild and its Chapters," *NMR* 12, no. 144 (November 1913): 493-94.

¹⁰⁹⁴Doersam, "Warden's Report, May 29, 1933," 299.

and the organists Clarence Eddy, Wallace Goodrich, H. R. Shelley and others judged its examinations.¹⁰⁹⁵ Distinguished organists served as officers in the Guild, including Samuel A. Baldwin, William C. Carl, Will C. Macfarlane, Harold Vincent Milligan, Charles Demarest, and Charles Ives.¹⁰⁹⁶

The Guild held many public and membership events. The annual dinner offered a reunion for members, and by 1906 the AGO had held 23 public services, with addresses by bishops and clergy.¹⁰⁹⁷ Public services offered organists the opportunity to hear other organists, as well as other interpretations of music, providing inspiration and an ideal for worship.¹⁰⁹⁸ By 1912, the New England chapter alone had given fifteen recitals and thirty services; one recital of 1911 had an audience of 5,000.¹⁰⁹⁹ The Guild also facilitated symposiums for the exchange of ideas among musicians, clergy and lay people.¹¹⁰⁰ By 1933, the Guild was working to present radio broadcasts of a series of organ recitals from universities to counter-balance the recitals “in poor taste” often broadcast.¹¹⁰¹

Despite its frequent events, many members requested more. In 1916 J. Warren Andrews¹¹⁰² suggests having more educational lectures.¹¹⁰³ The next year Walter Gale advocates more social gatherings among members, as well as discussions of organ and

¹⁰⁹⁵Brewer, “A Foreward,” 654-55.

¹⁰⁹⁶Ibid., 654-55.

¹⁰⁹⁷Brewer, “A Foreward,” 654-55.

¹⁰⁹⁸Ibid., 172-73.

¹⁰⁹⁹Walter J. Clemson, “The American Guild of Organists,” *NMR* 11, no. 124 (March 1912): 172-73. Address given at the thirty-second public service of the New England chapter.

¹¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹¹⁰¹Doersam, “Warden’s Report,” 299.

¹¹⁰²Andrews served as warden from 1913 to 1916; he was also organist of Church of the Divine Paternity, New York, and teacher of many church musicians, including composer Philip James.

¹¹⁰³Andrews, “History and Accomplishments,” 130-32.

choral music programs.¹¹⁰⁴ In 1920 Clifford Demarest¹¹⁰⁵ recommends finding a new means of contact with other members due to the shrinking attendance for organ recitals and public meetings in New York.¹¹⁰⁶

The Guild's membership and finances experienced rapid growth. In 1906, the AGO's tenth anniversary, Warden Brewer¹¹⁰⁷ counted 126 Founders, 35 honorary associates, and more than 100 members who had passed examinations, with many of the best organists in the country being members.¹¹⁰⁸ At this time the Guild created a new category of membership, "Subscribers," so those interested in its causes could receive tickets to events, but not voting rights.¹¹⁰⁹ Limiting admission through examination limited the Guild's growth; Charles Ives and Mark Andrews championed having new members without examination to allow expansion of the Guild through new chapters.¹¹¹⁰ Their plan faced considerable opposition, and the Pennsylvania chapter lodged a complaint with the AGO's Board of Regents. Nevertheless, in 1909 the Guild adopted an amended charter that allowed members to be elected without examination, and for new chapters to be established more easily.¹¹¹¹ Reports from 1917¹¹¹² and 1920¹¹¹³ show a growing and

¹¹⁰⁴Gale, "Annual Meeting," 624-25.

¹¹⁰⁵Demarest, organist of Church of the Messiah, New York, served as warden from 1916 to 1919 and published numerous anthems, songs, organ compositions, and cantatas, as well as the book, *Hints on Organ Accompaniment*.

¹¹⁰⁶Demarest, "The Annual Meeting," 230-31.

¹¹⁰⁷John Hyatt Brewer served as warden from 1905 to 1908; he was organist of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, among other places, and was a prolific composer writing songs, anthems, cantatas, works for keyboard, and an orchestral suite.

¹¹⁰⁸Brewer, "A Foreword," 654-55.

¹¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹¹⁰Frank Wright, "The A.G.O.," *NMR* 21, no. 245 (April 1922): 147-51. AGO address given to the Baltimore chapter.

¹¹¹¹Ibid., 147-51.

¹¹¹²Gale, "Annual Meeting," 624-25.

financially viable organization. With the establishment of eleven new chapters and thirteen branch chapters, the AGO more than doubled in size in the ten years between 1922 and 1932, increasing from 1,800 to 4,300 members.¹¹¹⁴ Despite posting its largest monetary gain in 1933, plans were underway to expand the Guild even further, as only 5,000 of the country's 50,000 organists were members.¹¹¹⁵

To expand the membership and support the examinations, the Guild fostered establishment of local chapters around the United States and in Canada.¹¹¹⁶ In 1902, a state chapter was established in Pennsylvania, the first local chapter outside the New York City headquarters.¹¹¹⁷ In 1906 the Guild's warden, John Brewer, charged members to keep the Guild healthy and aid in increasing its membership by extension to all cities of the country through state chapters.¹¹¹⁸ With more members to perpetuate the Guild's standards, it grew in influence. In 1911 the Legislative Committee created a model of a Constitution defining chapter requirements and the responsibilities of the headquarters administration.¹¹¹⁹ By 1913, many local chapters of the Guild were thriving, including those in New England, Michigan, and Northern Ohio.¹¹²⁰ Between 1913 and 1915, many

¹¹¹³Demarest, "The Annual Meeting," 230-31.

¹¹¹⁴"A Decade of Achievement with Frank Sealy," *NMR* 31, no. 369 (October 1932): 397.

¹¹¹⁵Doersam, "Warden's Report, May 29, 1933," 299.

¹¹¹⁶*Ibid.* The chapters were left to their own devices for programs and goals, as long as they fell under the Constitution and By-laws.

¹¹¹⁷Brewer, "A Foreword," 654-55.

¹¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, 654-55. The second local chapter, the New England chapter, was formed the same year, 1906.

¹¹¹⁹"Model of Constitution of Chapters," *NMR* 10, no. 112 (March 1911): 214.

¹¹²⁰"State of the Guild and its Chapters," *NMR* 12, no. 144 (November 1913): 493-94. The New England Chapter, with its extensive calendar of activities was a role model for the Guild. The Michigan chapter was undertaking an extensive effort to involve all organists of the state in the Guild, with recitals, dinners and discussions planned. The Northern Ohio chapter established committees to take charge of recitals, Guild extension, and publicity.

new chapters were established: the Central New York Chapter, Western Tennessee Chapter, Central Tennessee Chapter, Carolina Chapter, Georgia Chapter and Kansas Chapter.¹¹²¹ The AGO was making preparations for additional chapters at this time, and its new amendment allowing sub-chapters under state chapters fostered further growth.¹¹²²

The Guild's work advanced sacred music. Walter J. Clemson¹¹²³ acknowledges a growing unity of the different service elements, healthy, robust tunes replacing sentimental hymn tunes, and more dignified anthems; and he traces those improvements to the AGO.¹¹²⁴ The Guild also awarded a gold medal annually to promote the composition of quality new sacred music.

The Guild's work fostered the elevation of church organists' status. By 1912, the organist was regarded as second to the minister in creating a meaningful service, as organists strove to become leaders of church music, rather than "mere" musicians.¹¹²⁵ One contributor argues that American organists receive greater respect than those in England, and believes higher salaries from church authorities would better express appreciation of their effort and accomplishment.¹¹²⁶ The Guild continued to work towards the elevation of church organists' status; with competition from organs in theaters and hotels, some contributors worried that churches could lose the best organists if they were not well paid

¹¹²¹Andrews, "History and Accomplishments," 130-32.

¹¹²²Ibid., 130-32.

¹¹²³An organist in Taunton, Massachusetts, Clemson served as dean for the New England chapter for nine years.

¹¹²⁴Clemson, "The American Guild of Organists," 172-73.

¹¹²⁵Ibid., 172-73.

¹¹²⁶Ibid.

and respected.¹¹²⁷ Demarest suggests undertaking an educational campaign to raise the salaries of church organists.¹¹²⁸ Although organists' were gaining respect as church leaders, one contributor felt they should be respected artistically, and that critics should re-view organists as they do virtuoso violinists and pianists.¹¹²⁹ While many organists learn a large repertoire and do not give as much concentration to individual works as some concert artists, he argues that many organists, such as Samuel Baldwin and Clarence Dickinson, show as much virtuosity in their concerts as other instrumentalists.¹¹³⁰

The NMR contends that the system of annual examinations devised and conducted by the Guild increases the proficiency of organists through their preparation,¹¹³¹ upholding the "first duty" of the Guild: raising standards and the quest for knowledge.¹¹³² Created to test an organist's general knowledge and musicianship, the examinations assess proficiency in counterpoint, harmony and form rather than specialized areas such as theater performance, solo performance or plainsong.¹¹³³ Some contributors criticize the inclusion of counterpoint, calling it a "dead language," but Wright argues that organists gain a greater understanding of harmony through the study of counterpoint.¹¹³⁴ Nonetheless, as of 1933 only a small percentage of the membership take the examinations.¹¹³⁵

¹¹²⁷ Andrews, "History and Accomplishments," 130-32.

¹¹²⁸ Demarest, "The Annual Meeting," 230-31.

¹¹²⁹ Andrews, "History and Accomplishments," 130-32.

¹¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 130-32.

¹¹³¹ Clemson, "The American Guild of Organists," 172-73.

¹¹³² Andrews, "History and Accomplishments," 130-32.

¹¹³³ Wright, "The A.G.O.," 147-51.

¹¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 147-51.

¹¹³⁵ Doersam, "Warden's Report," 299.

The warden, the highest officer supervising the Guild, visited local chapters to promote the Guild, assess progress and establish new chapters. As warden, J. Warren Andrews visited many chapters including those in Massachusetts, Virginia, Ohio, Kansas, California, Colorado, Minnesota and Illinois.¹¹³⁶ Demarest established chapters in Buffalo and Texas, and visited other chapters while serving as warden; he also read a paper before the Music Teachers' National Association explaining the Guild's purpose.¹¹³⁷ Warden Sealy went to the Midwest, Pacific Coast, the Southwest and numerous cities, traveling over 70,000 miles, to visit and establish chapters around the country.¹¹³⁸

The Guild held national conventions to bring the membership together. The first national was held in December 1914 at Columbia University.¹¹³⁹ Despite the War, a Guild held a convention at the City College of New York in 1917, although many services and recitals were abandoned that season.¹¹⁴⁰ The Guild held only three conventions through 1924; under Sealy's leadership, beginning in 1925, conventions were held annually at locations across the country.¹¹⁴¹ With these meetings, colleagues throughout the country could participate in the election of Guild officers.

By 1932 there was an increase in the participation of women in the Guild's activities. While there were yet no female wardens, AGO members had elected women to the Council.¹¹⁴²

¹¹³⁶J. Warren Andrews, "The American Guild of Organists Celebrated its Twentieth Anniversary," *NMR* 15, no. 172 (March 1916): 130-32.

¹¹³⁷Demarest, "The Annual Meeting," 230-31.

¹¹³⁸"A Decade of Achievement with Frank Sealy," *NMR* 31, no. 369 (October 1932): 397.

¹¹³⁹Andrews, "History and Accomplishments," 130-32.

¹¹⁴⁰Demarest, "The Annual Meeting," 230-31.

¹¹⁴¹"A Decade of Achievement with Frank Sealy," 397.

¹¹⁴²*Ibid.*, 397.

Although active for less than forty years, the Guild accomplished many things by 1935. The *NMR*'s articles give specific details about these early achievements, which are not treated in other publications.

AGO Examinations

From its inception, one of the AGO's main goals was the granting of formal professional status to qualified candidates through examination. As observed in the Guild's early records, the Founders originally intended to present diplomas, however the charter issued by the Regents of the University of the State of New York permitted only certificates.¹¹⁴³ The examinations and certificate program, used to "advance the cause of worthy music," required a charter.¹¹⁴⁴

The Guild followed the model set by the Royal College of Organists (RCO) in England to establish its own examinations. Like the RCO, the examinations of the AGO offered two levels of membership: Associateship and Fellowship.¹¹⁴⁵ In the early twentieth century, more than 650 candidates sat for the RCO's examinations each year, yet as few as 25% passed.¹¹⁴⁶

The certificate achieved through an examination objectively affirms an organist's skills.¹¹⁴⁷ While many music schools offering lessons are concerned with profit, the

¹¹⁴³Armstrong, "The Examinations and Academic Regalia," 45.

¹¹⁴⁴Wright, "The A.G.O.," 147-51.

¹¹⁴⁵W. R. Hedden, "The Guild Examination," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 104-05. The RCO founded its system to test and award certificates to organists in 1866. In 1881, the RCO devised two separate tests to determine Associateship and Fellowship rankings; previously, those with high marks were declared Fellows, while those scoring only satisfactorily on the same test were called Associates.

¹¹⁴⁶*Ibid.* Among the candidates were such distinguished musicians as J. F. Bridge, A. H. Mann, W. G. Alcock, E. H. Lemare, J. Humphrey Anger and Leo Stokes (later active as the conductor Leopold Stokowski).

¹¹⁴⁷"Guild Certificates," *CMR* 1, no. 12 (October 1902): 129-30.

Guild exists solely for the enlightenment of its members, and its certificates, issued under the control of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, offer a professional recognition of skill.¹¹⁴⁸ One NMR contributor argues that the certificate gives an organist an advantage in the competition for a job, because it attests to the candidate's ability.¹¹⁴⁹ Noted composer Arthur Foote¹¹⁵⁰ values the certificates for insuring that its holders are technically and musically equipped as organists, an uncertainty in contemporary American musical education.¹¹⁵¹

The process of earning certificates benefits organists because it requires that examinees spend time learning service-playing skills, such as transposition and improvisation, that they might not otherwise acquire.¹¹⁵² Passing the examination proves facility in performance and knowledge of basic composition, including counterpoint, harmony and orchestration.¹¹⁵³ The knowledge of counterpoint rules teaches vocal writing, and orchestration teaches effective registration.¹¹⁵⁴ Foote argues that preparation for the examinations will better equip the organist and encourages as many candidates as possible to take

¹¹⁴⁸Ibid., 129-30. The certificates were awarded through anonymously judged examinations designed to exhibit an organist's skill, musicianship, and readiness for church work.

¹¹⁴⁹J. Humphrey Anger, "The Value of Examinations," *NMR* 10, no. 113 (April 1911): 275-77.

¹¹⁵⁰Foote was the Guild's last honorary president, from 1909 to 1912, an office also held by Dudley Buck and Horatio Parker.

¹¹⁵¹Arthur Foote, "The Guild Examinations and their Importance to the Practical Organist," *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 101-04. Musical education in the United States was often viewed as inferior to that received in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹¹⁵²Anger, "The Value of Examinations," 275-77.

¹¹⁵³Frank Wright, "AGO Examinations," *NMR* 29, no. 347 (October 1930): 905-08.

¹¹⁵⁴Ibid., 905-08. Wright admits that the harmonization of a melody must be constantly practiced, but believes that knowledge of fugue and ground bass forms is essential for organists.

them.¹¹⁵⁵ He realizes that few organists are able to devote themselves full-time to church positions, however, and thus join the Guild without taking the examinations.¹¹⁵⁶

Many NMR articles discuss preparation for the examinations and recommend books for individual study.¹¹⁵⁷ One contributor suggests study clubs formed at the chapter level to help examinees prepare.¹¹⁵⁸ A successful course at the Oberlin Conservatory of Music prepared organists for the examination; many former Oberlin students were already officers of the Guild in 1914.¹¹⁵⁹ A final suggestion calls for the implementation of examination preparation on a national level.¹¹⁶⁰

The NMR published copies of examinations given in prior years, as well as results and some solutions to the written theory portions to help candidates prepare.¹¹⁶¹ The NMR offers explanation of the marking system for the examinations¹¹⁶² and clarification

¹¹⁵⁵ Foote, "The Guild Examinations," 101-04.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 101-04. Colleagues were members elected to the AGO without examination, a new category allowed by the amended charter of 1909.

¹¹⁵⁷ "Textbooks," *CMR* 2, no. 1 (November 1902): 142. "1935 Guild Examinations," *NMR* 33, no. 391 (August 1934): 303-04.

¹¹⁵⁸ Frank Wright, "AGO," *NMR* 24, no. 280 (March 1925): 177.

¹¹⁵⁹ Frederic B. Stiven, "The Work of the AGO at Oberlin," *NMR* 13, no. 146 (January 1914): 90-91.

¹¹⁶⁰ Andrews, "History and Accomplishments," 130-32.

¹¹⁶¹ Copies of the examination are found in the following issues: July 1902; July and Aug. 1903, and 1904; Aug. and Sept. 1905; Aug. and Oct. 1907; Sept. and Oct. 1908, 1909, 1910; Aug. and Sept. 1911; Sept. 1912, 1913; Oct. 1914; Sept. and Oct. 1915, 1916. "A Solution for Organists," featuring a correct answer to the counterpoint section of the examination, was featured in the following issues: May, and July 1933; Jan., Feb., March, Apr., May, June, July, Aug. 1935).

¹¹⁶² "Report of Fifteenth Examination," *NMR* 9, no. 105 (August 1910): 458-60. W. R. Hedden, "Guild Examinations," *NMR* 19, no. 225 (August 1920): 302-03. T. T. Noble, Samuel A. Baldwin and Frank L. Sealy, "Report of the Examiners of Paperwork," *NMR* 23, no. 265 (December 1923): 570-71. Frank L. Sealy and R. Huntington Woodman, "Report of Examiners of Paperwork," *NMR* 24, no. 288 (November 1925): 434. Samuel A. Baldwin and Charles H. Doersam, "Report of the Organ Examiners at Headquarters," *NMR* 28, no. 334 (September 1929): 385-86. R. Huntington Woodman and W. R. Hedden "Report of the Examiners of the Paper Work," *NMR* 28, no. 334 (September 1929): 386.

of the correct way to adapt piano accompaniments to the organ, a skill needed for the examination.¹¹⁶³

Many articles provide advice to examination candidates.¹¹⁶⁴ One organist suggests repeated practice with copies of prior or similar examinations for the best preparation,¹¹⁶⁵ as well as ear-training work.¹¹⁶⁶ One even recommends “a course of study that will develop real musicianship,” including the development of an attentive and sensitive mind, a stronger memory, ear-training, improvisation, and regularly encountered progressions, applying all skills to the keyboard.¹¹⁶⁷ Foote, however, stresses preparation for the organ performance aspect of the examination.¹¹⁶⁸

Some “Founders” of the Guild felt undue importance was placed on the examinations, and there was disagreement amongst the Founders themselves sitting for the examinations.¹¹⁶⁹ A successful examinee was entitled to use initials, or “letters” after his or her name in the same manner as an academic degree; however, as made clear in the char-

¹¹⁶³John E. Barkworth, “Correspondence,” *CMR* 2, no. 17 (March 1903): 204. John E. Barkworth, “On Adapting Piano Accompaniments,” *CMR* 2, no. 18 (April 1903): 221. W. H. Humiston, “From the Chairman of the Publication Committee,” *CMR* 2, no. 19 (May 1903): 242.

¹¹⁶⁴“Examinations – A Timely Word,” *NMR* 5, no. 59 (October 1906): 1237. Frank Sealy, “Advice to Candidates,” *NMR* 10, no. 110 (January 1911): 95-96. T. Tertius Noble, “A Sermonette,” *NMR* 31, no. 368 (July 1932): 348-51.

¹¹⁶⁵Wright, “A.G.O. Examinations,” *NMR* 29, no. 347 (October 1930): 905-08. Wright argues a candidate should practice harmonization (reading from the C clef), transposition and general ear-training work; he notes that preparation generally requires more than a few lessons or months of practice.

¹¹⁶⁶Frank Wright, “The AGO Examinations,” *NMR* 24, no. 288 (November 1925): 435-36. Wright recommends that students study Dr. Frederick G. Shinn’s *Elementary Ear-training* because it is essential to understanding harmony, emphasized in the examination.

¹¹⁶⁷Carleton Bullis, “The Theory Bogy in the Guild Examinations,” *NMR* 34, no. 395 (December 1934): 5-9.

¹¹⁶⁸Foote, “The Guild Examinations,” 101-04. This includes the solo performance of repertory; accompaniment of a solo piece, anthem and hymn; playing and writing from figured bass; and making an organ arrangement of a piano passage. Less stressed, but still important, are sight-reading of organ and vocal music, transposition and modulation, harmonizing a melody on sight, filling out a musical phrase on a given bass, general information, counterpoint and C-clefs.

¹¹⁶⁹Armstrong, “The Examinations and Academic Regalia,” 45-46.

ter, the initials represented a certificate, not a musical degree.¹¹⁷⁰ In an article dated August 1904, the author expresses the opinion that only members who pass the Fellowship examination are entitled to use the acronym “F.A.G.O.,” and its use denotes the examinee’s merit.¹¹⁷¹ The initials are not to be used in an honorary manner, or by the “Founders” of the Guild. Another contributor argues that use of the initials “A.G.O.” by Founders and other members might lead to misunderstanding of the meaning of the initials.¹¹⁷² Rather, the initials “F.A.G.O.” and “A.A.G.O.” should be used exclusively by those who have passed examinations; no other initials should be used. According to one Fellow, “Founders” should abandon the “A.G.O.” initials and take the Fellowship examination to raise the Guild’s status; Founders of the Royal College of Organists do not use initials.¹¹⁷³ In fact, few “Founders” in the United States took the examinations, and “Founder” remained a special designation until the last one died.¹¹⁷⁴

A few years later, there was an argument that the distinguished Fellows of the Guild should make greater use of the “F.A.G.O.” initials on programs, service lists and advertisements.¹¹⁷⁵ This would promote having the certificate and make it more desirable for others to sit for the examinations.¹¹⁷⁶

Around 1915, with more candidates, many argue for easier examinations. Hedden responds that only the establishment of a third, less prestigious class of membership

¹¹⁷⁰Baldwin, *The Story of the American Guild of Organists*, 26.

¹¹⁷¹“The AGO Degrees,” *CMR* 3, no. 34 (August 1904): 518.

¹¹⁷²John B. Norton, “Correspondence,” *CMR* 3, no. 35 (September 1904): 535.

¹¹⁷³Frederick Maxson, “Correspondence,” *CMR* 3, No. 36 (October 1904): 559.

¹¹⁷⁴Armstrong, “The Examinations and Academic Regalia,” *The American Organist* 30, no. 7 (July 1996): 48.

¹¹⁷⁵“New York, Feb. 5th, 1906.” *NMR* 5, no. 52 (March 1906): 781.

¹¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 781.

could justify an easier examination.¹¹⁷⁷ Arthur Foote suggests that stressing the practical portions of the examination rather than solo performance might allow for more candidates without lowering the standards.¹¹⁷⁸ It was a new category of membership — the Colleague — admitting organists without examination, that became most popular, allowing the Guild to expand.¹¹⁷⁹

Today there are five categories of certification: “Service Playing certificate,” “Colleague,” “Choirmaster,” “Associateship,” and “Fellowship.” Certification is no longer required for full voting membership, however. The AGO still upholds many of the standards established a century ago, and the NMR’s advice for examination candidates therefore remains relevant.

The AGO persists as an important institution today for organists and church musicians, and the NMR is an essential resource for delving into its history.

¹¹⁷⁷Hedden, “The Guild Examination,” 104-05.

¹¹⁷⁸Foote, “The Guild Examinations,” 101-04.

¹¹⁷⁹Baldwin, *The Story of the American Guild of Organists*, 57.

Conclusion

During its thirty-four-year publication run, *The New Music Review and Church Music Review* (NMR) was one of the most important music journals published in the United States, and one that enjoyed “a high reputation for its able editorials and the excellence of its contributed articles.”¹¹⁸⁰ Chronicling American musical life from 1901 to 1935 in over 16,000 pages, the NMR not only discusses organ music, sacred music, and the accomplishments of the American Guild of Organists, but also offers an extensive contemporary view of American musical history through its thousands of reviews of musical performances and compositions, articles on secular music, and reports of musical news. The NMR includes articles written by composers Daniel Gregory Mason and Henry Gilbert, important scholars such as Oscar Sonneck, Wallace Goodrich, and P. C. Lutkin, and noted critics such as Ernest Newman, Henry Krehbiel, Philip Hale, and W. J. Henderson.

However, without an index the journal remained neglected despite its importance. The six volume annotated index to the NMR, prepared by the present author and published in 2008 in the Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale (RIPM), enabled scholars for the first time to gain detailed access to this extensive documentary resource and the author to explore the NMR as the basis of this dissertation.

Access to the journal offers a unique opportunity to discuss larger “trends” of musical life in the United States, as reflected in the NMR, during the first third of the twentieth century. As Frank Mott, author of *The History of American Magazines* notes:

¹¹⁸⁰*Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 4th ed., ed. H. C. Colles (New York: MacMillan, 1942), s.v. “Periodicals, Musical.”

Few fields of investigation are of more lively interest than that of the course of popular ideas. The thoughts and feelings of the people, the development of their taste in art and music and letters, their daily work and play, and even their fads, are inexhaustibly entertaining and instructive. Where is there such a record of these things as we have in magazine files?¹¹⁸¹

This study features the prominent topics treated in the feature articles in the NMR. Subjects discussed in scholarly literature, such as the controversy relating to opera in English and the American reception of Wagner are not examined. Rather, the author treats those subjects that have been neglected and about which very little has been written.

This study focuses on a group of so-called “conservative” composers seeking to define American music; these include Henry Gilbert, Arthur Farwell, Daniel Gregory Mason and Harvey B. Gaul., as well as a number of educators concerned with the identity of American music. This group determined that where a person studied and received his “influences” formed his “nationality” association, and that the use of folk-song was not necessary for nationalistic purposes, even in those cases when many American composers used Native American tunes in their compositions.

An astounding number of NMR articles advocate reform and advances in music, falling in line with larger reform efforts of the era in the United States, including educational reform, the women’s rights movement and the transcendentalist movement in art and literature. In fact, the NMR itself was a tool for music reform, as one of its key initially stated purposes called for raising the quality of church music. Contributors discuss the purposes of sacred music at length, emphasizing its integral role in worship and its

¹¹⁸¹Frank Luther Mott, *The History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, Vol. 1 (New York: D. Appleton, 1930), 4.

fulfillment of a need for congregational participation and emotional inspiration. Contributors disparage insincerity and sensationalism in sacred music, opining that appropriate church music encompasses dignity, musical substance, and meaningful texts, providing a unifying element to the service. Operational reforms discussed include the *motu proprio* in the Roman Catholic Church and the work done by the Joint Commission on Church Music in the Episcopal Church. Also noted are the accomplishments of the American Guild of Organists in increasing the proficiency of organists and awareness of sacred music standards throughout the country.

Another reform effort included work to standardize the organ console and even the organ itself; these labors sought to ensure all new instruments would be of a high quality. That the consensus among American organists and organ builders was sufficiently unified to standardize a concave-radiating pedal board, rather than the prevalent straight board, is astonishing. Certainly organists and organ builders associated with one another through their work in the AGO, but that the debates and lobbying efforts accounted for in the NMR were able to overcome individual preferences to build a consensus, reveals a characteristic of another era that would be unthinkable now. For organ programs themselves, some contributors sought to banish organ transcriptions to improve performance quality, while others pushed agendas for program building and repertory selection.

The need for education as a means for reform is a theme that recurs frequently in the NMR. Contributors call for education of American composers to provide them with a sufficient musical background, as well as experience hearing performances and criticism of their works. To foster improvements in sacred music, they call for the education of the

clergy to understand sacred music, of the congregation so that they can sing and enjoy the music, and of the church musicians to plan a unified service with meaningful music. The AGO implemented a series of examinations ensuring that organists are able performers, and encouraging organists to educate themselves in their preparation. The NMR includes articles on music appreciation to educate its readers, and other articles advocate music education for children, providing numerous discourses on methodology and models for successful music classes.

This dissertation reveals evidence of an early search for an American musical identity, and early efforts for promoting American music. It identifies perceived problems with sacred music at the turn of the twentieth century, and the reformers' proposed solutions to these problems. It discusses the reaction to the *motu proprio* in the United States and specific efforts made by the Episcopal Church to improve sacred music. It documents the restoration of congregational singing and choral music in the church, and the efforts of musicians and composers to ensure its success. It traces the contemporary arguments for the standardization of the organ, and those against Hope-Jones's Unit Organ. It illustrates the changing needs for organ repertory, and the controversy over the use of organ arrangements. It also identifies the many accomplishments of the American Guild of Organists in its first forty years of existence. These topics are neglected entirely or merely alluded to — without detail — in the literature. Thus, this study brings to light significant and previously unexplored aspects of the history of music in the United States.

Appendix A: Summary of Articles on Musical Education

In 1900 music education was not a standard part of most public education, nor was there a standard method or curriculum for teaching students, and music departments only existed at a few top universities, such as Harvard and Yale. Courses, entrance requirements and curriculum were not consistent.

But the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were important for the development of many music departments (e.g., Columbia) and conservatories (e.g., Oberlin College and New England Conservatory) in the United States. An NMR article on the history of music education in the United States notes an emphasis on cultivation of culture rather than musical education, but by the beginning of the twentieth century schools were placing more emphasis on teaching music, with pedagogical preparation for music teachers, discussions of music curriculum at Education Association meetings, and the offering of music examinations by the College Entrance Examining Board.¹¹⁸² The journal recorded growing interest in teaching the public to understand and value quality music. “Music appreciation” was a new field in the 1900s, and NMR authors advocated different methods and materials for its development.

The NMR reflected interest in musical education through the publication of many materials, including a series of articles under the heading “School Music” in 1911 and 1912; signed articles on the value of music, methods and curriculum; a series of articles in 1906 and 1908 by Thomas Whitney Surette and Daniel Gregory Mason entitled “The

¹¹⁸²George Oscar Bowen, “Educational Music in America,” *NMR* 10, no. 110 (January 1911): 82-86.

Study of Appreciation of Music,” which functioned as an introduction to music;¹¹⁸³ reports and programs from the Music Teachers’ National Association and the New York State Music Teachers’ Association; reports on the development of the Institute of Musical Art;¹¹⁸⁴ programs from university and high school choruses, glee clubs and orchestras; and articles about music school settlements for children.

The relevant articles concerning music education are listed chronologically within subject matter groups below. In all cases, the abbreviation “*NMR*” is used in place of “*The New Music Review and Church Music Review*.”

Value of Music Education for Children

Sleeper, Henry Dike. “Some Observations Upon Public School Music.” *NMR* 10, no. 118 (September 1911): 504-08. Music aids intellectual and emotional development and provides enjoyment; education enriches a child’s taste and offers a new common skill. The article describes musical offerings at private schools.

Haven, William G. “A Plea for Music in our Country Schools.” *NMR* 12, no. 144 (November 1913): 478-80. Children can easily learn and retain music, ensuring adults with singing ability and good taste in music.

Manchester, Arthur L. “The Musicians and Music Education.” *NMR* 21, no. 243 (February 1922): 78-81. Methods of musical education are often inadequate; learning the fundamentals of music benefits all students and forms the basis for technical proficiency.

Cecil, George. “Children and Music.” *NMR* 25, no. 290 (January 1926): 41-42. Children can develop musical taste through quality performances of music, such as tuneful French, English and Irish airs.

¹¹⁸³The authors later published these articles as a music appreciation textbook.

¹¹⁸⁴Predecessor to the Julliard School of Music.

Curriculum

Elementary School

Bowen, G. O. "School Music." *NMR* 10, no. 111 (February 1911): 142-43. The M.T.N.A. adopted requirements to ensure children develop an appreciation of music, learn to read music, and sing both prepared pieces and at sight.

Baldwin, Ralph L. "The Aim of Music Instruction in the Elementary Schools." *NMR* 10, no. 112 (March 1911): 206-09. Children must learn music fundamentals rather than rote-singing; agility in sight-singing leads to trained perception, rapid reasoning and mental concentration, as well as increased interest in and appreciation of music.

Bowen, G. O. "Oratorio in the High School." *NMR* 11, no 113 (April 1912): 210-11. Children should be educated in music fundamentals and proper singing to prepare for more advanced music at the high school level, as well as to gain admission to and complete the normal school course.

Damrosch, Frank. "School Music in New York." *NMR* 12, no. 136 (March 1913): 128. From the *New York Times*. Damrosch argues against a resolution promoting abolishment of musical instruction in schools and replacing it with rote singing for a child's first six years. The editor counters that the resolution merely wishes to replace scales and exercises with musical literature, not abolish instruction in sight-singing.

High School

The NMR proposes different methods and courses of study for teaching music in high schools and most widely advocates chorus and musical appreciation study.

Osbourne McConathy was a pioneer in the movement to grant academic credit for musical study, with his creation of a four-year course of study at Chelsea High

School;¹¹⁸⁵ the NMR's description of the course and McConathy's article demonstrate an interest in new techniques and advancing musical education. Mary Regal and George

¹¹⁸⁵Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gary, *A History of American Music Education* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 256.

Oscar Bowen were among the first handful of teachers to implement musical appreciation courses for their students.¹¹⁸⁶

Regal, Mary L. "High School Music: An Experiment." *NMR* 5, no. 58 (September 1906): 1161-64. Suggests curriculum with fundamentals taught through ear training, and a focus on the masterpieces of music through school-sponsored concerts.

"Outline of Music Courses at Chelsea High School." *NMR* 5, no. 60 (November 1906): 1289-90. At a Massachusetts high school, a required course in singing and sight-singing, as well as elective courses to meet College Entrance Exam requirements.

McConathy, Osbourne. "High School Music." *NMR* 10, no. 116 (July 1911): 418-24. Describes a required chorus period with the aim of developing music appreciation, electives offered in theory, and academic credit for private study.

Bowen, G. O. "School Music." *NMR* 10, no. 117 (August 1911): 465-69. Advocates the option of a musical course of study, with courses in harmony, music appreciation with history, voice culture and chorus singing.

"School Music." *NMR* 11, no. 124 (March 1912): 167. The New York State Teachers' Association resolved that students entering and graduating from training schools and classes should pass a music examination, and that a system for inspecting music in public schools should be devised.

Bowen, G. O. "Oratorio in the High School." *NMR* 11, no. 125 (April 1912): 210-11. Advocates instruction in fundamental musical knowledge and singing at grammar school, thus preparing high school students to give expressive oratorio performances with enthusiasm, fostering music-loving adults.

Manchester, Arthur L. "The Musicians and Music Education." *NMR* 21, no. 244 (March 1922): 110-12. Supports a high school course in music appreciation modeled after the study of English, beginning with the grammar of music and proceeding to its literature; courses in music history; and scientific courses for studying the laws of harmony and counterpoint, alongside acoustics and singing or instrumental music.

University Music Programs

Spalding, Walter. "Departments of Music in our Colleges: Their Tendencies and Possibilities." *NMR* 6, no. 62 (January 1907): 106-08. Music Departments

¹¹⁸⁶Ibid., 259.

should not focus solely on those with enough talent to become composers; more courses should be taught that would enable students to become intelligent listeners of music, understanding its evolution, and appreciating its masterpieces.

Frampton, John Ross. "The American Bachelor of Music." *NMR* 7, no. 81 (August 1908): 511-12. Standards are needed for the collegiate level of music education.

"A Training School for Orchestral Players." *NMR* 11, no. 128 (July 1912): 334-35. The New England Conservatory featured a chorus and orchestra to train students to play in the major orchestras of the United States, conduct an orchestra, and offer student composers the opportunity to hear their works.

Gaul, Harvey B. "The Paris Conservatoire." *NMR* 11, no. 129 (August 1912): 376-79. Explains entrance requirements and the examination process.

Stiven, Frederic B. "Music as a College Study at Oberlin." *NMR* 12, no. 141 (August 1913): 358. The music major at Oberlin requires courses in theory, including harmony, counterpoint and analysis, and the study of history, composition or the study of an instrument.

Forsyth, Cecil. "Orchestration at Oberlin." *NMR* 23, no. 273 (August 1924): 376-77. Students should study orchestration from the beginning of their time at the conservatory, and have the opportunity to hear their work played multiple times a year.

Jaques-Dalcroze, E. "Music Education and Solidarity." *NMR* 23, no. 271 (June 1924): 284-85. Student needs to be exposed to more than one style of teaching to develop his personal temperament; there should be exchange of teachers and students. The goal of all musical study should be for people to understand and enjoy musical masterpieces.

Allison, Elliott S. "On Musicianship." *NMR* 28, no. 337 (December 1929). There is a need for training in theory and harmony with orchestration, score-reading, music history, solfeggio for ear-training, analysis and modulation, musical form and keyboard proficiency.

For Training Music Teachers

The NMR stresses the necessity of training teachers to instruct music successfully; without adequate teachers, children are unable to learn the fundamentals of music. The National Education Association began to work on creating a program for music teachers in 1902 and continued through the 1920s, with other associations also

participating. The NMR hails contributors Hollis Dann and Karl Gehrkens as leading music educators of the era¹¹⁸⁷: Dann served on a committee to formulate a plan for training teachers, and Gehrkens established Oberlin's public school music program to train teachers.¹¹⁸⁸

Dann, Hollis. "The Responsibility of the Normal School in the Musical Equipment of its Graduates." *NMR* 10, no. 113 (April 1911): 266-71. Teachers should be required to understand musical notation, have sight-reading ability, express music through singing, write musical phrases, teach music logically, and retain a beautiful tone in children's voices while eliminating harsh, throaty tones. Normal schools should incorporate model schools to demonstrate proper musical training and allow new teachers to practice teaching.

Crane, Julia Etta. "Normal School Music." *NMR* 10, no. 114 (May 1911): 329-33. Many students enter the normal school unable to read musical notation. Students should have classes to learn the fundamentals: notation, pitch, rhythm and singing with good tone quality. Composers and repertory can be introduced through recitals and concerts. Method should be taught in the second semester, followed by observation of model teachers and then practice in teaching.

Bowen, G. O. "School Music." *NMR* 10, no. 115 (June 1911): 378-80. A suggested course of study in music for the normal school student, including sight singing, dictation, writing original melodies, teaching methods, practice teaching, chorus singing and chorus conducting.

Sleeper, Henry Dike. "Some Observations Upon Public School Music." *NMR* 10, no. 118 (September 1911): 504-08. Recommends training for the supervisor of music, including sight-reading, vocal production, conducting, accompanying, harmony and history.

Gehrkens, Karl W. "The Responsibility of the Conservatory in Public School Music." *NMR* 11, no. 123 (February 1912): 121-22. The supervisor of music should have a broad musical experience, exposure to the best teachers and the opportunity to hear many recitals and concerts of high quality music to give the supervisor high ideals. The conservatory is best suited to fulfill these goals, but its curriculum should be standardized.

¹¹⁸⁷Ibid., 256-57.

¹¹⁸⁸Ibid., 278-79.

Methods

For Teaching School Children

- Perry, Elizabeth D. "Music in the Normal School." *NMR* 5, no. 58 (September 1906): 1164-65. Methods of Fitchburg Normal School teaching children to read music, sing, and develop their taste in music.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of Music in Schools." *NMR* 5, no. 61 (December 1906): 31-33. Schools should place an equal emphasis on developing music appreciation as on teaching singing.
- Seymour, Harriet Ayer. "How to Think Music." *NMR* 9, no. 103 (June 1910): 355-61. Mental training required for sight-singing.
- Seymour, Harriet Ayer. "How to Think Music." *NMR* 9, no. 104 (July 1910): 398-400. Teaching rhythm and meter.
- Seymour, Harriet Ayer. "How to Think Music." *NMR* 9, no. 105 (August 1910): 447-50. Teaching harmony.
- Bentley, Alys E. "The Fundamentals of Music Teaching in the Primary Grades." *NMR* 10, no. 111 (February 1911): 144-46. Necessities for teaching voice training, interpretation and sight-reading.
- Brown, John W. "Jaques-Dalcroze's Method of Rhythmic Gymnastics." *NMR* 10, no. 119 (October 1911): 551-52. The use of movement for rhythmic training; the development of "absolute pitch."
- Vosseller, Elizabeth Van Fleet. "The Music of the Kindergarten." *NMR* 10, no. 120 (November 1911): 596-97. Skills in kindergarten lay the foundation of knowledge; drills and practice should occur daily.
- Tomlins, William L. "A New Force in Education which Makes for Character and Individuality." *NMR* 12, no. 140 (July 1913): 299-300. Music, song and rhythmic breathings can help a child express his individuality and increase his knowledge.
- Sarson, May. "Musical Training through School Song." *NMR* 32, no. 372 (January 1933): 53-57; 32, no. 374 (March 1933): 125-30; 32, no. 378 (July 1933): 277-81; 33, no. 388 (May 1934): 181-85; 33, no. 389 (June 1934): 221-25; and 33, no. 390 (July 1934): 257-60. Discusses rhythmic progression, explaining music to children, appropriate melodies, proper voice production, interpretation of songs, sight-reading, part-singing, and descant; also provides lists of suggested repertory.

Voice Production

Van Broekhoven, John. "A New Theory of Tone Production." *NMR* 6, no. 69 (August 1907): 570-73. Using the laryngoscope to understand vocal production, Broekhoven tries to disprove the theory that vocal tone is produced by vibrating vocal chords.

Henderson, W. J. "Broekhoven on Tone Production." *NMR* 7, no. 76 (March 1908): 221-22. Review of Broekhoven's book: The principles of singing remain unchanged, and Henderson hopes for a return to emphasis on beauty instead of power in singing.

Van Broekhoven, John. "Some Unfamiliar Facts Concerning the Larynx in Singing." *NMR* 7, no. 79 (June 1908): 402-05. Description of the inner larynx, and four ways to close the larynx; the need for further research.

Taylor, David C. "Instinctive Vocal Guidance Versus Mechanical Tone Production." *NMR* 8, no. 93 (August 1909): 477-80. Read before the New York State Music Teachers' Association. Summary of Taylor's book, *The Psychology of Singing*, claiming that it is unnecessary to understand how the vocal mechanism operates, as the singer does not control it in a conscious way.

Mills, Wesley. "Science and Singing." *NMR* 11, no. 122 (January 1912): 55. Using a scientific method for teaching voice rather than teaching by imitation is helpful for students.

Mayhew, C. E. "Is there a Positive Vocal Technic?" *NMR* 21, no. 242 (January 1922): 42-44. The principle of energy without rigidity should be applied to breath support, head resonance and articulation.

Piano

Friskin, James. "The Principles of Pianoforte Practice." *NMR* 19, no. 228 (November 1920): 390-95. Students must learn to listen to all sounds they produce, and ear-training should be emphasized in relation to piano study.

Friskin, James. "The Principles of Pianoforte Practice." *NMR* 20, no. 229 (December 1920): 11-16. Technical work and developing the "mental ear."

Harmony

Fowles, Ernest. "The Teaching of Harmony." *NMR* 17, no. 199 (June 1918): 210-12. A study of instrumental chords and their combinations, with the goal of improvisation and composition.

Lytle, V. V. "Harmony and Counterpoint Can be Attractive." *NMR* 31, no. 367 (June 1932): 289-91. Because composition is a combination of counterpoint and harmony, the rules of strict counterpoint should be learned before general tonal structure.

Music History

Antcliffe, Herbert. "On the Study of the History of Music." *NMR* 18, no. 209 (April 1919): 108-110. Historical context should be examined in relationship to music, because composers were influenced by their surroundings; music history is as important as studying the history of wars and politics, because music has a "direct and very strong bearing on the life of the people."

Music Appreciation

Music appreciation was a new field in the 1900s, and the *NMR* was in the vanguard of its promotion. The *NMR* published a series of articles by Daniel Gregory Mason and Thomas Whitney Surette together as one of America's first music appreciation books in 1907. Between 1900 and 1920, the Library of Congress cataloged only fourteen titles under the music appreciation subject; from 1921 until 1940 there were ninety-three, and over one hundred and thirty from 1941 through 1960, showing the subject's increased treatment as the twentieth century proceeded. The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists a source from 1929 as its first use of the term "musical appreciation."

Value of and Need for Music Appreciation

Sleeper, Henry Dike. "Musical Appreciation as a National Asset, from the Viewpoint of the School and College." *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 94-96. The requirements of appreciation progress with new courses in appreciation at high schools and colleges.

Jaques-Dalcroze, E. "Musical Art and the Public." *NMR* 22, no. 254 (January 1923): 54-55. Sensitive individuals who understand the ideals of music should strive toward establishing public taste for good music in all social classes.

Methods and Suggestions for Music Appreciation

“Musical Education.” *NMR* 4, no. 43 (June 1905): 289-90. Concentrated listening should be taught to develop the public’s taste in music.

Clutton-Brock, A. “On Listening to Music.” *NMR* 19, no. 224 (July 1920): 262-66 (from *Music and Letters*). Listening to music for enjoyment rather than judgment; distinguishing good music.

Frampton, John Ross. “Music in the Extension Departments of American Universities and Colleges.” *NMR* 20, no. 234 (May 1921): 202-03. Musical instruction for those who are not attending college through lectures, courses and other activities.

White, Elise Fellows. “A Much Needed Reformation.” *NMR* 20, no. 233 (April 1921): 171-72. The phonograph can help enhance the musical expression of the instrumental student with reliable technique.

Watt, Henry J. “On Listening to Music.” *NMR* 25, no. 300 (November 1926): 371-76. From *Music and Letters*. How to listen to new music, and benefits of repetition. Critics should explain music’s character and style rather than its effect.

Fox Strangways, A. H. “Appreciation.” *NMR* 26, no. 313 (December 1927): 9-15. From *Music and Letters*. Appreciation should mean critical evaluation rather than just finding merit. The best appreciation lectures guide the audience through making music; how and what is played is more important than explanations of the music.

“The Study of Appreciation of Music” Series

Surette, Thomas Whitney. “The Study of Appreciation of Music.” *NMR* 5, no. 58 (September 1906): 1161. A prospectus of forthcoming articles.

Surette, Thomas Whitney. “The Study of Appreciation of Music: A Study of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony.” *NMR* 5, no. 59 (October 1906): 1224-28, continued at *NMR* 5, no. 60 (November 1906): 1290-92.

Surette, Thomas Whitney. “The Study of Appreciation of Music.” *NMR* 6, no. 61 (December 1906): 31-35. Introduction to Mason’s article “The Study of Music in Schools” and discussion of the Harvard Music Department.

Mason, Daniel Gregory, and Thomas Whitney Surette. “The Study of Appreciation of Music.” *NMR* 6, no. 63 (February 1907): 182-86. On the greater understanding and enjoyment of music and the employment of motives.

- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: Folk-Songs." *NMR* 6, no. 64 (March 1907): 259-63.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: Polyphonic Music of Bach." *NMR* 6, no. 65 (April 1907): 330-34.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: The Dance and its Development." *NMR* 6, no. 66 (May 1907): 397-401.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: The Suite." *NMR* 6, no. 67 (June 1907): 452-56.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: The Rondo." *NMR* 6, no. 68 The rondo (July 1907): 514-20.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: The Variation Form – the Minuet." *NMR* 6, no. 69 (August 1907): 588-93.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory, and Thomas Whitney Surette. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: The Sonata Form." *NMR* 6, no. 70 (September 1907): 636-42, continued at 6, no. 71 (October 1907): 698-703.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory, and Thomas Whitney Surette. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: The Slow Movement." *NMR* 6, no. 72 (November 1907): 761-67.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory, and Thomas Whitney Surette. "The Study of Appreciation of Music: Beethoven." *NMR* 7, no. 73 (December 1907): 35-40; 7, no. 74 (January 1908): 99-104; 7, no. 75 (February 1908): 166-70; 7, no. 76 (March 1908): 232-38.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "A Neglected Contribution to Harmonic Theory: Piutti's Parenthesis Chords." *NMR* 7, no. 77 (April 1908): 299-303.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of the Appreciation of Music: Parenthesis Chords Again." *NMR* 7, no. 78 (May 1908): 365-68.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of the Appreciation of Music: Correspondence." *NMR* 7, no. 79 (June 1908): 415-18.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Study of the Appreciation of Music: Some Letter of Ethelbert Nevin." *NMR* 7, no. 80 (July 1908): 468-70.
- Farwell, Arthur. "The Study of the Appreciation of Music: The Basics of Chromatics." *NMR* 7, no. 83 (October 1908): 609-14.

Anger, J. Humphrey. "The Study of the Appreciation of Music: Correspondence." *NMR* 7, no. 84 (November 1908): 669-71.

Peake, John Daulby. "The Study of the Appreciation of Music: Correspondence." *NMR* 8, no. 85 (December 1908): 28-34.

Music School Settlements

Bloomfield, Daniel. "A Unique School of Music." *NMR* 10, no. 116 (July 1911): 414. The purpose of the Boston Music School Settlement is "to bring light and happiness into the homes of the people through music and the cooperation of social workers, in short, to develop better men and women." The children receive instrumental instruction and attend music history and sight-singing classes gratis or for a nominal fee. The library has over 500 circulating music books, and a physician provides free services. After operating for less than a year, expansion was necessary, and a new site was donated. Bloomfield argues that the nation will thrive with artistic and music-loving citizens such as those created through the settlement.

"Music School Settlement for Negroes." *NMR* 11, no. 121 (December 1911): 23. A proposed settlement will provide a healthy, moral social center for the community and cultivate music. The school will train children and teachers who can then spread the influence. The February 1914 issue announced a prize competition at the settlement.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Spirit of the Music School Settlement." *NMR* 12, no. 141 (August 1913): 348-49. Description of a rehearsal of the orchestra, with about fifty children interested in working, not merely sitting in the audience. According to Mason, "the success of the Music School Settlement was due to this unusual spirit of cooperation, of self-subordination, in students and teachers alike." The children listened to the director as he criticized the individuality in their playing; they made corrections to play as an ensemble. The director inspired expression in the children's music and, indirectly, in their lives.

Music Teachers' National Association

The *NMR* includes lengthy reports of annual Music Teachers' National Association (MTNA) meetings in the issues of August 1906, February 1909, February 1911, December 1912 and August 1918. The *NMR* also features George Chadwick's

address to an MTNA annual meeting concerning teachers' good qualities and comparisons of the American student to the European student.¹¹⁸⁹ The NMR includes programs of MTNA meetings and officer lists in the July 1905, February 1906, June 1906, October 1907, November 1907, January 1908, December 1909, November 1910, January 1911, January 1912, January 1917, October 1918, August, October and November 1919 and December 1920 issues. Other mentions are found in various "Notes" sections. NMR issues from July 1905, August 1906, August 1907, July 1908, August 1908, August 1909, July 1910 and August 1912 feature programs for the New York State Music Teachers' Association. The NMR occasionally mentions other state associations.

The Institute of Musical Art

The NMR published articles on the development, faculty, opening and programs of the Institute of Musical Art in the May 1905, August 1905, December 1905, October 1913, March 1916, and November 1929 issues. In other issues, the "Notes" section contains programs and news.

Programs

The NMR printed school music programs from Columbia University, Yale University, Yonkers Public Schools, Hartford Public Schools, collegiate and high school

¹¹⁸⁹George Chadwick, "Teachers and Students," *NMR* 8, no. 87 (February 1909): 168-69.

glee clubs, and others in the “Notes” sections of many issues and dedicated school sections in the May 1911, August 1911, July 1912 and December 1913 issues.

Appendix B: Secular Choral Music

In the literature about American choral music there are gaps: Surveys include few composers of American choral music from 1900 to 1930. Until the establishment of professional groups such as the Robert Shaw Chorale, there is almost no literature regarding who was performing choral music in the United States after 1900. The NMR's authors observe the active American choral life through programs and small reviews, but larger articles are rare. Longer articles on secular choral music are more general in nature, but they do shed light on the situation. The NMR's many reviews and reports of choral events demonstrate the popularity of choral music and choral societies in the United States in the first third of the twentieth century. Yet even with thousands attending or participating in large choral festivals such as the North Shore Festival outside Chicago or the Worcester Festival in Massachusetts, some articles note that choral societies were often more successful in England and Europe. (In all cases, the abbreviation "NMR" is used in place of "*The New Music Review and Church Music Review*.”)

Difficulties for American Choral Music; Model Societies

Converse, F. S. "Modern Development of Choral Music." *NMR* 7, no. 76 (March 1908): 230. Mixing independent pieces with dramatic scenes causes confusion in modern oratorios; the works are not written for stage performance, but are incomplete without it. The unmelodic, declamatory treatment of the voice prevalent in opera is unsuccessfully employed in oratorios with no action. The subject of a successful oratorio needs an emotional and mental struggle treated with lyrical melodies. The solo voices, chorus and orchestra should be closely related in dramatic character and development, forming a piece like a symphonic poem.

- Fisher, Charles A. "Two Model Chorus Clubs." *NMR* 7, no. 81 (August 1908): 509-11. Caecilien Verein, established in 1818, operates under the authority of the conductor and Board of Management with three classes of active paying members. Ruehlscher Gesang Verein, established in 1852, operates under the director Siegfried Ochs, with more voices on the active list (300) than its auditorium can stage. It is prestigious to belong to either group, and the two collaborate in setting schedules. Fisher expects the Mannerchor could succeed in the United States with proper management and directing.
- Walker, Ernest. "The Value of Oratorio as an Art Form." *NMR* 8, no. 89 (April 1909): 266-68. Walker discusses two reasons composers do not write oratorios: the form is difficult, trying to express drama without action, and the Bible lacks great poetry that can be expressed through the oratorio form. Walker offers Handel's oratorios as a model, but surmises that the form is no longer valid and wishes for a choral form in the future that will be timeless.
- Fisher, Charles A. "A Remarkable Chorus." *NMR* 8, no. 94 (September 1909): 521-23. To succeed, a society's membership needs to be interested in rehearsals for their own sake, not just performances; the business management needs to perform their duties; and benefactors need to contribute for the music's sake. Copenhagen's Caecilia Foreningen has a membership of about 230, with a 40-voice madrigal choir, and a Board of Control attending to its business; the director chooses the programs as well as the voices.
- Grew, Sydney. "Choral Music in England." *NMR* 9, no. 98 (January 1910): 79-83. The long history of choral music in England leads to a favorable environment for choral music there. Singers must cooperate for choral music to thrive; they must be willing to sing quietly and produce crescendos as well as develop a thorough understanding of the text.
- Vogt, A. S. "Choral Conditions in America and England." *NMR* 11, no. 121 (December 1911): 12-13. The high standard of choral work in England is achieved through discipline and strict rehearsals; choral music developed successfully in Wales because there was little else for diversion and no instrumental music. With many types of music available in the United States, choral music has substantial competition and has grown slowly, and its standards do not match those of professional orchestral and opera performances. Yet the Cincinnati Biennial Festival is much larger and sells many more seats than English festivals, and Vogt conjectures there is a bright future for choral music in the United States.
- Burrows, W. A. "A Choral Dirge." *NMR* 11, no. 127 (June 1912): 285-87. Burrows explains the difficulty of administering a choral society and complains that the same people who prescribe the sociological benefits of music will not monetarily support a musical group. He observes a decline of interest in choral music — and shrinking choral societies — as the population rises, noting the difficulty in

getting members to join societies or attend rehearsals with more distractions in larger cities and neglect of music in the home.

Mason, Mary L., and Daniel Gregory Mason. "A Choral Organization in Paris." *NMR* 13, no. 150 (May 1914): 273-75. The authors hail the newly formed l'Association Chorale Professionnelle de Paris for its quick development, virtuosity and high artistic standards, which set it apart from other Parisian societies.

Techniques for Improving Choral Tone

Newman, Ernest. "Choral Tone: Some Suggestions." *NMR* 7, no. 80 (July 1908): 454-57. Newman discusses the influence of one period of music on the next and changes in music due to improving technique. He notes a lack of development in choral tone and suggests that choral tone should be used for color effects as well as spatial effects, with gradation of force. Larger choral groups should learn from the madrigal choirs and avoid a thick sound; a semi-chorus could help with gradation and effects.

Pierce, Edwin Hall. "Problems of Unaccompanied Choral Singing and How to Meet Them." *NMR* 29, no. 347 (October 1930): 894-96. Pierce discusses a revival in unaccompanied singing, noting that new editions of works by old masters (with words in English) are now available. He suggests teaching new works vocally so the choir can learn just intonation, only using a piano to show structure. He warns of the harm a solo voice can do to the ensemble, and the need for a conductor to keep tempo and indicate entries.

Dorr, William R. "The Influence of Pitch Upon Intonation." *NMR* 31, no. 365 (April 1932): 197-99. When a choir has difficulty keeping a new piece in tune in its original key, transposition to a new key — as little as a half step or as much as a third away — may correct the intonation. This can be effective with accompanied as well as a cappella anthems. Likewise, when a frequently performed work suddenly is no longer on pitch, transposition may correct the error.

American Choral Societies

Derived from the Germanic and English traditions, choral groups took a strong hold on American musical life in the nineteenth century. In the early 1900s most large cities and many smaller communities had at least one choral society. The *NMR* published countless programs for many choral societies throughout its run, as well as

reviews for some performances, especially those in New York between 1905 and 1914. The Oratorio Society of New York, with H. W. Gray as its treasurer, was most prominently featured. Most society performances included works by traditional, older European composers. Many groups, however, made an effort to sing new works or works not yet heard in the United States, by both European and American composers. Thus, choral works provided public exposure for many American composers, although Elgar was, by far, the choral music composer most frequently discussed in the journal. Choral societies often mentioned in the NMR included many from New York (Oratorio Society of New York, Brooklyn Oratorio Society, Musical Art Society, Church Choral Society, Musurgia), a number from Boston (Choral Art Society, Handel and Haydn Society, Cecilia Society, People's Choral Union) and two from Chicago (Apollo Musical Club, Evanston Musical Club). The NMR featured the Oratorio Society of New York,¹¹⁹⁰ the Musical Art Society¹¹⁹¹ and the Church Choral Society¹¹⁹² most prominently.

American Choral Music Reviews

Most issues of the NMR include smaller reviews of published choral works by many American and British composers. In their reviews of choral works, the critics seek sincere, beautiful, innovative and lasting American works. Frederick Converse and Horatio Parker were the two most celebrated American composers of choral music in the

¹¹⁹⁰The NMR discusses the Oratorio Society of New York in issues from November 1901, February 1904, June 1905, November 1905, May 1909, February 1910, June 1912, August 1912, August 1914, December 1917, July 1918, November 1919 and December 1923, and includes additional programs and reviews.

¹¹⁹¹NMR articles feature the Musical Art Society in the issues of November 1902, April 1905, June 1905, January 1913, February 1913 and July 1917, and the January 1921 issues explains its discontinuation.

¹¹⁹²NMR issues from April 1903, May 1903, January 1904, June 1905, March 1906, March 1907 and June 1924 feature the Church Choral Society.

NMR, which reviewed performances of their works both in individual articles and in reviews of American music festivals. Both composers wrote extended works for orchestra and chorus. When included as an important writer of American choral music, Horatio Parker is classified as a late Romantic. Converse, like most of his generation, is not included among significant composers of American choral music. The NMR reviewed, inter alia, Converse's *Job* (March 1908: 216-17), Parker's *Hova Novissima* (February 1910: 146-47) and Parker's *The Dream of Mary* (May 1920: 192-93).

American Festivals

In the early twentieth century, many American communities had choral groups. Musicians perceived choral music as an accessible form of music that could be used to educate the public about art. Musical conventions, an outgrowth of the singing schools, were the predecessors to music festivals. First held in the United States during the nineteenth century, these conventions provided vocal instruction to large groups of singers by a leader, such as Lowell Mason, through a few days of rehearsals and discussions, with an exhibition at the end.¹¹⁹³ As the conventions expanded, employed soloists and attained greater artistic quality, they grew into festivals.¹¹⁹⁴ These festivals were an important opportunity for the public to hear music, and they often introduced or commissioned new American and European works. Many festivals featured prominent soloists and conductors along with the festival choruses.¹¹⁹⁵

¹¹⁹³William Arms Fisher, *Music Festivals in the United States* (Boston: American Choral and Festival Alliance, 1934), 4-6. The attendees of the conventions were often leaders of smaller singing schools.

¹¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁹⁵Festival choruses could be a combination of groups or singers selected from neighboring communities; the singers often included children.

William Arms Fischer lists the four festivals most prominently featured in the NMR — the Worcester Festival, the Norfolk Festival, the Berkshire Festival at Pittsfield and the Cincinnati May Festival — among the fifteen major American music festivals.¹¹⁹⁶ Historians have written about the patronage of the Pittsfield Festival and the Norfolk Festival, but few other recent sources give much information about the festivals.¹¹⁹⁷ Krehbiel and Mason both wrote several articles on the festivals; Mason had a history in Pittsfield and with Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge before the Berkshire Festivals began, and Krehbiel reported on the Worcester Festival and the Cincinnati May Festival. All relevant articles report the works performed and the musicians used; they often indicate the mood and reception of the festival. Some also give more detailed descriptions of the new American works performed.

Worcester Festival

Krehbiel, H. E. “The Worcester Jubilee Festival.” *NMR* 6, no. 72 (November 1907): 737-40. Pieces by Debussy, Elgar, Bruch, Arthur Hinton, Noskowski and Wagner; extensive coverage of Horatio Parker’s *Hora Novissima* and F. S. Converse’s *Job*.

“The Worcester Musical Association of 1908.” *NMR* 7, no. 84 (November 1908): 662-63. Performances of Saint-Saens’s *Samson and Delilah*; Elgar’s *Caractacus*; Loeffler’s *La Villanelle du Diable* (symphonic poem); and a program by public school children.

Norfolk Festival

“Litchfield County Choral Union.” *NMR* 10, no. 116 (July 1911): 415-16. New works included Henry Hadley’s *North, South, East, West* (a symphony), Horatio

¹¹⁹⁶Ibid., 25.

¹¹⁹⁷J. H. Vaill, ed., *Litchfield County Choral Union: 1900 to 1912, Vol. 2* (Norfolk, Conn.: Litchfield County University Club, 1912). Carl Stoeckel, the Norfolk Festival’s sponsor, wrote many of the chapters, and the book includes programs, press releases and the history of the festival.

Parker's *Collegiate Overture* and Max Bruch's Concert Piece for Violin and Orchestra.

Humiston, W. H. "The Norfolk Festival." *NMR* 17, no. 200 (July 1918): 251.
Performances included Robbins Battell's *Festival Chorale*, a setting of the hymn "Sweet is the Work"; Horatio Parker's *The Dream of Mary*; David Stanley Smith's Symphony; Chadwick's *Patriotic Ode*; Horatio Parker's *The Red Cross Spirit Speaks*; and works by Hadley, Chadwick, Coleridge-Taylor, Stanford and Maud Powell.

Humiston, W. H. "Norfolk Festival, 1922." *NMR* 21, no. 248 (July 1922): 255-56.
Performances of Franck's *The Beatitudes*; Coleridge-Taylor's *A Tale of Old Japan*; Vaughan Williams's, *Pastoral Symphony*; MacDowell's, Concerto in D minor; Chadwick's, *Anniversary Overture*; and Victor Kolar's, *Slovakian Rhapsody*.

Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music (Pittsfield Festival)

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music." *NMR* 17, no. 204 (November 1918): 372-75. Mason reviews the festival. The Berkshire Quartet played works by Beethoven, Thuille and Alois Reiser; the El Shuco Trio played works by Brahms and Ravel; the Longy Club played works by d'Indy, Loeillet and Andre Caplet; the Letz Quartet played pieces by Mozart and Beethoven. Mason extensively compares the new quartets by Tadeusz Iarecki and Alois Reiser.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music." *NMR* 18, no. 216 (November 1919): 336-39. Reviews of new quartets by Elgar, Rebecca Clarke, a trio by Sowerby, Vaughan Williams's *On Wenlock Edge*, Stravinsky's *Trois Poesies de al Lyrique Japonaise* and Bloch's Sonata for viola and piano.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music." *NMR*, 20, no. 229 (December 1920): 17-20. Reviews of John Powell's Sonata in A flat, the London String Quartet playing Frank Bridge's Quartet in E minor, Carlos Salzedo and the Trio de Lutece playing Sara Yarrow's *Three Poems*, the Berkshire String Quartet playing Francesco Malipiero's *Rispetti e Strambotti* and the London String Quartet playing Enesco's Octet.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Pittsfield Festival." *NMR* 21, no. 252 (November 1922): 400-02. The Wendling Quartet performed Beethoven's Quartet in A minor, op. 132 and Reger's Quintet for clarinet and strings, op. 146. The Chamber Music Society of San Francisco gave an all Brahms concert. The New York Trio performed Gabriel Pierne's Trio in C minor, op. 45. Mason also reviews a Schubert Octet, a Quartet by Ravel and a String Quartet by Leo Weiner.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Pittsfield Festival." *NMR* 22, no. 264 (November 1923): 497-500. One third of the works were English. The London String Quartet and the Festival Quartet of South Mountain performed works by Bach, Beethoven and Frank Bridge's Sextet in E flat major. Lionel Tertis and Myra Hess performed Brahms's Clarinet Sonata in F minor, arranged for viola and piano. Other works performed included B. J. Dale's Sextet for Violas, Arnold Bax's Sonata for Piano and Viola, Brahms's *Neue Liebeslieder Waltzes*, op. 65, a Quartet by Hindemith, Rebecca Clarke's Rhapsody for Piano and Cello, Eugene Goossens's *Phantasy Sextet* and Malipiero's *Stornelli e Ballate*.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "The Anniversary Festival at Pittsfield." *NMR* 27, no. 324 (November 1928): 421-25. Performances included Beethoven's Quartet in E flat major, op. 127; David Stanley Smith's Sonata in A minor; Haydn's Quartet in F, op. 77, no. 2; Malipiero's Sonata a Tre; Reger's Sextet in F major, op. 118; Carlos Salzedo's *Five Pieces for Two Harps*; Frank Bridge's Third Quartet; Marinu's Quintet; and Schoenberg's Third Quartet.

Cincinnati May Festival

Krehbiel, H. E. "The Seventeenth Cincinnati Festival." *NMR* 5, no. 55 (June 1906): 959-61. The festival choir featured 350 voices; Benoit's *Into the World* (cantata) included a children's choir of 1,000. Edward Elgar conducted his *The Apostles*, *The Dream of Gerontius*, *In the South* and *Introduction and Allegro for Strings*. Loeffler's *Mort de Tintagiles* was the only American work on the program; other choral works were by Brahms, Bach and Beethoven.

Krehbiel, H. E. "The Cincinnati Festival." *NMR* 7, no. 79 (June 1908): 426-27. Excerpts from criticism by Krehbiel discussed Haydn's *Creation*, Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, and a performance of Pierne's *The Children's Crusade*, with over 700 public school children singing.

Krehbiel, H. E. "The Cincinnati Festival." *NMR* 9, no. 103 (June 1910): 350-51. The 19th biennial festival produced profits of over \$12,000; children's choirs featured in the performances of Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* and Pierne's *Children's Crusade*.

Appendix C: Biographical Sketches

The New Music Review and Church Music Review features over 240 biographical sketches discussing the lives and music of composers, and performance styles of musicians. The articles represent both contemporary and historical composers and musicians from the United States and abroad. In all cases, the abbreviation “*NMR*” is used in place of “*The New Music Review and Church Music Review*.”

American Composers

Converse, Frederick Shepherd

“F. S. Converse.” *NMR* 6, no. 71 (October 1907): 684-85.

Gilbert, Henry F.

Gilbert, Henry F. “A Chapter of Reminiscence.” *NMR* 20, no. 230 (January 1921): 54-57; and 20, no. 231 (February 1921): 91-94.

Gilchrist, William Wallace

Hall, Walter Henry. “William Wallace Gilchrist, 1846-1916, an Appreciation.” *NMR* 16, no. 183 (February 1917): 470-71.

Hadley, Henry

Palmer, Franklin Sawyer. “The Seattle Symphony Orchestra.” *NMR* 9, no. 107 (October 1910): 539-41.

Loeffler, Charles Martin

Gilman, Lawrence. “Concerning Charles Martin Loeffler.” *NMR* 5, no. 49 (December 1905): 572-74.

Henderson, W. J. “Loeffler and his Songs.” *NMR* 4, no. 42 (May 1905): 233-34.

MacDowell, Edward

Aldrich, Richard. “Edward MacDowell.” *NMR* 7, no. 76 (March 1908): 205-08.

Gilbert, Henry F. “Personal Recollections of MacDowell.” *NMR* 11, no. 132 (November 1912): 494-98.

Mason, Lowell

“Some Unpublished Journals of Lowell Mason.” *NMR* 9, no. 108 (November 1910): 577-81; and 10, no. 109 (December 1910): 16-18.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. “A Glimpse of Lowell Mason from an Old Bundle of Letters.” *NMR* 26, no. 302 (January 1927): 49-52.

Parker, Horatio

Blackburn, Vernon. “Horatio Parker.” *NMR* 5, no. 53 (April 1906): 821-24.

Smith, David Stanley

“David Stanley Smith.” *NMR* 9, no. 102 (May 1910): 291.

Stock, Frederick A.

“Frederick A. Stock.” *NMR* 4, no. 43 (June 1905): 295.

American Conductors

Damrosch, Walter

“Walter Damrosch.” *NMR* 9, no. 102 (May 1910): 303-06. An account of a dinner celebrating his twenty-fifth anniversary as a conductor, including Damrosch’s remarks on his career and an address by Henry E. Krehbiel.

Thomas, Theodore

Schuyler, Montgomery. “What I Remember about Theodore Thomas.” *NMR* 4, no. 47 (October 1905): 474-78.

Potter, Frank Hunter. “Chironomy and Theodore Thomas.” *NMR* 8, no. 95 (October 1909): 558-61.

American Organists

Christian, Palmer

Erzähler. “Personalities – Palmer Christian.” *NMR* 33, no. 389 (June 1934): 232-33.

Coke-Jephcott, Norman

Erzähler. “Personalities – Norman Coke-Jephcott.” *NMR* 32, no. 376 (May 1933): 218-19.

Dickinson, Clarence

Erzähler. “Personalities – Clarence Dickinson.” *NMR* 32, no. 378 (July 1933): 284-85.

Finn, William J.

Erzähler. “Personalities – Father Finn.” *NMR* 33, no. 387 (April 1934): 154-55.

Harrison, G. Donald

Erzähler. “Personalities – G. Donald Harrison.” *NMR* 32, no. 380 (September 1933): 355-56.

Hyde, Herbert E.

Erzähler. “Personalities – Herbert E. Hyde.” *NMR* 32, no. 381 (October 1933): 387-88.

Kraft, Edwin Arthur

Erzähler. “Personalities – Edwin Arthur Kraft.” *NMR* 32, no. 379 (August 1933): 324-25.

Lefebvre, Channing

Erzähler. "Personalities – Channing Lefebvre." *NMR* 32, no. 375 (April 1933): 186-87.

Lockwood, Charlotte

Erzähler. "Personalities – Charlotte Lockwood." *NMR* 33, no. 390 (July 1934): 267-68.

Milligan, Harold Vincent

Erzähler. "Personalities – Harold Vincent Milligan." *NMR* 33, no. 383 (December 1933): 11-12.

Noble, T. Tertius

"Dr. Noble Honored at Fiftieth Anniversary." *NMR* 30, no. 353 (April 1931): 170.
Erzähler. "Personalities – T. Tertius Noble." *NMR* 33, no. 386 (February 1934): 118-19.

Nold, Raymond

Erzähler. "Personalities – Raymond Nold." *NMR* 34, no. 397 (February 1935): 80-81.

Ross, Hugh

Erzähler. "Personalities – Hugh Ross." *NMR* 34, no. 396 (January 1935): 44-45.

Snow, Francis W.

Erzähler. "Personalities – Francis W. Snow." *NMR* 33, no. 393 (October 1934): 363-64.

Stubbs, G. Edward

"George Edward Stubbs." *NMR* 26, no. 308 (July 1927): 257-58.
Hall, Walter Henry. "G. Edward Stubbs – An Appreciation." *NMR* 31, no. 367 (June 1932): 302.

Warren, Samuel P.

Gale, Walter C. "Samuel P. Warren, an Appreciation." *NMR* 15, no. 169 (December 1915): 21-22.

Watters, Clarence

Erzähler. "Personalities – Clarence Watters." *NMR* 34, no. 402 (July 1935): 250-51.

White, Ernest

Erzähler. "Personalities – Ernest White." *NMR* 32, no. 377 (June 1933): 250-51.

Williams, Julian R.

Erzähler. "Personalities – Julian R. Williams." *NMR* 34, no. 403 (August 1935): 280-81.

Woodcock, William Henry

Stubbs, G. Edward. "Retirement of Dr. Woodcock." *NMR* 20, no. 237 (August 1921): 300-01.

Woodman, R. Huntington

“R. Huntington Woodman.” *NMR* 29, no. 343 (June 1930): 734-35.

Zeuch, William E.

Erzähler. “Personalities – William E. Zeuch.” *NMR* 33, no. 385 (February 1934): 78-79.

British Composers

Avison, Charles

Harris, Clement Antrobus. “The World’s Most Popular Anthem.” *NMR* 22, no. 258 (May 1923): 242-47.

Bainton, Edgar L.

Antcliffe, Herbert. “Modern English Composers.” *NMR* 19, no. 217 (December 1919): 12-15.

Balfe, Michael William

Law, Frederic S. “A Neglected Centenary – Michael William Balfe.” *NMR* 11, no. 123 (February 1912): 103-06.

Bantock, Granville

Antcliffe, Herbert. “Granville Bantock an Orientalist Composer.” *NMR* 9, no. 107 (October 1910): 525-27.

Boughton, Rutland

Antcliffe, Herbert. “Rutland Boughton: A Dreamer and a Doer.” *NMR* 12, no. 143 (October 1913): 438-40.

Byrd, William

Hadow, W. H. “Tercentenary of Byrd.” *NMR* 22, no. 257 (April 1923): 196.

Coleridge-Taylor, Samuel

“S. Coleridge-Taylor.” *NMR* 4, no. 37 (November 1904): 11-12.

Croft, William

Smith, Alexander Brent. “William Croft.” *NMR* 34, no. 397 (February 1935): 73-74.

Davies, Walford

Dry, Wakeling. “A Chat with Dr. Walford Davies.” *NMR* 4, no. 38 (December 1904): 55-57.

Delius, Frederick

Antcliffe, Herbert. “A Cosmopolitan Composer – Frederick Delius.” *NMR* 9, no. 98 (January 1910): 83-85.

Spanuth, August. “A New Musical Dramatist.” *NMR* 6, no. 66 (May 1907): 379-81.

Elgar, Edward

“Edward Elgar. *The Dream of Gerontius.*” *NMR* 2, no. 17 (March 1903): 200-01.

Holbrooke, Joseph

Antcliffe, Herbert. “Joseph Holbrooke.” *NMR* 10, no. 118 (September 1911): 499-501.

Purcell, Henry

Smith, Alexander Brent. “Henry Purcell, 1659–1695.” *NMR* 33, no. 394 (November 1934): 385-86.

Thiman, Eric H.

Daley, L. Wane. “Eric H. Thiman – An Appreciation.” *NMR* 29, no. 348 (November 1930): 934-36.

British Conductors

Dolmetsch, Arnold

Hill, Edward Burlingame. “An Apostle of Old Music.” *NMR* 6, no. 70 (September 1907): 625-29.

Wood, Henry J.

Blackburn, Vernon. “Henry J. Wood.” *NMR* 5, no. 56 (July 1906): 1014-17.

British Organist

Mann, A. H.

Hall, Walter Henry. “Dr. A. H. Mann of King’s College.” *NMR* 25, no. 300 (November 1926): 376-77.

British Critic

Shaw, George Bernard

Shaw, George Bernard. “The Reminiscences of a Quinquagenarian.” *NMR* 11, no. 129 (August 1912): 370-73.

British Vocalist

Novello, Clara

“Clara Novello.” *NMR* 7, no. 78 (May 1908): 354-55.

French Composers

Aubert, Louis

Calvocoressi, Michael D. “Louis Aubert and *La Foret Bleue.*” *NMR* 12, no. 137 (April 1913): 171-72.

Berlioz, Hector

- Boschot, Adolph. "Ernest Reyer and Hector Berlioz." *NMR* 12, no. 141 (August 1913): 344-45. Reprint from *La Musica*.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 4. Berlioz and the Beginnings of Realism." *NMR* 13, no. 157 (December 1914): 15-19.
- Smith, Alexander Brent. "Hector Berlioz." *NMR* 31, no. 363 (February 1932): 93-95.
- Tiersot, Julien. "Berlioz as an Orchestral Conductor." *NMR* 9, no. 97 (December 1909): 13-15. Reprint from *Le Menestrel*.

Debussy, Claude

- Antcliffe, Herbert. "Debussy and the Harmonic Series Theories." *NMR* 27, no. 318 (May 1928): 203-05.
- Burk, John N. "Estimating Debussy." *NMR* 18, no. 208 (March 1919): 76-80.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 14. Debussy." *NMR* 14, no. 167 (October 1915): 364-67.
- Newman, Ernest. "A Note on Debussy." *NMR* 10, no. 110 (January 1911): 58-61. Reprint from the *Musical Times*.

Dupré, Marcel

- Russell, Alexander. "Marcel Dupré." *NMR* 24, no. 282 (May 1925): 235-36.

Franck, César

- Indy, Vincent d'. "Personal Recollections of César Franck." *NMR* 4, no. 46 (September 1905): 425-27.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 10. César Franck." *NMR* 14, no. 163 (June 1915): 228-32.

Guilmant, Alexander

- Carl, William C. "Guilmant's Contribution to Organ Music and Organ Playing." *NMR* 11, no. 130 (September 1912): 417-19.
- Carl, William C. "Reminiscences of Alexander Guilmant." *NMR* 4, no. 37 (November 1904): 18.
- Pyne, J. Kendrick. "M. Guilmant at Manchester." *NMR* 9, no. 106 (September 1910): 491.

Indy, Vincent d'

- Hill, Edward B. "Vincent d'Indy." *NMR* 5, no. 52 (March 1906): 759-62.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Vincent d'Indy and the Modern French Movement in Music." *NMR* 16, no. 191 (October 1917): 754-58; 16, no. 192 (November 1917): 790-94; 17, no. 194 (January 1918): 48-53; 17, no. 195 (February 1918): 80-84.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Vincent d'Indy on Musical Composition." *NMR* 9, no. 104 (July 1910): 389-92.

Lecocq, Charles

- Lecocq, Charles. "Charles Lecocq." *NMR* 12, no. 140 (July 1913): 294-96.

Massenet, Jules

Cecil, George. "Massenet and his Operas." *NMR* 24, no. 280 (March 1925): 156-58.

Offenbach, Jacques

Spanuth, August. "The Case of Jacques Offenbach." *NMR* 5, no. 52 (March 1906): 762-66.

Ravel, Maurice

Calvocoressi, Michael D. "Maurice Ravel." *NMR* 8, no. 94 (September 1909): 514-18.
Reprint from *S.I.M.*

Saint-Saëns, Camille

Blackburn, Vernon. "Saint-Saëns." *NMR* 5, no. 58 (September 1906): 1141-44.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 9. Camille Saint-Saëns, a Modern Classicist." *NMR* 14, no. 162 (May 1915): 196-99.

Pioch, Georges. "Saint-Saëns as an Author and Poet." *NMR* 9, no. 99 (February 1910): 145-46. Reprint from *La Musica*.

Satie, Eric

Landormy, Paul. "Eric Satie." *NMR* 31, no. 361 (December 1931): 5-8. Authorized translation by Fred Rothwell.

Schmitt, Florent

Calvocoressi, Michael D. "Florent Schmitt." *NMR* 11, no. 128 (July 1912): 332-34.

Severac, Deodat de

Calvocoressi, Michael D. "A French Composer of Today – Deodat de Severac." *NMR* 9, no. 103 (June 1910): 341-44.

French Conductor**Caplet, Andre**

Landormy, Paul. "Andre Caplet." *NMR* 30, no. 358 (September 1931): 353-55.
Authorized translation by Fred Rothwell.

French Vocalists**Dupréz, Gilbert**

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 5. Three Tenors, Giovanni Battista Rubini (1795-1854), Adolphe Nourrit (1802-39), Gilbert Dupréz (1806-96)." *NMR* 13, no. 150 (May 1914): 266-70.

Nourrit, Adolphe

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 5. Three Tenors, Giovanni Battista Rubini (1795-1854), Adolphe Nourrit (1802-39), Gilbert Dupréz (1806-96)." *NMR* 13, no. 150 (May 1914): 266-70.

Plançon, Pol

Rogers, Francis. "Pol Plançon." *NMR* 14, no. 157 (December 1914): 12-14.

German and Austrian Composers**Bach, Johann Sebastian**

Smith, Alexander Brent. "Johann Sebastian Bach." *NMR* 34, no. 400 (May 1935): 173-75, 183.

Thompson, Arthur J. "Bach – a Modern View." *NMR* 33, no. 383 (December 1933): 5-8

Beer-Walbrunn, Anton

Sonneck, Oscar G. "Anton Beer-Walbrunn." *NMR* 8, no. 89 (April 1909): 269-71; and 8, no. 90 (May 1909): 321-23.

Beethoven, Ludwig van

"Beethoven's Deafness in Relation to his Works." *NMR* 21, no. 247 (June 1922): 219-20.

Hadden, J. Cuthbert. "Beethoven as Lover." *NMR* 10, no. 120 (November 1911): 587-90.

Kretzschmar, H. "Beethoven as Martyr." *NMR* 10, no. 112 (March 1911): 186-90.

Reprint from the *Gesammelte Aufsätze Veber Musik*.

Smith, Alexander Brent. "Ludvig van Beethoven." *NMR* 30, no. 356 (July 1931): 281-85.

Brahms, Johannes

Kalbeck, Max. "Brahms in Ischl." *NMR* 12, no. 145 (December 1913): 10-14. Reprint from the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt*.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 12. Brahms." *NMR* 14, no. 165 (August 1915): 292-96.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "A Postscript to *From Grieg to Brahms* III. Tschaikowsky and Brahms." *NMR* 26, no. 310 (September 1927): 333-36.

Newman, Ernest. "A Note on Brahms." *NMR* 5, no. 56 (July 1906): 1011-13.

Robinson, Edward. "The Solitary Brahms." *NMR* 32, no. 377 (June 1933): 245-47.

Weingartner, Felix. "Brahms, a Master of Instrumentation." *NMR* 4, no. 40 (March 1905): 137-40. Reprint from *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*.

Bruckner, Anton

Schirrmann, C. F. "Anton Bruckner as an Organist." *NMR* 34, no. 401 (June 1935): 209-10.

Handel, George Frederich

Smith, Alexander Brent. "George Frederich Handel." *NMR* 34, no. 398 (March 1935): 109-12.

Haydn, Franz Joseph

Grew, Sydney. "The Humility of Haydn." *NMR* 31, no. 365 (April 1932): 200-01.

Smith, Alexander Brent. "A Study of Haydn." *NMR* 30, no. 351 (February 1931): 85-87.

Humperdinck, Engelbert

Blackburn, Vernon. "Humperdinck." *NMR* 5, no. 60 (November 1906): 1268-71.

Joachim, Joseph

"Joachim in the Poets' Eyes." *NMR* 6, no. 72 (November 1907): 746-47.

Walker, Ernest. "A Neglected Composer – Joachim." *NMR* 9, no. 107 (October 1910): 522-24.

Karg-Elert, Sigfrid

Grace, Harvey. "The Karg-Elert Festival: A Talk with the Composer." *NMR* 29, no. 345 (August 1930): 817-21. Reprint from the *Musical Times*.

Koegel, Fritz

Newman, Ernest. "Fritz Koegel." *NMR* 9, no. 101 (April 1910): 242-44.

Mainzer, Joseph

Clyne, Anthony. "Joseph Munzer, Inventor of Community Singing." *NMR* 27, no. 314 (January 1928): 51-53.

Mendelssohn, Felix

Aldrich, Richard. "Mendelssohn's Centenary." *NMR* 8, no. 87 (February 1909): 142-44.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 3. Felix Mendelssohn." *NMR* 13, no. 156 (November 1914): 514-18.

Reed, William. "Mendelssohn Today." *NMR* 22, no. 256 (March 1923): 149-50.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Mozart in 1906." *NMR* 5, no. 51 (February 1906): 696-99.

Smith, Alexander Brent. "A Study of Mozart." *NMR* 30, no. 353 (April 1931): 165-67.

Reger, Max

Grew, Sydney. "The Tragedy of Max Reger." *NMR* 30, no. 350 (January 1931): 45-48.

"Max Reger." *NMR* 4, no. 47 (October 1905): 479-81. Reprint from the *Musical Times*.

Rheinberger, Josef

Grew, Sydney. "Rheinberger and his Organ Sonatas." *NMR* 9, no. 108 (November 1910): 581-85.

Nicholl, J. W. "Recollections of Rheinberger." *NMR* 1, no. 4 (February 1902): 37.
Reprint from the *Musical Opinion*.

Schoenberg, Arnold

Calvocoressi, Michael D. "M. Arnold Schoenberg. An Introduction." *NMR* 12, no. 135 (February 1913): 75-77.

Schubert, Franz

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 1. Schubert." *NMR* 13, no. 154 (September 1914): 438-42.

Smith, Alexander Brent. "Franz Schubert." *NMR* 30, no. 360 (November 1931): 425-28.

Schumann, Robert

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 2. Schumann." *NMR* 13, no. 155 (October 1914): 478-84.

Robinson, Edward. "The Burden of Schumann's Marriage." *NMR* 32, no. 382 (November 1933): 413-16.

Schütz, Heinrich

Smith, Alexander Brent. "Heinrich Schuetz." *NMR* 34, no. 399 (April 1935): 144-45.

Strauss, Richard

Blackburn, Vernon. "Richard Strauss." *NMR* 5, no. 55 (June 1906): 949-52.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 13. Richard Strauss." *NMR* 14, no. 166 (September 1915): 329-34.

Wagner, Richard

Cortissoz, Royal. "Wagner and Mathilde Wesendonck." *NMR* 4, no. 48 (November 1905): 518-21.

Rogers, James Frederick. "The Physical Wagner." *NMR* 12, no. 141 (August 1913): 345-48.

"Wagner at Rehearsals." *NMR* 9, no. 103 (June 1910): 344-46.

Wolf, Hugo

Morgan, Bayard Quincey. "Hugo Wolf and the Song." *NMR* 10, no. 109 (December 1910): 13-15.

Newman, Ernest. "Hugo Wolf as a Song Writer." *NMR* 6, no. 64 (March 1907): 234-37.

German Conductors**Fiedler, Max**

"Max Fiedler to Succeed Dr. Muck." *NMR* 7, no. 77 (April 1908): 289.

Muck, Karl

"Dr. Karl Muck." *NMR* 5, no. 56 (July 1906): 1018.

German Vocalists**Cruvelli, Sophie**

Diehl, Alice F. "Sophie Cruvelli." *NMR* 7, no. 75 (February 1908): 161.

Lucca, Pauline

"Pauline Lucca." *NMR* 7, no. 77 (April 1908): 287-88.

Sonntag, Henriette

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 6. Henriette Sonntag, (1806-1854), Jenny Lind (1820-1887)." *NMR* 13, no. 151 (June 1914): 314-19.

Italian Composers**Boito, Arrigo**

Blackburn, Vernon. "Arrigo Boito." *NMR* 6, no. 62 (January 1907): 83-86.

Puccini, Giacomo

Blackburn, Vernon. "Puccini." *NMR* 6, no. 63 (February 1907): 164-67.

Scarlatti, Alessandro

Jarro. "A. Scarlatti, Anecdotal Study from Original Documents." *NMR* 17, no. 202 (September 1918): 312-19. Translated from the Italian by I. H. St. Leger, from the article by "Jarro" in *La Lettura*.

Verdi, Giuseppe

Falbo, Italo Carlo. "Verdi and the Papal Censure." *NMR* 12, no. 145 (December 1913): 14-23.

Italian Vocalists**Agujari, Lucrezia**

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers no. 4. Brigitta Giorgi Banti (1759-1806). Lucrezia Agujari (1743-83). Giuseppina Grassini (1773-1850)." *NMR* 15, no. 172 (March 1916): 117-20.

Banti, Brigitta Giorgi

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers no. 4. Brigitta Giorgi Banti (1759-1806). Lucrezia Agujari (1743-83). Giuseppina Grassini (1773-1850)." *NMR* 15, no. 172 (March 1916): 117-20.

Broschi, Carlo "Farinelli"

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers no. 2. Farinelli and Caffarelli." *NMR* 15, no. 170 (January 1916): 47-51.

Catalani, Angelica

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 4. Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), Giuditta Negri Pasta (1798-1865)." *NMR* 13, no. 149 (April 1914): 218-22.

Gabrielli, Caterina

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers no. 3. Regina Mingotti (1728-1807), Caterina Gabrielli (1730-96)." *NMR* 15, no. 171 (February 1916): 83-87.

Grassini, Giuseppina

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers no. 4. Brigitta Giorgi Banti (1759-1806). Lucrezia Agujari (1743-83). Giuseppina Grassini (1773-1850)." *NMR* 15, no. 172 (March 1916): 117-20.

Grisi, Giulia

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 7. Giulia Grisi (1811-69), Mario di Candia (1810-83), Antonio Tamburini (1800-76)." *NMR* 13, no. 152 (July 1914): 362-66.

Hasse, Faustina Bordoni

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers, Faustina and Cuzzoni." *NMR* 14, no. 168 (November 1915): 400-04.

Lablache, Luigi

Rogers, Francis. "Luigi Lablache." *NMR* 13, no. 146 (January 1914): 66-68.

Mario, Giovanni Matteo, Cavilere di Candida

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 7. Giulia Grisi (1811-69), Mario di Candia (1810-83), Antonio Tamburini (1800-76)." *NMR* 13, no. 152 (July 1914): 362-66.

Mingotti, Regina

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers no. 3. Regina Mingotti (1728-1807), Caterina Gabrielli (1730-96)." *NMR* 15, no. 171 (February 1916): 83-87.

Majorano, Gaetano "Caffarelli"

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers no. 2. Farinelli and Caffarelli." *NMR* 15, no. 170 (January 1916): 47-51.

Pasta, Giuditta Negri

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 4. Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), Giuditta Negri Pasta (1798-1865)." *NMR* 13, no. 149 (April 1914): 218-22.

Rubini, Giovanni Battista

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 5. Three Tenors, Giovanni Battista Rubini (1795-1854), Adolphe Nourrit (1802-39), Gilbert Duprez (1806-96)." *NMR* 13, no. 150 (May 1914): 266-70.

Sandoni, Francesca Cuzzoni

Rogers, Francis. "Some Famous Singers, Faustina and Cuzzoni." *NMR* 14, no. 168 (November 1915): 400-04.

Tamburini, Antonio

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 7. Giulia Grisi (1811-69), Mario di Candia (1810-83), Antonio Tamburini (1800-76)." *NMR* 13, no. 152 (July 1914): 362-66.

Tetrazzini, Luisa

Broekhoven, J. van. "Mme Tetrazzini's Voice." *NMR* 7, no. 76 (March 1908): 210-11.
Henderson, W. J. "Mme Tetrazzini's Art." *NMR* 7, no. 77 (April 1908): 269-71.

Russian Composers**Cui, César**

Tidebohl, Ellen von. "The 'Five.'" *NMR* 15, no. 171 (February 1916): 78-80.

Lvoff, Alexis

Gaul, Harvey B. "Alexis Lvoff and the Russian National Anthem." *NMR* 18, no. 205 (December 1918): 404-05.

Rakhmaninov, Sergei

Hill, Edward B. "Sergei Rachmaninoff a Retrospect." *NMR* 9, no. 108 (November 1910): 569-73.

Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay

Riemann, Oskar von. "Nikolaus Rimsky-Korsakoff." *NMR* 7, no. 82 (September 1908): 558-61. Translation from the *Signale für die Musikalische Welt*.
Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay. "My Musical Life." *NMR* 15, no. 172 (March 1916): 114-17; 15, no. 173 (April 1916): 150-51; 15, no. 174 (May 1916): 182-85. Reprint from *Les Annales*, translated by Edward Biddle.

Stravinsky, Igor

Bayfield, Stanley. "Igor Stravinsky." *NMR* 24, no. 287 (October 1925): 396-98.

Tchaikovsky, Piotr Il'yich

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 11. Tchaikowsky." *NMR* 14, no. 164 (July 1915): 260-64.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "A Postscript to *From Grieg to Brahms* III. Tschaikowsky and Brahms." *NMR* 26, no. 310 (September 1927): 333-36.

Composers of Other European Countries**Chopin, Fryderyk (Polish)**

Dow, John Wheeler. "Chopin and George Sand." *NMR* 27, no. 316 (March 1928): 122-23.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 6. Chopin." *NMR* 14, no. 159 (February 1915): 106-10.

Robinson, Edward. "The Chopin Mask." *NMR* 33, no. 393 (October 1934): 353-56.

Dussek, Jan Ladislav (Bohemian or Czech)

Mansfield, Orlando A. "Dussek and his Sonatas." *NMR* 26, no. 301 (December 1926): 9-13.

Dvořák, Antonín (Bohemian or Czech)

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 8. Dvořák." *NMR* 14, no. 161 (April 1915): 164-68.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "A Postscript *From Grieg to Brahms* 1. Grieg and Dvořák." *NMR* 26, no. 308 (July 1927): 258-60.

Grieg, Edvard (Norwegian)

Aldrich, Richard. "Edvard Grieg." *NMR* 6, no. 72 (November 1907): 743-45.

Blackburn, Vernon. "Edvard Grieg." *NMR* 7, no. 59 (October 1906): 1205-08.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 7. Grieg." *NMR* 14, no. 160 (March 1915): 132-36.

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "A Postscript *From Grieg to Brahms* 1. Grieg and Dvořák." *NMR* 26, no. 308 (July 1927): 258-60.

Runciman, John F. "Grieg Reconsidered." *NMR* 10, no. 120 (November 1911): 584-86.

Liszt, Franz (Hungarian)

Mason, Daniel Gregory. "Great Modern Composers no. 5. Liszt." *NMR* 14, no. 158 (January 1915): 45-48.

Rosenthal, M. "Recollections of Liszt." *NMR* 11, no. 124 (March 1912): 150-53.
Reprint from *Die Zeit*.

Smith, Alexander Brent. "Liszt — the Ambitious Diplomat." *NMR* 31, no. 370 (November 1932): 447-50.

Weingartner, Felix. "Recollection of Franz Liszt." *NMR* 7, no. 73 (December 1907): 9-12. Reprint from *Neue freie Presse*.

Sibelius, Jean (Finnish)

Downes, Olin. "Jean Sibelius." *NMR* 13, no. 152 (July 1914): 358-61; 13, no. 153 (August 1914): 403-07; 13, no. 154 (September 1914): 442-46.

Belgian composers

Kelly, F. Joseph. "Belgian Music and Musicians." *NMR* 18, no. 212 (July 1919): 204-06.

Dutch composers

Antcliffe, Herbert. "The New Dutch School." *NMR* 24, no. 287 (October 1925): 394-96.
Includes biographical sketches of Diepenbrock, Pijper, Zweers, Voormolen, and Meyer.

Vocalists of Other European Countries

García, Manuel (Spanish)

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 2. Manuel García (Father) 1775-1832, Manuel García (Son) 1805-1906." *NMR* 13, no. 147 (February 1914): 122-25.

Lind, Jenny (Swedish)

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 6. Henriette Sonntag, (1806-1854), Jenny Lind (1820-1887)." *NMR* 13, no. 151 (June 1914): 314-19.

Malibran, Marcia Garcia (Spanish)

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 3. Maria and Pauline García." *NMR* 13, no. 148 (March 1914): 170-74.

Reszké, Jean de (Polish)

Cecil, George. "Jean de Reszké." *NMR* 24, no. 284 (July 1925): 297-98.

Viardot, Pauline Garcia (Spanish)

Rogers, Francis. "Biographical Sketches of Famous Singers no. 3. Maria and Pauline García." *NMR* 13, no. 148 (March 1914): 170-74.

Critics of Other European Countries

Calvocoressi, Michael D. (Greek)

"Michael D. Calvocoressi." *NMR* 12, no. 143 (October 1913): 443-45.

Appendix D: Contributors to *The New Music Review and Church Music Review*

This list of contributors includes all NMR authors with five or more entries, as well as well known persons with more than one article. The list excludes contributors with only one entry,¹¹⁹⁸ those whose articles were largely reprints, organists writing about the activities of an individual American Guild of Organists chapter, and unknown organists without significant articles.¹¹⁹⁹

Aldrich, Richard (1863-1937): On the staff of the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Times* as a music critic, Aldrich studied music at Harvard University under Paine and was sympathetic to modern works. He wrote guides to Wagner and *Concert Life in New York, 1902-1923*. (Grove) Aldrich contributed twelve entries to the NMR about the New York musical season, Worcester Festival, Grieg, MacDowell, Mendelssohn's career, and new opera productions in New York.

Andrews, Mark (1875-1939): An organist and teacher of composition at the Trinity School of Church Music (Ellinwood), Andrews wrote five NMR articles on organ transcriptions, sacred music composers, and Russian Orthodox music.

Antcliffe, Herbert (1875-1964): An English musicologist, composer and journalist, he wrote for the London *Times* and New York *Herald Tribune*. He served as president of the Foreign Press Association in Holland and wrote many books on music. Antcliffe contributed 24 articles to the NMR about Elgar, Delius, Bantock, American music, Holbrooke, Worcester Festival, Wagner, Boughton, criticism, Edgar Bainton, the new Dutch school, programmatists, Debussy's harmony, Strauss, and modernism.

Audsley, George Ashdown (1838-1925): An English organbuilder and author of *The Organ of the Twentieth Century*, Audsley's three NMR articles discuss the Willis pedal-board, organ bellows capacity, and wind pressure.

Baldwin, Samuel Atkinson (1862-1949): AGO Founder, Fellow and Warden, Baldwin wrote the AGO's history in 1946 and served as Chair of Music for the City Col-

¹¹⁹⁸Including Frank Damrosch, Arthur Foote, Carl Goldmark and G. Donald Harrison.

¹¹⁹⁹The textual citation "(Grove)" indicates information found in Grove Music Online; the textual citation "(Ellinwood)" indicates information found in Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music*, rev. ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970). Where available, the contributors' birth and death dates are included.

lege of New York, where he gave bi-weekly recitals. He composed for orchestra, choir and solo voice. (Ellinwood) His eight NMR entries discuss the AGO's progress, activities, examinations, and code of ethics.

Barnes, Edward Shippen (1887-1958): A Fellow of AGO and organist-choirmaster at many churches, he composed symphonies, organ works, service music, and anthems. (Ellinwood) His four NMR articles discuss organ recitals, aid for Vierne, and goals of the Commission of Church Music of the Presbyterian Church.

Blackburn, Vernon: An English critic, he contributed ten biographical sketches to the NMR about Parker, Elgar, Strauss, Henry J. Wood, Saint-Saens, Grieg, Humperdinck, Boito, and Puccini.

Bowen, George Oscar: An important music educator and president of the National Association of Music Educators, Bowen contributed eight NMR articles about music education in the United States, teaching music, and school music requirements.

Brewer, John Hyatt (1856-1931): AGO Founder, Fellow and Warden and organist-choirmaster at Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brewer composed over 200 songs, quartets, anthems and cantatas. (Ellinwood) His ten NMR entries discuss the AGO examinations, prize competition, progress, and anniversary, as well as performance mannerisms.

Broekhoven, John van (1870-1926): Born in Holland, he taught theory at Cincinnati College of Music and composed opera, among other works. His four NMR articles discuss tone production, use of the larynx, and Luisa Tetrazzini's voice.

Calvocoressi, Michael D. (1877-1961): A French polyglot music critic that moved to England, he wrote books on English, French and especially Russian music — notably Musorgsky, Glinka, Liszt and Debussy — and served as advisor to Diaghilev and a translator of opera, songs and books. (Grove) His eleven NMR entries discuss Ravel, Deodat de Severac, progress in Russian music, Florent Schmitt, Schoenberg, Louis Aubert, Wagner's influence on France, and the musical schools of Europe.

Carl, William Crane (1865-1931): Founder of the Guilman Organ School (USA) and the AGO and organist of First Presbyterian Church, New York, he edited the historical anthology, *Masterpieces for the Organ* (1898). (Ellinwood) His four NMR articles discuss Guilman, Bonnet, organ recitals, and American organ innovations.

Chadwick, George W. (1854-1931): A composer in the second New England school, he helped organize the New England Conservatory of Music. (Grove) Chadwick contributed two articles on teaching music and Tchaikovsky's Piano Concerto in B flat minor.

- Coke-Jephcott, Norman (1893-1962): Organist-choirmaster of Cathedral of St. John the Divine (Ellinwood), Coke-Jephcott's eight NMR entries discuss improvisation, counterpoint and harmonization on the AGO examinations.
- Converse, F. S. (1871-1940): He wrote the first American opera produced at the Metropolitan Opera House, *The Pipe of Desire*, as well as composing many tone poems and symphonies, and teaching at Harvard University. (Grove) He wrote two articles for the NMR on the development of choral music and student composers.
- Damrosch, Walter (1862-1952): A German-born conductor who moved to the U.S., he conducted the New York Symphony Society, the Oratorio Society, the Metropolitan Opera, and composed operas and other works. (Grove) His two NMR articles discuss Wagner's opera in concert form, and his career.
- Demarest, Clifford (1874-1946): AGO warden, organist and composer, Demarest's six NMR articles discuss organ accompaniment and the history and purpose of the AGO.
- Doersam, Charles H. (1879-1942): AGO warden and composer, his six NMR articles discuss the AGO examinations and activities.
- Downes, Olin (1886-1955): A prolific music critic, he wrote for the *Boston Post* and the *New York Times*. He lectured at Harvard University and the Curtis Institute, and wrote on Sibelius, Strauss, Stravinsky, Prokofiev and Shostakovich. (Grove) His five entries for the NMR include reviews of Converse's *The Pipe of Desire* and *The Sacrifice*, and articles on Sibelius.
- Dry, Wakeling: An English music critic, and editor of books, he contributed seven articles to the NMR on the choral service, Dr. Walford Davies, the Worcester Festival, Bayreuth and Munich festivities.
- Dupré, Marcel (1886-1971): A French organist and composer, he excelled in improvisation, taught at the Conservatoire, and was an organist at St. Sulpice. (Grove) He contributed four entries about the Fontainebleau course, a concert trip in the United States, and a dedication of his *Seventy-nine chorales*.
- Farwell, Arthur (1872-1952): A promoter of American nationalism, he founded the Wawani Press to aid American composers. Many of his compositions are based on Native American Indian melodies or other American folk-songs. He was a critic for *Musical America* and a teacher at Michigan State University. (Grove) Farwell's four NMR articles discuss folk-song, nationalism, chromatics, and composers.
- Forsyth, Cecil (1870-1967): An English composer of opera, masses and chamber music and writer about orchestration and music history, he worked for H. W. Gray from 1914 to 1941. (Grove) Forsyth's eight articles discuss Tschaikovsky's Piano

Concerto in B flat minor, orchestration at Oberlin, recent music, and give book reviews.

Francis, Roger: An American Baritone, he served on the faculties of Julliard and Yale University and wrote about the lives of famous singers. His eighteen articles include biographical sketches of singers and progress in vocal development.

Friskin, James (1886-1967): A Scottish concert pianist and Bach interpreter, he wrote about piano practice and teaching. (Grove) His five NMR articles also included reviews of books.

Gaul, Harvey B. (1881-1945): A composer of over four hundred works for orchestra, choir, voice and organ, he taught at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, wrote music criticism for the *Sun* and the *Post*. (Ellinwood) His six articles for the NMR discuss the Paris Conservatoire, spirituals, Catholic choirs, and radio organ recitals.

George, Cecil: A correspondent from France, George wrote over 30 NMR articles on Parisian taste, Massenet, the Paris opera house, Jean de Reszke, children and music, Melba's retirement, cinema music, opera performances, clagues, and toy symphonies.

Gilbert, Henry F. (1868-1928): He composed many works based on African-American melodies including *Dance in the Place Congo*, performed as a ballet at the Metropolitan Opera House, and assisted Farwell at the Wa-Wan Press (Grove). His seventeen NMR entries discuss criticism, Native American music, MacDowell and the MacDowell Colony, endowing artists, harmony, his career, music after the war, jazz and the American composer.

Goodrich, Wallace (1871-1952): Conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and long-time director of the New England Conservatory of Music, Goodrich founded the Choral Art Society of Boston. (Ellinwood) His seven NMR articles discuss the organ pedal board, training organists, the Gregorian system, and revision of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Grace, Harvey (1874-1944): An English organist for Chichester Cathedral, and writer on sacred music, he edited the *Musical Times* for 26 years, as well as organ music by Rheinberger and Franck. (Grove) He contributed a fourteen-part series on French organ music to the NMR, as well as articles on Karg-Elert and Ernest Walker.

Grew, Sydney: Also a critic for *Musical Opinion*, Grew wrote eighteen articles for the NMR about Rheinberger, Franck, Bantock's *Omar Khayyam*, folk-songs, British musical activities, Max Reger, and Haydn.

Hadden, J. (James) Cuthbert (1874-1914): A Scottish organist, he edited Scottish airs, and wrote biographies of Handel, Mendelssohn, Haydn and Chopin. (Grove) His

eight NMR articles discuss Beethoven, Robert Browning, Tchaikovsky, Wagner criticism, music as medicine, and humor in music.

Hadland, F. A.: He contributed eleven articles to the NMR about church music in England, congregational singing, and plainsong.

Hale, Philip (1854-1934): Known for his program notes for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Hale was a critic for the *Boston Herald* offering fair critiques of contemporary music, and championing Debussy. (Grove) He wrote the column "Music in Boston" for the NMR, as well as articles on modern French composers, d'Indy, and a review of Converse's *The Pipe of Desire*.

Hall, Walter Henry (1862-1935): Choirmaster for Cathedral of St. John the Divine, and Professor of choral music Columbia University, Hall composed of service music, and served as AGO Warden. (Ellinwood) He contributed over 30 articles to the NMR on training boy choirs, modern church music, descant and the sacred music composers William Wallace Gilchrist, Parker, A. H. Mann, and G. E. Stubbs.

Hamrick, George Lee: An organist for the Georgia Theatre, Hamrick contributed seven NMR articles on small organs, the organ ensemble, and theater and unit organs.

Harris, Clement Antrobus: A British critic, arranger of piano music and author of books on music, he wrote six NMR articles on the history of chant and keyed string instruments.

Hedden, Warren R.: An AGO warden, he wrote about the AGO recital series and examinations.

Henderson, W. J. (William James) (1855-1937): A noted critic for the *New York Times*, the *New York Sun*, and the *Herald*, he wrote on singing, opera and Wagner, as well as the libretto for Damrosch's *Cyrano de Bergerac*. (Grove) His eleven NMR entries include discussions of Loeffler, the art of singing, florid song, opera, Wagner, Broekhoven, and Wullner.

Hill, Edward Burlingame (1908-40): A teacher at Harvard University, Hill's programmatic compositions were performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra. His writings on music include *Modern French Music* and works on MacDowell, Impressionism, improvisation and jazz. (Grove) His three NMR articles discuss D'Indy, Dolmetsch and Rachmaninoff.

Hope-Jones, Robert (1859-1914): An English engineer and organ builder, he made important contributions in the development of the electric action and console; he invented the unit system and developed the theater organ. (Grove) Hope-Jones's ten NMR entries discuss his organ developments, its wind supply, the pneumatic blow, Orchestral Unit Organ, standardization, and the potential of the organ.

- Krehbiel, Henry Edward (1854-1923): A critic for the *New York Tribune* and editor of the English version of Thayer's *Beethoven*, he translated operas, and wrote books on opera and Wagner. (Grove) He wrote over twenty articles for the NMR on church music in New York, Beethoven's sketches, The Worcester Festival, and The Cincinnati Festival.
- Law, Frederic S. (1849-1913): Author of an operatic tales book, Law wrote about the melodrama, singers, dissonance, Balfe, and proportion in music for the NMR.
- Lemare, Edwin (1866-1934): A British concert organist, he held many municipal posts in England and the United States, and wrote over 200 original works for organ and over 600 transcriptions. (Grove) His seven articles discussed the organ.
- Lutkin, Peter Christian (1853-1931): Founder of the School of Music at Northwestern University, and the Chicago North Shore festival, Lutkin wrote books about church music. (Grove) His four NMR articles discuss music in the church service, and choir directors John F. Williamson and F. Melius Christiansen.
- Mansfield, Orlando A. (1863-1936): An English organist, professor at Wilson College and Brenau University, and a prolific contributor to *The Musical Quarterly*, Mansfield contributed over thirty-five NMR articles on the organ, Anglican chant, hymn tunes, improvisation, and organ accompaniment.
- Mason, Daniel Gregory (1873-1953): A composer of music following the romantic tradition, he taught at Columbia University and wrote many books on music, including *From Grieg to Brahms*, *Artistic Ideals*, and *The Dilemma of American Music*. (Grove) He wrote over 100 articles for the NMR including criticism, "The Study of the Appreciation of Music" series, the "Great Modern Composers" series, the "Short Studies of Great Masterpieces" series, and discussions of aesthetics, orchestral instruments, Ravel, d'Indy and the French Movement, the Berkshire Festival of chamber music, and American music.
- McKinney, Howard D.: Director of the Rutgers University Glee Club for thirty years, author of a music appreciation book, and an arranger of music, McKinney wrote articles on church music, and George Bernard Shaw for the NMR.
- Milligan, Harold Vincent (1888-1951): Organist for Riverside Church, secretary for the AGO, and editor of the AGO section of the NMR, he compositions include an opera and editions of American songs. His ten signed articles for the NMR discussed the quartet choir, congregational singing, the radio, Rachmaninov's *Songs of the Church*, American anthems, the fourth AGO convention, and book reviews.
- Mouradian, Hayrik V. S. (1905-1999): Born in and expelled from Armenia, the singer and historian contributed five articles on Armenian music to the NMR.

- Newman, Ernest (1868-1959): A British music critic for the Manchester *Guardian* and the London *Sunday Times*, Newman's actual name was William Roberts. He wrote books on Gluck, Wagner, Wolf, Bruckner, Sibelius, Strauss and Elgar. (Grove) His NMR articles discuss Brahms, The Birmingham Festival, Wolf, choral tone, vocal music, new works in England, Debussy, Elgar, Wagner, Schoenberg, and the dual-keyboard piano.
- Noble, T. Tertius (1867-1953): An English church musician and composer of anthems, service music, organ works and hymn accompaniments, he served as organist-choirmaster of St. Thomas' Church, New York. (Grove, Ellinwood) His four NMR articles discuss the AGO examinations.
- Radzinsky, Charles A.: Builder of a player piano, Radzinsky wrote a series of fifteen articles on "the world's greatest organs" for the NMR.
- Reed, William (1859-1945): A Canadian choirmaster and organist, Reed composed cantatas and other works for choir and organ. His six NMR entries discuss organ programs and voluntaries, the modern organ, and Mendelssohn.
- Richardson, A. Madeley (1868-1949): Organist for the Boys' School of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, and teacher of analysis at Trinity School of Church Music (Ellinwood), Richardson's four NMR entries discuss music in church worship, the roles of church musicians, boy choirs, and hymns.
- Runciman, John F. (1866-1916): A British critic at the *Saturday Review* from 1894 to 1916 (Grove), he contributed six NMR entries on Grieg, Franck's *Beatitudes*, Bach, municipal orchestras in England, modern opera, and discord.
- Sarson, Hilda May (1901-1958): A music educator, composer of songs and piano pieces, and editor of *Music in Education*, Sarson contributed a series on teaching music to children.
- Sealy, Frank L. (1858-1938): As AGO warden, Sealy wrote NMR articles about AGO activities, conventions, expansion, and examinations, as well as ideas for AGO programs.
- Seymour, Harriet Ayer: Interested in music education, Seymour wrote the books *The Philosophy of Music*, *Home Music Lessons*, and *What Music Can do for You*; her NMR entries entitled "How to Think Music" were expanded into a book, and she also wrote about music as an aid to education.
- Skinner, E. M. (1866-1961): An important American organ builder with installations in large churches and universities, Skinner made improvements in organ action and stops to aid performance of organ transcriptions and contemporary music. He wrote his book *The Modern Organ* in 1917 (Grove), and his nine NMR articles discuss organ development, transcriptions and standardization.

- Sonneck, Oscar G. (1873-1928): A prolific writer on early music in America and innovator at the Library of Congress, he worked on the *Musical Quarterly* and in music publishing at Schirmer. (Grove) His seventeen NMR articles discuss early concerts in America, the musical side of the first American presidents, pre-revolutionary opera in America, musical progress, Anton Beer-Walbrunn, the Haydn Centenary Festival, the Music Division of the Library of Congress, and music in Charleston, South Carolina circa 1783.
- Spanuth, August: A writer for the *New Yorker* and *Staatszeitung*, this piano teacher offered eleven NMR articles on conducting, Offenbach, Mozart Festival, Strauss' *Salome*, Handel Festival, Delius, and singing in Germany.
- Stubbs, G. Edward (1857-1937): An instructor for Trinity School of Church Music and General Theological Seminary and organist at St. Agnes' Chapel, Stubbs was a Founder of the AGO and wrote books on the choral service and on training boy choirs. (Ellinwood) He contributed the "Ecclesiastical Music" column to the NMR every month after 1907. The column discussed boy choirs, the choral service, congregational singing, organist issues, service music, organs, hymns, English traditions, festivals, special services, chant, psalms, technological developments, and history, among other topics.
- Surette, Thomas Whitney (1861-1941): Founder of the Concord Summer School of Music and author of books on teaching music, he wrote the NMR column "The Study of the Appreciation of Music" with Daniel Gregory Mason in 1906-07.
- Thompson, Arthur J.: The organist contributed nine NMR articles about organ building, Bach, acoustics, and the AGO convention.
- Van Vechten, Carl (1880-1964): He wrote novels and essays on all arts, but particularly music; he attended the salon circuit and became Gertrude Stein's representative. He wrote about Massenet and the New York season for the NMR.
- Vosseller, Elizabeth Van Fleet (1874-1939): Founder and conductor of the Flemington Children's Choir School in New Jersey, Vosseller contributed five NMR articles on training children's choirs, using her own choir as an example.
- Webbe, William Y.: An organ composer, Webbe contributed over 35 entries to the NMR about accompanying motion pictures, Bach chorales, musical reform, Elgar's *Falstaff*, and reviewing music and books.
- Whiting, Arthur (1861-1936): A pianist and composer, Whiting sponsored many chamber music concerts and backed the idea of using original instruments in performance. (Grove) His four NMR entries discuss the clavichord and the Kneisel Quartet Anniversary.

Wright, Frank: An AGO warden, Wright wrote about the AGO's goals, progress and examinations.

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