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GEORGE WHITEFIELD CHADWICK AND THE SHAPING OF
AMERICAN ORCHESTRAL MUSIC: A STUDY OF
PERFORMANCE AND COMPOSITION IN THE LATE
NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

presented by

ANDREA DYKSTRA

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Ph.D degree in MUSICOLOGY

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1931) examines Chadwick's formative influence on aspects of performance and composition in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Through an examination of Chadwick's relationships with important musicians and musical patrons, this study provides a rich understanding of the development of Chadwick's career as an orchestral composer, conductor and advocate of American music.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
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The final chapter of the dissertation examines Chadwick's "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches* and "The Hobgoblin" from Chadwick's *Symphonic Sketches*. Studies of the score sketches held at the New England Conservatory of Music and the full scores reveals Chadwick's attitude to French impressionist composers such as Debussy, his occasional use of late nineteenth-century French techniques, and his attempt to establish a distinct voice in American composition.

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Andrea Dykstra

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Chadwick's professional relationships with Theodore Thomas and Henry Higginson, key figures of the period, are reflected in a study of his correspondence with them and also through material from Chadwick's personal memoirs and scrapbooks, which are held in the archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

The final chapter of the dissertation examines Chadwick's "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches* and "Intermezzo e Humoreske" from *Suite Symphonique*. Studies of the score sketches held at the New England Conservatory of Music and the full scores reveals Chadwick's attitude to French impressionist composers such as Debussy, his occasional use of late nineteenth-century French techniques, and his attempt to establish a distinct voice in American composition.

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I am deeply indebted to Steven Ledbetter, a pioneer Chadwick scholar, whose enthusiasm and generosity in sharing valuable information made this dissertation possible. His support and interest in other Chadwick scholars' work is remarkable.

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CHAPTER 1	I would like to thank my parents for placing such a high value on education and PERFORMANCE, CONDUCTING, AND COMPOSITION: GEORGE WHITEFIELD for their unceasing support. I would like to acknowledge my children, Rebecca and MUSIC.....	9
CHAPTER 2	Benjamin who sacrificed a great deal in order that I might complete this study. Last but not least, my heartfelt thanks go to my husband Doug, whose steadfast love and support HIGGINSON AND THE PROMOTION OF ART MUSIC.....	46
CHAPTER 3	during each phase of my academic career has been unwavering. CHADWICK'S USE OF SELECTIVE MODERNISMS IN "HOBGOBLIN" FROM SYMPHONIC SKETCHES AND "INTERMEZZO E HUMORESQUE" FROM SUITE SYMPHONIQUE.....	73
CONCLUSION.....		109
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		112

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1 PERFORMANCE, CONDUCTING, AND COMPOSITION: GEORGE WHITEFIELD CHADWICK'S AND THEODORE THOMAS'S INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN MUSIC.....	9
CHAPTER 2 BRINGING EUROPE TO BOSTON: GEORGE WHITEFIELD CHADWICK, HENRY HIGGINSON AND THE PROMOTION OF ART MUSIC.....	46
CHAPTER 3 CHADWICK'S USE OF SELECTIVE MODERNISMS IN "HOBGOBLIN" FROM SYMPHONIC SKETCHES AND "INTERMEZZO E HUMORESKE" FROM SUITE SYMPHONIQUE.....	73
CONCLUSION.....	109
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	112

¹ Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York: Dover, Thomas & Company, 2011), IX.
² *Ibid.*, IX.

INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to *America's Musical Life: A History*, Richard Crawford describes his reaction after reading about the genesis of *Invisible Man*, a novel by African-American writer Ralph Ellison. The idea that caught Crawford's attention regarding American musical history was that much of what has appeared unrelated in the American experience was actually connected and is in need of further study. Crawford explains: "Counting myself among those whose grasp of the full implications of American diversity was deficient, I came to feel after reading Ellison's words in 1986 that his comment might well be addressed to historians of American music. Years of studying the subject had taught me that standard musicological approaches left key issues unaddressed. It made sense to be told that an exploration of broader scope might illuminate parallels and intertwinings that give this country's music making its distinctive character."¹

Crawford goes on to explain that his book takes on an exploration of American music by taking performance rather than composition as a starting point:

Composers are by no means slighted here. But in a chronicle that . . . seeks at every point to portray the historical conditions in which music has been made, they share the stage with singers, players, conductors, teachers . . .²

During my investigation of George Whitefield Chadwick's contribution to American musical life I have discovered that Crawford's observation is not only applicable to my study but that my research expands upon his idea of using performance

¹ Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), IX.

² *Ibid.*, IX.

as a starting point. Examinations of other aspects of Chadwick's musical life such as his personal correspondence with musicians and non-musicians of the period and his involvement in discrete moments in music history allow us to gain a broader understanding of the variety of contributions that Chadwick made to American orchestral music. This study expands upon the valuable work of previous Chadwick scholars.³

For the Victor Fell Yellin's biography *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* and Bill Faucett's *George Whitefield Chadwick: His Symphonic works* both contain analyses of Chadwick's orchestral works that have been valuable for Chadwick scholarship. Due to the donation of the Chadwick papers to the New England Conservatory, this dissertation reveals new information, not only about Chadwick's orchestral compositions but also about the musical culture in which he was immersed at the time.

Through an examination of significant relationships between Chadwick and important musical figures of the period we gain a new understanding of the challenges

³ See: D.G. Campbell, "George W. Chadwick: His Life and Works" (Ph.D. diss., Eastman School of Music, 1957), Gay Gladden Pappin, "The Organ Works of George Whitefield Chadwick" (D.M.A., Louisiana State University, 1985), Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), Billy Francis Faucett, "The Symphonic Works of George Whitefield Chadwick" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1992), Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: His Symphonic Works* (Lanham, Md.: The Scarecrow Press, 1996), Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: A Bio-Bibliography* (London: Greenwood Press, 1998), Steven Ledbetter, "Two Seductresses: Saint-Saens's *Delilah* and Chadwick's *Judith*," in *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock*, eds. Richard Crawford, R. Allen Lott and Carol J. Oja, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990), pp. 281-302., Douglas E. Bomberger, "The German Musical Training of American Students, 1850-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1991), Robert Lee Baldwin, "George Whitefield Chadwick's Tam O'Shanter: Culmination of a Descriptive Orchestral Style (DMA, University of Arizona, 1996), Christie Blanche Nigro, "The Chamber Music of George Whitefield Chadwick" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1998), Hon-Lun Yang, "A Study of the Overtures and Symphonic Poems by American Composers of the Second New England School" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 1998), Charles Spence Freeman, "American Realism and Progressivism in Chadwick's *The Padrone* and *Converse's The Immigrants*" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1999), Marianne Betz, "Amerikanische Studierende am Leipziger Konservatorium: Zum Beispiel George W. Chadwick," in *Musikkonzepte-Konzepte der Musikwissenschaft, II: Freie Referate*, eds. Kathrin Eberl and Wolfgang Ruf (Kassel, Germany: Barenreiter, 2000), pp. 531-536.

involved with composition, performance, conducting, and the promotion of American orchestral works during this period.

My study of important relationships that Chadwick had with European musicians and an influential musical philanthropist reveals that Chadwick played a key role in bringing the U.S. and Europe together by carrying out negotiations for a new conductor for the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

This dissertation also reveals Chadwick's role in shaping new musical trends in composition in the U.S. Although scholars have often labeled Chadwick as a conservative who was an imitator of the German conservatory style, Chadwick was an innovative composer who approached European genres with an American sensibility.

An examination of "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches* and "Intermezzo e Humoreske" from *Suite Symphonique* shows how he departed from the German Conservatory style. Through the use of "selective modernisms" (carefully placed modernisms used within a traditional framework), Americanisms, and his own innovative orchestration, Chadwick was able to find his own distinctive voice in American composition within a framework that was acceptable to an American public that often resistant to works by their native composers. By using selective modernisms Chadwick was not advocating an overthrow of the conservatory style, nor was he completely capitulating to contemporary fashion; he was attempting to forge a new compositional style.

During the initial stages of my research I discovered, through communication with musical scholar Steven Ledbetter, that an important collection of Chadwick papers was soon to be donated to The New England Conservatory by Chadwick's descendants.

Chadwick: Recent Discovery of Unknown Material," in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (winter 2001), pp. 641-643.

Included in the collection were pocket sketchbooks, score sketches, memoirs, diaries, scrapbooks, letters and a variety of other papers which opened up new possibilities for Chadwick scholarship. I traveled to Boston soon after the collection arrived and examined many of the papers before they had been catalogued.⁴

My search through the collection began with an examination of orchestral score sketches with hopes of gaining a better understanding of Chadwick's compositional processes and his contribution to American orchestral music. Since there were a variety of sketchbooks, with movements from many orchestral works that were not necessarily in order, I spent a great deal of time sorting and attributing certain movements to their larger works. I discovered that some of Chadwick's works from the early twentieth century proved to be the most interesting because of their innovative orchestration. In addition to a study of the score sketches, I found that an examination of Chadwick's memoirs, scrapbooks, and letters from the same period shed new light on the history of these works, the musical culture at the time, and Chadwick's career as an orchestral composer.

After sorting through numerous letters in the Chadwick collection I was drawn to the large number written by Theodore Thomas. Since Thomas played such an important role in the development of the American symphony orchestra I was interested to see what kind of relationship existed between Chadwick and Thomas and what role Thomas played in promoting Chadwick's orchestral works. The collection of papers at the New England Conservatory contained letters written by Chadwick to Thomas and the Newberry Library in Chicago held the letters that were written by Thomas to Chadwick.

⁴ For information on the new Chadwick papers see: Marianne Betz, "New Light on George Whitefield Chadwick: Recent Discovery of Unknown Material," in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 85, No. 4 (winter 2001), pp. 641-643.

I was able to obtain copies of these and through the organization and examination of these letters I learned that Thomas and Chadwick had a close working relationship and that their communication sheds new light not only on both men's careers but also on various cultural issues that musicians faced in America during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

My interest in Chadwick's contribution to the development of the American symphony orchestra also led me to another large collection of letters: Chadwick's correspondence with Henry Higginson, a musical philanthropist largely responsible for the foundation of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. I discovered information about Chadwick's role in promoting the Boston Symphony Orchestra and his European connections that has not been addressed by previous scholars. I also found a good deal of information in Chadwick's memoirs that shed light on the Higginson/Chadwick relationship.

After examining Chadwick's relationships with important musical figures of the period I also found material in Chadwick's memoirs that gives us new information about the history of the early twentieth-century orchestral works, the compositional processes of the pieces, the promotion of the works and how they found acceptance among the American public. I was then able to make a comparison of the score sketches to the final scores and I found Chadwick's orchestrations to be innovative and imaginative.

Although I made use of archival material extensively, I also relied heavily on the writings of two leading Chadwick scholars. Victor Fell Yellin's *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* and Bill Faucett's *George Whitefield Chadwick: His Symphonic Works* and *George Whitefield Chadwick: A Bio-Bibliography* provided important background

information and insight into Chadwick's life and orchestral works. Lawrence Levine's *Highbrow/Lowbrow* was also a valuable resource for a study of musical culture in America during Chadwick's lifetime and the importance of the role that Henry Higginson played in the promotion of the American symphony orchestra. Richard Crawford's *The American Musical Landscape* and *America's Musical Life* were sources that served as guidelines for the direction and contribution of my research. Secondary sources such as journal articles, dictionary articles, and textbooks on American history also aided my investigation.

Chapter one examines aspects of musical life outside the concert hall and sheds light on how orchestral music functioned in American society in the early twentieth century. Through an examination of the relationship between Theodore Thomas and George Chadwick we not only learn about the development of Chadwick's career as an orchestral composer, but also that the interactions between performers, conductors, composers, festival organizers and even amateur musicians provide a clearer picture of the experience of music making in America at this time.

Both Chadwick and Thomas felt compelled to carry the responsibility of educating the musically "uncultured." Their vision of art music in America was in opposition to the musical demands of the general public; a preference for light music, spectacle and extravaganza were common and the public's interest in art music was difficult to generate.

Thomas held Chadwick in high regard and he programmed his works whenever possible. The letters show that in the early stages of their relationship Chadwick looked up to Thomas as a mentor, but as time went on their relationship turned from a focus on

encouragement to that of advice. This chapter reveals much about the programming or in difficulties composers and conductors faced during this period. Thomas was one of the first to treat American composition as a serious and dignified effort, and Chadwick was one of the first American composers to write works that gained acceptance in American society. of the sketches and scores reveal light textures, colorful orchestration and other

modern Chapter two examines the relationship between Henry Higginson and George Chadwick and reveals information about the inner workings of The Boston Symphony Orchestra and how Chadwick played an important role in its development. Henry Higginson was a Boston stockbroker whose love of classical music and his desire to cultivate public taste caused him to dedicate himself to the founding of The Boston Symphony Orchestra. Because Higginson was the main financial support for the orchestra, he also held power over most matters connected with its operation. He believed that Germany alone could provide the Boston Symphony Orchestra with leadership. In 1906, Higginson had to search for a new conductor and he was unable to travel to Europe to make the negotiations. Higginson implored Chadwick to undertake negotiations with Karl Muck and to try and convince him to accept the position of conductor of The Boston Symphony Orchestra.

Humor Chapter two examines Higginson's letters and Chadwick's memoirs and reveals that Chadwick played a key role in the negotiations for the conductor search because he was personally acquainted with the German candidates for the position. Chadwick had a relationship with Karl Muck because they had been classmates in Germany. He knew the other German candidates from previous musical interactions. Therefore Chadwick's connections, along with his respected position in a variety of musical roles, allowed him

to serve as an intermediary for Europe and the U.S. by allowing them to come together in musical matters.

Chapter three examines the score sketches and full scores of "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches* and "Intermezzo e Humoreske" from *Suite Symphonique*. An analysis of the sketches and scores reveal light textures, colorful orchestration and other modern techniques, placed carefully within a traditional framework. Chadwick's memoirs and scrapbooks reveal his attitude to Debussy and the motive behind a parody used in "Intermezzo e Humoreske." We discover that Chadwick was not simply imitating Debussy, but he was making use of selective modernisms (occasional modern techniques placed within classical forms), in combination with elements from American popular music, quotation and his own innovative orchestration. Chadwick's use of selective modernisms allowed him to write works that were fresh and departed from the German conservatory style.

Although Chadwick was forced to selectively adopt different approaches within the confines of societal expectations he was still able to establish his unique voice and point composition in the U.S. in a new direction, thereby disputing the label of conservative "Boston classicist."⁵ Chadwick's "Hobgoblin" and "Intermezzo e Humoreske" are witty and innovative. They are finely-crafted compositions that laid the groundwork for a new sensibility in American composition.

⁵ The inaccuracy of this label is addressed in Steven Ledbetter and Victor Fell Yellin, "Chadwick, George Whitefield," in H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan, 1986), Vol. 1, p. 386.

⁶ Richard Crawford, *An Introduction to America's Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2001), p. 168.

⁷ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highlow/Lowbrow* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 112.

PERFORMANCE, CONDUCTING AND COMPOSITION: GEORGE WHITEFIELD CHADWICK'S AND THEODORE THOMAS'S INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN MUSIC

An examination of the relationship between George Chadwick (1854-1931) and Theodore Thomas (1835-1905), considered the first great U.S. orchestra conductor, will not only yield a better understanding of the development of Chadwick's career but will allow a glimpse at early orchestral music making in America. Thomas, whose family emigrated from Germany in 1845, was a talented violinist. In 1853, at age eighteen, he was recruited to play in Louis Jullien's orchestra in New York, in 1854 he played in the first-violin section of the New York Philharmonic society, and several years later he served as concertmaster of the Italian opera orchestra at New York's Academy of Music. Although Thomas played the violin publicly for many years, his talent for leadership and his musical outlook caused him to take on a personal mission; he became dedicated to the cause of raising musical standards so that the symphony orchestra would hold a secure place in the U.S.¹

Thomas introduced a large number of Americans to classical and modern currents of European music. He had a strong influence on the development of musical taste in the U.S. and raised the level of Americans' appreciation for orchestral music. Thomas traveled with his highly trained and disciplined "Theodore Thomas Orchestra" frequently and widely from New England to San Francisco. There are a variety of testimonies regarding Thomas's success in exposing large numbers of people in the U.S. to new musical experiences.² One young man, Edward Russell, was living in a Mississippi River

¹ Richard Crawford, *An Introduction to America's Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001), p. 188.

² Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 112.

town where he heard a performance put on by Thomas and his orchestra. His reaction was: "So then there really existed as a fact, and not as something heard of and unattainable, this world of beauty, wholly apart from everyday experiences. Anybody could go into it at any time; the twofold world of memory and sweet sound. The door was open; this man had opened it."³ Thomas's influence on American music culminated in his post as the first director of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Orchestra Hall was built in Chicago under his supervision and there he conducted the inaugural concert on December 14, 1904. Soon after, influenza overtook him and he died on January 4, 1905.⁴

Because Thomas was such an important figure in the development of the American symphony orchestra, a study of his relationship with George Whitefield Chadwick sheds new light on the development of Chadwick's career as an orchestral composer and upon the significance of the interactions between composers, conductors and performers. Before examining some important correspondence between Thomas and Chadwick, some observations about their musical goals and ideals will shed light on their relationship, particularly in its early stages.

Early on in their careers, Thomas and Chadwick were both compelled to carry the responsibility of educating the musically "uncultured," always striving to keep musical standards high in the United States. However, the promotion of art music in America was often in opposition to the musical demands of the general public because American audiences were often restless and demanded variety and more in the way of showmanship rather than an interest in serious concert music. Ronald Davis describes the typical mid-

³ Ronald L. Davis, *A History of Music in American Life, Volume II: The Gilded Age, 1865-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 3.

⁴ Charles Edward Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1927), p. 3. Thomas (New York: Macmillan, 1911), pp. 67-

⁵ Richard Crawford, *An Introduction to America's Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001), p. 191.

to-late nineteenth-century American audience: "Among the multitudes vastness was still equated with quality, display mistaken for art."⁵ Davis also describes Thomas's approach to educating the public: "A born teacher, Thomas realized that an appreciation of the classics had to be built slowly and was aware that to attract audiences in post-Civil War America light music and an informal atmosphere were necessary."⁶ As Thomas's career developed he became increasingly dedicated to the cause of serious music and was determined to bring the best of the European musical tradition—and the best of the developing American tradition—to audiences in the United States.

Thomas's programming placed a heavy emphasis on German composers' works; nevertheless he was open to including American composers' works if they had high standards. Thomas himself described his view of American composers:

As for the American composers, the only way in which to develop composition in our own country is to play the works by American writers side by side with other nationalities, and let them stand or fall on their own merits. I do not believe in playing inferior works merely because they are American, nor rejecting good ones because they are not foreign. Let our composers realize that there is a standard to be reached before they can be recognized, but that if they do reach it, they will be certain of equal recognition with writers of other nations. They will then have an incentive to produce the best that is in them, and will produce it.⁷

Thomas maintained a working relationship with Chadwick throughout his career

⁵ The term *memoir* is used here and throughout this dissertation, despite the fact that the informal nature of much of the material reads like a diary. Chadwick did, indeed, have diaries, but the collection that he labeled as *memoirs* are a collected attempt to retell his life story from a later period. Chadwick did, however, use the term *memoirs* in his correspondence, and in writing the accounts of his life. The *memoirs* were

⁶ Ronald L. Davis, *A History of Music in American Life, Volume II, The Gilded Years 1865-1920* (New York: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1980), p. 5.

⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

⁸ Rose Fay Thomas, *Memoirs of Theodore Thomas* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1911), pp. 67-68.

and was largely responsible for the promotion of Chadwick's orchestral works and the development of his career. In his Memoirs of 1905,⁸ Chadwick reflected upon the development of his friendship with Thomas after hearing the news of his death: "I suppose that I was the first American composer whom Thomas grew to know thoroughly well. Gleason of Chicago, perhaps Dudley Buck and possibly Silas G. Pratt he probably knew, but I hardly think that he counted them seriously. And before their time—who was there? Through me, he became acquainted with our Boston "bunch," Parker, Foote, and Whiting, as well as the Kneisel boys and they brought a new and interesting element into his life. Outside of his personal friends, I hardly think that he knew many people except orchestral musicians who always "kow-towed" to him and never acquired his respect by disagreeing with him. He always said that when he finished his job he wanted to come to Boston to live, and here at last, he was brought to sleep under the tree at Mount Auburn.⁹ The working relationship between Thomas and Chadwick was one of mutual support. As a conductor, Thomas was an avid promoter of Chadwick and his orchestral works and Chadwick was indebted to him for his programming favors. At the same time, Chadwick was also largely responsible for enriching Thomas's musical life by providing him with high quality works for programming. Although Thomas was largely dedicated to the cause of promoting a European, classical tradition, in Chadwick he found an

1892. Thomas had come to know Chadwick in 1882 and was one of the opening festivities

⁸ The term memoir is used here and throughout this dissertation, despite the fact that the informal nature of much of the material reads like a diary. Chadwick did indeed have diaries, but the collection that he labeled as memoirs are a coherent attempt to retell his life story from a late period. Chadwick did, however, draw upon his diaries in summarizing and rewriting the account of his life. The memoirs were written for his family and he never intended for them to be published. It is only through the generous donation of papers to the NEC by the Chadwick family that music historians are now freely given the opportunity to expand upon previous scholarship and shed new light on the importance of Chadwick's contributions to American music.

⁹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

American composer who upheld his high standards. As dated June 25, 1892, Chadwick discussed In the early stages of their relationship Chadwick looked up to Thomas as an inspirational figure. Thomas became a mentor to Chadwick by giving him opportunities that were crucial to the development of his career. At the same time, Thomas demonstrated a high level of respect for Chadwick as a composer, showing an interest in his works from the start. An exchange of letters between Thomas and Chadwick, which began in 1892, provides important information about the development of their relationship and their contribution to the development of the American symphony orchestra.

Their first communication by letter regarded an important event in musical history that was especially important in connection with the promotion of Chadwick's career in the early stages. In 1893, Thomas agreed to become the musical director of the World's Columbian Exposition. The fair was held in Chicago and was planned with the idea of demonstrating American progress. Thomas arranged an elaborate schedule of musical events, including a chorus of 5,500 voices, an orchestra of 200 musicians, 2 large military bands, and 2 drum corps of 50 drummers each.¹⁰ Although European composers' works dominated the schedule, two American composers were given the opportunity to write pieces for the occasion. John Knowles Paine wrote a "Columbus March and Hymn" and George W. Chadwick wrote a *Dedicatory Ode*, also known as *Columbian Ode*.¹¹ In 1892, Thomas had commissioned Chadwick to compose an ode for the opening festivities

¹⁰ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 110.

¹¹ Ronald L. Davis, *A History of Music in American Life, Volume II, the Gilded Years 1865-1920* (New York: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1980), p. 13.

of the Columbian Exposition.¹² In a letter to Thomas dated June 25, 1892, Chadwick discussed his progress on the Ode and expressed his desire to have Thomas's criticism of the work.

Mr. Theodore Thomas

Dear Sir

The score of my Ode for the opening of the Fair is approaching

completion and I hope to have it done in about ten days. I should very much like

to get your criticism on it and if you would appoint a convenient time after say

July 6 or 7 I should like to bring it down to you at Fairhaven.

I am at Hingham Mass. for the summer and after this week shall have

nothing whatever to do but work so any time will suit me.

Faithfully Yours

GW Chadwick¹³

Three days later, on June 28, 1892, Thomas replied to Chadwick.

Mr. G.W. Chadwick

Dear Sir

Your letter of June 25 just received. I shall be delighted to make the

acquaintance of your score as well as of yourself. Let me propose to you the 11th

or 12th of July for your visit and Mrs. Thomas and myself will be pleased if you

will stay the night with us. Please let me know the train you come by so that I can

¹² The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

¹² Steven Ledbetter and Victor Fell Yellin, "Chadwick, George Whitefield," in H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan, 1986), Vol. I, p. 385.

¹³ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

contain meet you at the depot ...¹⁴ Chadwick and Thomas appealed to the American audience. The relationship between Thomas and Chadwick began to turn from a quality of focus on encouragement to that of advice. Chadwick's ambitious score in three movements called for a huge chorus and orchestra, with three extra brass bands.¹⁵ This monumental undertaking presented certain challenges to the composer, such as how to orchestrate works that were to be held in an outdoor setting. In a letter dated July 20, 1892 he wrote to Thomas about rewriting the Finale and once again asked for his advice.

My dear Mr. Thomas
I send you herewith the sketch of the introduction to the Finale as I intend to rewrite it. ... Please return the sketch with any further suggestions and allow me to thank you once more for my delightful reception at Fairhaven. With kindest regards to Mrs. Thomas and your charming family I remain
Faithfully Yours
GW Chadwick¹⁶

On July 29, 1892 Thomas wrote back, and, confirming Chadwick's instincts as a composer, offered his advice: "I should use the 8 bars for solo drums instead of four and begin with the trombones piano. It seems to me that you ought to score this introduction (Fanfare) for this occasion regardless of anything else—it's easy for you to make a cut for ordinary occasions or for a small hall."¹⁷

With the occasion of the Exposition and the logistics of performing a work

¹⁴ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

¹⁵ Steven Ledbetter and Victor Fell Yellin, "Chadwick, George Whitefield," in H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan, 1986), Vol. I, p. 385.

¹⁶ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

¹⁷ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

containing such extended forces Chadwick and Thomas appealed to the American audience's desire for spectacle. However, neither one believed in sacrificing quality; Chadwick worked diligently to make the piece one of high standards. A writer from the *Chicago Tribune*, who attended a rehearsal of the performance in which the piano-vocal score was utilized, had these comments.

Mr. Chadwick's composition has the great merit of conciseness, there being at no time evident a tendency to over elaborate or unduly develop a theme or subject. The ideas, almost without exception, are pleasing without being pedantic. There is no striving for bizarre effects in harmonization, no strained, questionable modulations and transitions, yet harmonic richness and variety are at no time lacking, and skill in invention is clearly shown.¹⁸

Chadwick finished sorting through the detailed logistics of the work and, according to Bill Faucett, Chadwick completed the score for *Columbian Ode* on July 10, 1892 in Hingham, Massachusetts.¹⁹ In a letter dated August 17, 1892 Thomas wrote: "Please send me at once the full score of the Ode and let me know how long I can keep it."²⁰ On October 3, 1892 Chadwick sent Thomas the complete score and parts. He wrote: "I expect to arrive in Chicago about the 19th and am already looking forward to the great effect which I am sure you will make with the piece. If you do not I do not know who ever will."²¹

By the year 1893, Thomas and Chadwick's relationship had turned from a focus for orchestra which I should like to see in your hands, and I should like to see it in your hands.

¹⁸ Bill Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), p. 139.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 137.

²⁰ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

²¹ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

on advice seeking to that of warm friendship. Not only did they begin to exchange gifts but Chadwick felt comfortable enough to intrude on Thomas's vacation time. In a letter dated Jan. 1, 1893 Thomas wrote to Chadwick to thank him for a gift and more importantly he openly declared his admiration and respect for Chadwick as a "musician-artist."

My dear Mr. Chadwick: I left Chicago on the 25th of December with the orchestra on a three week concert tour—your letter of Dec. 21st reached me first before leaving, and I hear from home that a present in the shape of a box of cigars from you has arrived. Let me thank you heartily for your friendly feeling and courtesy, and also add that it is a great pleasure and satisfaction to me whenever I meet a musician—artist with whom I like to associate. With best regards to Mrs. Chadwick and yourself, believe me I'm truly yours.

Theodore Thomas²²

Thomas was responsible for the promotion of another orchestral work of Chadwick's, his Symphony in F (No. 3). In a letter dated October 2, 1893 Chadwick wrote to Thomas about an extended piece that he was working on and asked him to examine the score.

My dear Mr. Thomas: I have been working quite industriously this summer on an extended work for orchestra which I should like to show to you before you leave Fairhaven. I know you do not journey to your retreat to be bothered with M.S.S but if you can

²² The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

spare me a few moments I should esteem it a great favor. her prominent American music: Faithfully Yours so agreed to show Thomas the score of the Third Symphony during GW Chadwick²³.

Chadwick was rather bold in intruding on his friend's vacation time, yet he must have sensed that Thomas would be happy to honor his request for by now they had earned a mutual respect for each other. Thomas wasted no time in answering Chadwick's request. In a letter dated October 3, 1893 Thomas responded to Chadwick:

My dear Mr. Chadwick, the club during your stay as I am sure you will find it a quiet one. Yours of Oct. 1st received. I shall always be glad to see you at my house whenever it may suit you to call ... (Mr. Foote and Mr. Knisel) who I know you will like. If your work is far enough advanced to be played this very minute, I shall be delighted to do so. Let me hear from you if you prefer to come to Fairhaven or summon me to Boston and then we can make an appointment ... I am delighted to hear of it. Sincerely, Theodore Thomas²⁴

Not only did Thomas agree to look at the score, he agreed to play the work even before he has seen or heard the music and eventually programmed the work at a Chicago Symphony Orchestra concert in 1894. In light of the fact that Thomas had such high standards, Chadwick, especially as an American composer, was placed in a privileged position. Thomas's expectations regarding Chadwick's composition proved correct. In 1894, Chadwick's Symphony No. 3 was awarded a prize by the National Conservatory of Music, during the directorship of Antonín Dvořák.

On October 9, 1893 Chadwick wrote to Thomas to invite him to stay at St.

²³ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

²⁴ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

Botolph Club, where they had the opportunity to interact with other prominent American musicians. Chadwick also agreed to show Thomas the score of the Third Symphony during his visit to Boston.

My dear Mr. Thomas
I have deferred answering your very kind note in order to get the enclosed and signed.

Here I will place a copy of the clubhouse reservation. I hope that you will find it agreeable to use the club during your stay as I am sure you will find it a quiet and restful place to do writing, reading or loafing when you are tired. There are a few men (like Mr. Mac Dowell Mr. Foote and Mr. Kneisel) who I know you will like to see and they are all members . . .

The score I can show you at your leisure while here, and I thank you for your kind offer to play it. If it holds good after you see it I will be delighted to accept . . .²⁵

Because of complications with his family's travel plans Thomas was unable to spend much time at St. Botolph Club, however he wrote to Chadwick in a letter dated October 10, 1893. "I should very much like to dine with you and afterward perhaps go to the Club and meet some colleagues."²⁶ Despite the fact that their time together was limited, Thomas proceeded with plans to perform the work with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Thomas not only programmed Chadwick's Symphony No. 3, he recommended it for a European concert. In a letter dated January 24, 1894 Thomas wrote to Chadwick about a performance of his Symphony No. 3 by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the

²⁵ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

²⁶ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

possibility of further promotion in Europe.

My dear Mr. Chadwick

Your symphony was played two weeks ago with great success. It was played with love by the orchestra and the result was a very good performance. I can not remember that any symphony formed such a general approval on its first hearing.

Flalir is on the committee on Programmes for the Berlin Symphony

Concerts—I recommended your symphony to him as a novelty and he was glad to

hear of a suitable work—in form of a new symphony—for their concerts. I wish he could have heard us play it . . .²⁷

The performance of Chadwick's Symphony No. 3 by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra was an important landmark in his career. He not only owed Thomas a great debt for programming the work and successfully performing it, but also for recommending the work to a member of the programming committee for the Berlin Symphony.

Thomas not only promoted large works such as Chadwick's Symphony No. 3 in 1893, he also promoted smaller orchestral works like Chadwick's "Pastoral Prelude," a work that was reviewed in the press. In a letter dated December 26, 1893 Thomas wrote to Chadwick, requesting orchestra parts and announcing his intention to play the work. He also informed him that he intended to program his *Columbian Ode* for the upcoming Cincinnati Festival.

²⁶ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

²⁶ Fancett, George Winfield Chadwick: *A Bio-Bibliography* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), p.44.

²⁷ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

enough Dear Mr. Chadwick believe that their music was a branch of European music and to ignore the trend. Please send me the orchestra parts of your Pastoral Prelude at once, as I Thomas want to play it. . . I have placed your World's Fair Ode on the program of the Cincinnati Festival for next spring. Can you furnish me with a score when the time comes? The World's Fair score will go in the Field-Columbian Museum—but the parts for orchestra on hand are mine. Any time they can be of use to you, let me know.²⁸ nothing would come in my way. When last we spoke about this

"Pastoral Prelude" was performed by Theodore Thomas and the Chicago Orchestra in January of 1895.²⁹ The work received favorable comments following the performance in 1892 by the Boston Symphony Orchestra. A writer for the *Boston Journal* wrote in a review of the premiere: "The instrumentation shows a very practiced hand and it is often ingenious."³⁰ Another writer, for the *Boston Evening Transcript* wrote ". . . here we have a bright, lively, chattering movement, full enough of a certain rusticity. . . but in no wise suggestive of that peaceful repose . . ."³¹ The performances by the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra helped to provide important exposure for Chadwick as a composer.

Despite Thomas's frequent success in promoting Chadwick's music, he often ran into difficulties; programming and promoting American music was not an easy matter, especially since in the late nineteenth century it was customary to program all European works. As one American historian, Edith Borroff explained the situation ". . . it was easy

²⁸ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

²⁹ Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), p.44.

³⁰ Ibid, p.44. Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

³¹ Ibid, p. 44. Cincinnati Festival and the Worcester Festival

enough for Americans to believe that their music was a branch of European music and to ignore the tremendous artistic energy of the American people.”³² On May 5, 1894

Thomas wrote Chadwick an apologetic letter.

My dear Mr. Chadwick

Fate seems to be against us this season. I have not been able to give any

work by you this season, although it was not only my intention but I tried hard.

But always something would come in my way. When last we spoke about this

matter in general, you seemed to understand this matter. . . and seemed to be

aware of the many different influences and conditions one could not run against at

times. I will therefore not say anymore about it and try again next year . . .³³

Chadwick was not discouraged. In a letter dated May 4, 1894 he expressed his confidence that Thomas would continue to promote Chadwick’s works and those of the

“Boston Bunch.”³⁴ In addition, Chadwick seems to have reached a new level of

confidence as a reputable American composer, largely due to his success of winning the

prize from the National Conservatory of Music for his Symphony No. 3. Chadwick also

attained additional status through his position as director and conductor of several

important musical festivals.³⁵

Chadwick was the conductor and director of the Springfield Festival from 1890-

1899. The Springfield Festival was an important venue for art music in Massachusetts; it

rivalled the Worcester Festival (which Chadwick directed and conducted from 1897-1901)

³² Victor Feli Yelin, *Chadwick, Yankee Composer* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), p.

³³ Edith Borroff, *Music Melting Round* (New York: Ardsley House, Publishers, 1995), p. 94.

³⁴ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

³⁵ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

³⁶ The Springfield Festival and the Worcester Festival.

and was known for dedicating itself to an even higher musical standard.³⁶ As director and conductor of the Springfield Festival, Chadwick promoted his and other American composers' works. The Springfield Festival was an important event in American history. Barbara Tischler describes events such as the Springfield Festival as "... celebrations of American pride and power that provided a potential forum for the American composer to be heard on his own terms. . . . These events . . . held in the United States, all aroused considerable patriotic feeling and interest in all things American."³⁷

In addition to programming American works, Chadwick also took the opportunity to promote non-Germanic works, demonstrating his desire to change the direction of American programming. Victor Fell Yellin explains:

It is significant that as a conductor, Chadwick elected to program many non-Germanic works at this time, among them Gounod's *The Redemption* and Verdi's *Requiem* as well as such contemporary American works as Parker's *The Kobolds*. In these choices Chadwick was reflecting a trend already noticeable in literature and painting, and architecture, and one that was about to influence the programming of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.³⁸

Chadwick's position as director of the Springfield Festival also gave him enough authority to return Thomas's programming and promotion favors. In a letter dated May 9, 1894 Chadwick wrote to Thomas and assured him that their relationship was intact, even though Thomas had not been successful lately in programming a work by Chadwick. He

³⁶ Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), p. 58.

³⁷ Barbara L. Tischler, *An American Music: The Search for an American Musical Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 42-43.

³⁸ Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), pp. 58-59.

also discussed his prize for his symphony and his success with the Springfield Festival.

My dear Mr. Thomas

While I was very glad to receive your kind letter although it was not necessary to reassure me of your continued interest in my work for I know that you will do all you can for me and for all of us. You may have heard that I received the prize for my symphony as you predicted I would do.

My Springfield Festival was a great success this year and I send you a

program book herewith in case you may like to look at it. If you should come to

Springfield for a similar event with your orchestra I can promise you a chorus that

will go with you.

In a letter dated December 15, 1894 Chadwick wrote to Thomas and requested the return of a collection of scores that Thomas had in his possession because Chadwick had some prospects of his own for programming the works. At the same time, he continued to ask for Thomas's help in programming other works.

My dear Mr. Thomas

May I ask you to have the scores and parts of my B-flat Symphony,

Pastoral Prelude and Serenade for Strings sent to me at your convenience as I

have some prospect of having some of them performed this season.

I can also send you the parts of my new Symphony at any time if you can find a place on your program for it. It was very well received here . . .

If you are considering my "Phoenix" for Cincinnati as you hinted at Fairhaven I can also send you the orchestra score of that to look at. I shall also

³⁹ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

such as take the liberty of springing a new score on you some time next summer after we
entire are again neighbors . . . ⁴⁰

While Thomas was often able to promote Chadwick's more serious works, there
were times when it was easier for him to place lighter works on concert programs. In a
letter dated December 18, 1894 Thomas wrote to Chadwick regarding his scores and the
programming of "Pastoral Prelude" again. He also apologized for not being able to
program Chadwick's symphony.

My dear Mr. Chadwick
Your letter of Dec. 15 received this evening. I do not remember that you
sent me the score and parts of your B flat Symphony, but will ask my librarian
tomorrow morning. The Serenade I will return to you at once, but the Pastoral
Prelude I will retain until I hear from you again. I intend to place it on a program
either in January or early in February. . . . As some of these programs are of a
popular character I have hardly a chance to bring all the Symphonies I have
announced to be played at the beginning of the season . . .

I heard that your Symphony had success, and the information gave me
genuine pleasure . . . ⁴¹

Thomas was well aware of current public taste that leaned in the direction of
popular or light music. His preference would have been to play more sophisticated
symphonies of the great European masters or American composer's works. When it was
possible he would program a large overture or a movement from a major symphony. He
often relied, however, on pieces of quality that were not too difficult for the untrained ear,

⁴⁰ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

⁴¹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

such as certain waltzes of Johann Strauss. Gradually he educated his audiences to accept entire symphonies, those of Mozart and Beethoven as well as pieces by Liszt, Berlioz, Schubert, Brahms and Schumann.⁴² However, in order to gain audiences' attention he had to sacrifice his own wishes at times, therefore works of American composers like Chadwick were not always given priority. In spite of such obstacles, Thomas continued to look for ways to promote Chadwick's symphonic works and continued to encourage Chadwick as a composer.

Despite their good working relationship, Chadwick was sensitive to strains on his professional ties to Thomas. In a letter dated December 31, 1894 Chadwick wrote to Thomas regarding the promotion of several of his compositions and addressed a misunderstanding that they must have had.

My dear Mr. Thomas I have sent the score and a pianoforte copy of my Phoenix Expirans to you by Arthur P. Schmidt and I regret exceedingly that [I] did not understand that you desired it sooner.

I trust that I did not appear to be unappreciative of your interest but as I had had left a printed copy with you and knew that there were some 400 copies more or less bought for the World's Fair music I understood that you would send for the orchestral score when you wanted it.

I am delighted to hear that you intend to play my Pastoral Prelude and esteem it a great compliment I assure you.

My B-flat Sym. was played at the Exposition during your illness and Mr.

⁴² Ronald L. Davis, *A History of American Music in American Life, Volume II, The Gilded Years* (Huntington, New York: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1980) pp. 8-9.

Mees conducted it. You will doubtless find it in your library. My new Sym. will be published by A.P. Schmidt during the summer so that if you want to do it next year you will have printed copies. With best wishes for a happy new year.

Faithfully Yours,

G.W. Chadwick⁴³

Chadwick was clearly concerned about the possibility that Thomas might find him unappreciative, especially since Thomas had done so much to promote Chadwick's musical works in the past. Their relationship was not something that Chadwick wanted to jeopardize. In a letter dated February 22, 1895 Thomas wrote to Chadwick regarding the "Pastoral Prelude," and assured him of the quality of the work and the success of the performance. Chadwick must have been grateful for the support since he had expressed serious doubts about the piece.

Dear Mr. Chadwick,

Your letter of Feb. 19th received. I would have written to you sooner, but I am very much pressed with work. We had many rehearsals for your Pastoral, and played it all as written—I like the composition and I think it pleased . . .⁴⁴

Chadwick was persistent about sending scores to Thomas and even went so far as to suggest performance venues. Since their relationship had developed into a comfortable friendship Chadwick did not hesitate to ask for programming favors. In a letter dated November 7, 1895 Chadwick wrote to Thomas.

⁴³ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

⁴⁴ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

My dear Mr. Thomas

I send you herewith a copy of my new work "The Lily Nymph" which I built last summer for the next Montreal Festival. I know your aversion to piano by scores but the work is to be performed in N.Y. Nov. 27 and until then the orch. score is in use. If you care to look at it after that however I shall be glad to send it to you-particularly if it would be a possibility for the next Cincinnati Festival.⁴⁵ Although Thomas was supportive, it was not always possible for him to program Chadwick's works at certain events. When this was the case, however, it was usually because of someone else's decision—such as board members who were insistent upon programming only German works, or the fact that a work by Chadwick simply might be too long to fit in with the rest of the program. Thomas also consistently informed Chadwick of his plans to perform his works in the future, despite current obstacles. In a letter dated December 4, 1895 Thomas wrote to Chadwick regarding *The Lily Nymph* and a future performance of Chadwick's Symphony.

My dear Mr. Chadwick

Overwork is the excuse that you have not heard earlier from me in reply to your letter of Nov. 7. I received the copy of your new work for which I thank you-but I do not seem to have any luck to place a work of yours on the Cincinnati Program. It was decided otherwise by the committee, at the same time I wish you to understand that I would have placed a choral work by you on the last Festival program and I did propose the same for the next Festival-but conditions were not favorable and I had no right to insist. As soon as your Symphony is printed I shall

⁴⁵ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

send for it and play it . . .⁴⁶ A major shift in Chadwick's career came about in 1897, when Chadwick was appointed director of the New England Conservatory. Chadwick's new position certainly gave him an edge as far as promoting his own works. In a letter dated February 21, 1897 Chadwick wrote to Thomas to let him know of his recent appointment and to inform him that he did not plan to give up composing despite his burdensome duties as the director of The New England Conservatory.

My dear Mr. Thomas

I have delayed answering your letter in order to be able to tell you of my appointment as director of The New England Conservatory which took place this week. I do not expect to have to give up my composing or conducting on account of it, otherwise I would not have accepted the place, but I do expect to be able in time to develop a school on broad artistic lines which shall be a power in the land. I shall have very little teaching but much scheming and planning.

I am delighted that you found my Symphony worth your while, and I do not care much what the public thinks as long as I have the respect of good musicians. If the Berlin people should take it on your recommendation it would add another to the long list of kindnesses for which I am your debtor . . .⁴⁷

Chadwick may have intended to continue composing throughout the calendar year, but as things worked out he was, for the most part, forced to compose during the summer when he was at his vacation home in West Chop. Apparently, Chadwick's directorship also kept him from corresponding with Thomas as frequently as he had in the

⁴⁶ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

⁴⁷ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

past, since the number of letters written between the two decreased after 1897. However, their friendship did not suffer, and they continued to communicate and support each other musically. In a letter dated June 20, 1898 Chadwick wrote to Thomas.

My dear Mr. Thomas

I am sorry not to have seen you when you were here last week in West
Chadwick con Chop. I shall go back there for a few days at the end of the week and start for
regard Omaha July 1 or June 30 returning the 16th of July.
clearly believe I am reminded that Parker told me that you once expressed a desire for my
that the picture so I venture to send it along, at the same time confessing that the sight of
prestigi your picture in Kneisel's room filled my soul with envy.
very well influ Should you be inclined to confer a like honor upon me it shall occupy the
place of honor on the walls of this Emporium . . .⁴⁸

Chadwick made further progress professionally when he filled in for Thomas at
an orchestra concert. In a letter dated August 13, 1898 Chadwick wrote to Thomas about
his trip to Omaha where he conducted Thomas's orchestra in a performance of some of
Chadwick's works.

first of all let me thank you for your message in which I recognize your
thoughtful intention of giving me a good start with your orchestra. Nonluckily I
did not receive the letter in time owing to the inefficiency of the hotel office but
Your "boys" treated me very handsomely just the same. It is not in good taste for
me especially to make any comparisons at least not on paper, but I will say that
before they had played four measures I recognized the effect of discipline. They

⁴⁸ Theodore Thomas papers, Newberry Library.

played both my pieces beautifully and I promised them that I should so state to the "old man." . . . if you really want a large picture I will send it to you with great pride and pleasure . . .⁴⁹

The men's relationship had developed into one between peers. Not only did Chadwick conduct Thomas's orchestra, now Thomas turned to Chadwick for another favor. In a letter dated June 28, 1900 Thomas wrote to Chadwick about his request regarding the promotion of a German-American friend's music. Chadwick and Thomas clearly believed that there was prejudice against American music, yet their actions prove that they had more control over the situation than their letters indicate, since their prestigious positions and connections with powerful musical figures of the period could very well influence programming decisions.

My dear Chadwick I have been trying to write to you about a matter, really since last summer, but I have been much occupied and do loathe writing letters in a hurry . . . There is a German American physician living in Milwaukee, who has written and I would like to see some compositions of his performed in Boston. I could send you 2 scores, a Symphony, and a whole chorus with orchestra—if you think that you can interest Gericke, and Lang, or someone else for the chorus work. Please find out for me. I brought these scores with me for this purpose—and will gladly forward them to you for that purpose—but if there should not be an opportunity of playing either of these works, for various reasons, this year—drop the matter, only let me know in a few words . . .⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

⁵⁰ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

Chadwick responded in a letter dated July 9, 1900:

My dear Thomas

Of course I shall be very glad to do anything that I can for any composer that you approve of. Mr. Gericke is now in Europe and will not return until October 1st. . . .

It would not be of much use to send me the score until early in the Fall but if you will do so then I will try to influence Mr. Gericke in them [*sic*] end, and if possible get them put on for this year.

I did have a new overture performed at the symphonies last year and I will send you the score if you would like to see it. I doubt, however, if you would find it quite effective for your concerts. It is a memorial of a friend of mine and a little too “ernst” [serious, in German] in sentiment to be appreciated by the casual listener. At least, that was my impression of it at the concert.

I could send you however, my three Symphonic Sketches, which your orchestra played for me at Omaha, if you would like to see them. They are not very serious, but they sound.

Please excuse a typewritten letter.

Yours very truly,

G.W. Chadwick⁵¹

Chadwick seemed happy to help Thomas promote his German-American friend's compositions. Mr. Gericke was the conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and since Chadwick had had several performances of his works by the orchestra, he had

⁵¹ Theodore Thomas papers, Newberry Library.

established a working relationship with Gericke.

As a peer, Chadwick could be honest about his reservations about his own work with Thomas. Chadwick had two fine pieces that he was interested in sending Thomas, an overture and his *Symphonic Sketches*. The *Symphonic Sketches* eventually proved to be one of Chadwick's most successful orchestral works. He was not entirely confident about his compositions at the time, however, and he continued to ask for Thomas's support and ideas.

In turn, Thomas not only supported Chadwick by asking him to send his works, he also asked Chadwick for musical advice. In a letter dated August 4, 1900 Thomas wrote to Chadwick about an opinion of César Franck's oratorio *The Beatitudes* and also asked Chadwick to lend him something to play, either the Overture or the *Symphonic Sketches*.

. . . Give me in a few words your opinion of Frank's [*sic*] *Beatitudes*—confidential—I had arrangements made with the publishers in 1895 for the score, while I was in Paris, but finally gave it up—it was too troublesome. Lend me something of yours to play this season—either the overture or the *Symphonic Sketches*—Send it to Chicago in October, in about the third week—to 43 Bellevue Place at my expense. And always believe me your friend.

Theodore Thomas⁵²

Chadwick sent a letter with detailed descriptions of the *Beatitudes*. His comments regarding the work were not entirely complimentary; despite the fact that Chadwick had seriously considered studying with Franck after spending a year in France with some

⁵² The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

traveling American painters.⁵³ Although Chadwick had championed works of French composers such as Berlioz and Saint-Saëns at the Worcester and Springfield festivals, and was conducting Franck's *Beatitudes*, Chadwick was not entirely receptive to French music. He was honest with Thomas about, what he believed to be, certain difficulties and weaknesses in Franck's work. In a letter dated September 5, 1900 Chadwick wrote to Thomas.

My dear Thomas

Our performance of "Beatitudes" at Worcester comes on the 27th and it would be a matter of great pride and pleasure to all the Worcester people, not to mention myself, if you could hear it. The work is certainly very impressive and there are many large effects for both the chorus and the orchestra. The instrumentation is clear and simple, but very sonorous. I fear that the work as a whole may give a slight impression of monotony, as each of the eight numbers ends with the same kind of effect, to wit: celestial chorus pianissimo, molto moderato etc. There is a very large proportion of slow tempo in the work and the parts which are fast are not particularly interesting musically. I do hope you can arrange to hear it . . .⁵⁴

Some of the challenges that composers and conductors faced were a lack of rehearsal time and poor musical material. Chadwick obviously had mixed feelings about *Beatitudes* but had hopes for a fine performance. In his next letter dated September 21, 1900 Chadwick wrote to Thomas expressing serious doubts about the work and the

⁵³ Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), pp. 36-37.

⁵⁴ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

upcoming performance.

My dear Thomas

Our Beatitudes performance comes on the 27th and from present indications it will be bad. Chiefly from want of rehearsals and very poor material in the chorus.

We shall all be glad to see you if you will come—but honestly I would rather you would come next year when I have particular reasons for wanting you. Of these I will write you later when I write you about the Beatitudes performance.

I will send you my overture as soon as I come back from Worcester . . . ⁵⁵

Thomas wrote back in a letter dated September 23, 1900. He encouraged Chadwick about the upcoming performance and emphasized the fact that certain conditions in America were inevitable. Thomas also sent encouraging news about his intent to play Chadwick's Symphony No. 3, if possible.

My dear Chadwick

Yours of 21st received. Do not be despondent about the chorus. The conditions of this country do not allow good choral organizations yet the reasons are too numerous to name here—but my dear fellow I know them, and know all about it. There is no standard, and no progress apparent—very discouraging to a musician, nevertheless we have to follow along, we do progress after all, and a few more generations may bring about better conditions. Console yourself with the fact that the American will always do better in public than in private rehearsal.

I shall try to play your 3rd Symphony again this year, but you understand

⁵⁵ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

that one cannot always control circumstances. You have answered my questions and please send the overture, any time after the first week in October . . . ⁵⁶

The Thomas/Chadwick correspondence reveals issues that composers and conductors, who were interested in fostering “high art,” faced, such as finding a suitable chorus for heavily scored works. Due to the popularity of large forces in musical works, nineteenth-century Americans tended to place more of an emphasis on function and novelty than on aesthetic value.⁵⁷ In addition, the tastes of local and amateur musicians affected programming, and this was a source of frustration for both men as their letters indicate. They both ran into conflict when local musicians asserted themselves and Thomas and Chadwick were forced, at times, to compromise their ideals. Thomas’s encouragement, conveyed in his last letter to Chadwick, certainly paid off. Chadwick wrote an enthusiastic letter to Thomas, dated October 5, 1900.

My Dear Thomas

I don’t know how it is that your letters to me always seem to arrive at the most comforting times. The last one came after a series of exasperating rehearsals, in which the chorus used up my entire stock of patience, but behold! the concerts went exceedingly well, even as you prophesied. You did know this, and you knew all about it and your letter was a great bracer, I can tell you. The “Beatitudes” played exactly two hours and a half, with an intermission of seventeen minutes The effect of the work on the audience was immense. They were enthusiastic from beginning to end . . .

I am sending my overture today by express with the parts. I have made a

⁵⁶ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

⁵⁷ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 104-105.

few changes since the last performance . . .

It is kind of you to consider my F major symphony for another performance. I only wish that I could hear you play it.⁵⁸

Another challenge that composers and conductors faced during this time was the constraints placed on programming. Conflicts with festival organizers often interfered with plans for their choice of performers and programming. In a letter dated November 7, 1900 Chadwick wrote to Thomas about a new work of his.

My dear Thomas

I have just finished a new work for chorus and orchestra, on the subject of Judith and Holofernes, the libretto of which was written especially for me from my own scenario. It is shortly to be published by Schirmer and is already accepted for performance at the next Worcester Festival. It will sing about two hours, has four principal solo parts and one small one. The principal part, that of Judith, I have written especially for Miss Gertrude May Stein. If you think there is any possibility of its being considered for performance at the next Cincinnati Festival please let me know how to go about it. I can send you the manuscript to look at if you so desire but it will be in print by the middle of January.

Faithfully yours,

GW Chadwick⁵⁹

Thomas wrote back a few days later, from St. Paul, Minnesota, in a letter dated November 11, 1900, and offered to do his best to promote Chadwick's new choral work, however, he did go into detail describing the difficulties faced in programming this genre.

⁵⁸ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

My dear Chadwick

About your new choral work there is no need for you to do anything about it. I can do it better than you, and shall, for once, make it a personal matter—although there are some difficulties in the way. I. The 3 Choral works for the so called Choral nights, which fill the evening, have been chosen—The two other evenings' choral works are chosen of the length to admit a Symphony and possibly an Aria—to attract the “crowd.” You can let me know whether your new work can be reduced to an hour and a half without injury. II. The second drawback is that since Cincinnati has a symphony orchestra there are two strong opposing parties—the ladies who run the symphony orchestra want me to add the principal men of their orchestra, or perhaps two thirds, to my Festival Orchestra, as I might have done twenty-five years ago, but is impossible today. . . . This refusal has caused much bitterness and misrepresentation . . .

. . . I guess you understand the situation from what I have said. Answer my question as to the possibility of cutting the work—and believe me that I shall have the work on the program if at all practical. Excuse haste, and believe me your friend.

Theodore Thomas⁶⁰

Although Thomas mentioned length as one of the reasons he could not program Chadwick's work, the fact remains that Franck's *Beatitudes* was two and a half hours and its performance was warmly received. Perhaps Thomas was reluctant to program

⁶⁰ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

Chadwick's work because he feared it needed editing, or he was uncertain as to how the public would receive such a lengthy work written by an American composer. Despite the fact that Thomas often faced challenging working conditions he was still willing to try and honor any request that Chadwick had and showed an unceasing dedication to his friend. Chadwick, however, did not want to take advantage of Thomas or put too much pressure on him, considering the circumstances nor did he want to compromise his dramatic work by making cuts. In a letter dated November 17, 1900 Chadwick wrote to Thomas. He took a realistic approach to the issue of programming and thanked him for his steadfast support.

My dear Thomas

It was kind of you to take the trouble to write me at such length . . . I think I understand your position exactly and I know that you will do as much as you possibly can for my interest, as you have done from the very first. However, if the works for the whole evening are already selected, I am inclined to think that it would be better not to consider mine at all. It is a dramatic work in the form of continuous scenes and I don't see how any of it could be left out without leaving part of the story unexplained. At any rate, I fear it would be difficult to combine it with a miscellaneous concert, and my feeling now is, that I would rather wait for some future festival than to try to cut it down. . . .

Faithfully yours,

GW Chadwick

P.S. Perhaps they would consider my “Lily Nymph.” That plays exactly one hour.⁶¹

Once again, Chadwick demonstrated his persistence in presenting programming ideas. He knew that Thomas was always open to possibilities for promoting his works.

Another challenge that composers and conductors faced during this time was problems with festival organizers. Thomas could not feasibly fit Chadwick’s *Judith* into one of his programs but Chadwick was able to find a place for it at the Worcester Festival in 1901. In a letter dated September 20, 1901 Chadwick wrote to Thomas and gave him a warm invitation to the Festival, especially for the performance of *Judith*. He also expressed his frustration with the difficulties of the working conditions for the Festival. He thanked Thomas for his words of wisdom from the year before regarding Festival logistics and expressed that Thomas’s support was invaluable to him.

My dear Thomas,

It would be a great honor and pleasure to me if you could attend the Worcester Festival next week as my guest. Or if you cannot spare the time for the whole Festival, at least for the performance of my *Judith* which comes on Thursday evening (Sept. 26). I must give you warning however not to hold me too much responsible for the result musically for I have, and always have had to contend with the most absurd and benighted ideas among the Festival officials. Such mountains of prejudice, ignorance and conceit which would be inconceivable in any town in the world but Worcester.

Your letter to me last year reached me after a most discouraging rehearsal and was as good for me as a bottle of your champagne. Now, do please try to

⁶¹ Theodore Thomas Papers, Newberry Library.

come—It will brace the orchestra up to see you.

I started for Europe the 4th of May last and on the 5th slipped on the deck fracturing both bones of my right ankle. This kept me in the hospital for three weeks in Liverpool . . .

. . . . I returned July 1 since which time I have done nothing but nurse my leg and try to get my strength back. I am now doing quite well although I have quite a bad limp. . .

Write to me at the “Standish” Worcester and let me know when I may expect you.

Faithfully Yours, GW Chadwick⁶²

Chadwick and Thomas did not correspond much in 1902. Chadwick struggled a good deal more with his foot than he expected. Ill health and the responsibilities at the Conservatory most likely kept him from writing as many letters. By 1903, Chadwick and Thomas had both become highly respected musicians in their own right and their support of each other remained strong. In a letter dated May 13, 1903 Thomas wrote to Chadwick, confirming his respect for him as a musician and thanking him for enriching his social and professional life through entertainment and time spent, most likely, with other musicians at the Club.

My dear Chadwick

Please excuse me for not writing a line sooner and thank you for the good time I enjoyed while in Boston. I know no finer[r] musician I care to associate with... it is a boon to me to be with you in Boston. The dinner too, in fact the

⁶² Theodore Thomas papers, Newberry Library.

whole time we spent in the Club was delightful.⁶³

Thomas continued to promote Chadwick's works until the end of his life. The last letter in the collection held at The New England Conservatory was dated June 16, 1904, the year before Thomas's death; Thomas wrote to Chadwick about the promotion of his overture and plans to meet in the future.

My dear Chadwick

Your note of April 29 reached me when I was rehearsing for the Festival in Cincinnati. Of course, I want your overture sometime this winter, but just when I can not tell now—especially as you are not sure when our hall will be finished, to play in. We begin our season at the Auditorium. Let me know when a letter will reach you in the summer—also when you return to Boston, in the fall. I will try to arrange to meet you . . . always believe me yours.

Theodore Thomas⁶⁴

Chadwick continued to ask for programming favors and Thomas was willing to comply. Thomas remained dedicated to the cause of promoting Chadwick's music and the man as an American composer, despite the prevailing taste for European works and other obstacles he faced. The men's warm friendship, Chadwick's persistence in asking for programming favors, the high quality of Chadwick's work, Thomas's belief in the high standard of Chadwick's works and his programming efforts all contributed to the promotion of Chadwick's orchestral music and his career. Chadwick summarized Thomas's invaluable support in a page from one of his diaries [no specific date given].

⁶³ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

He did not give entire programs of American music as one would exhibit a collection of curiosities; He believed, and rightly, that such booming does the composer more harm than good. But he placed their works on his programs when they could fairly be compared with the compositions of their contemporaries—French, German and Russian. He could do them no greater service.⁶⁵

The correspondence between Chadwick and Thomas shows that the two men's relationship changed over the years. As a young man, Chadwick was in awe of the powerful Theodore Thomas. As their friendship developed and Chadwick became more powerful himself, his dependence on Thomas became less critical. Chadwick's appointment as director of the Springfield and Worcester Festivals and as director of the New England Conservatory changed his status in the musical scene in America. Both men were heavily involved in the promotion of music in the United States and ran into programming problems at times, especially with amateur musicians and committee members. Because of these common difficulties they became a support system for each other.

Although Chadwick sometimes asked Thomas for musical advice and both men felt strongly about maintaining high art, the correspondence shows that most of the issues they faced dealt with the logistics of getting pieces ready for performance, rather than aesthetics. Both men had ideals and dreamed of changing the public's outlook, but in reality they did not have free reign. The public influenced them and sometimes they had to compromise their standards.

The Thomas/Chadwick correspondence gives us a better understanding of the development and success of Chadwick's career and shows the importance of Thomas's

⁶⁵ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

support, not only for Chadwick but also for other American composers. In a letter to Rose Fay Thomas after her husband's death, Chadwick acknowledged his debt to Theodore Thomas:

My Dear Mrs. Thomas,

I cannot begin to describe to you the sense of desolation and irreparable loss which the death of Mr. Thomas has caused to me and to all of us here. His services to this country and to the cause of art were well known and valued, for his fame was national, and international. But what he was to us younger musicians of Boston, and what his influence meant to us, will never be known except by those who were fortunate enough to belong to our circle. For myself, as "Deacon" of the group (as he called me), I can truly say that I have never had any other teacher or friend in my whole career, from whom I absorbed so much in knowledge, in stimulation, or in courage to fight for a high standard and for an ideal. It will always be my pride that it was through me that he learned to know and respect our younger Boston composers, and that through me they got a share of the inspiration which his friendship brought. He alone, of all the American conductors, has treated American composition as a dignified and serious effort. Not, on the one hand, as the work of incompetent amateurs to be scoffed and sneered at; nor, on the other, as an infant industry to be coddled and shielded from all opposition. He produced the works of American writers side by side with the classics, and also the modern masters, so that they could be compared with their contemporaries, and could stand or fall by their own intrinsic value—the only

position that a real artist cares to occupy.⁶⁶

The interactions between key musical figures, like the composer Chadwick and conductor Thomas, allow for an inside view of music making in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the following chapter, an examination of another important relationship that Chadwick had with musical philanthropist Henry Higginson uncovers discrete moments in music history that also help us to better understand Chadwick's career and performance issues in America during this period.

⁶⁶ Rose Fay. Thomas, *Memoirs of Theodore Thomas*, pp. 567-568.

Chapter 2

BRINGING EUROPE TO BOSTON: GEORGE WHITEFIELD CHADWICK, HENRY HIGGINSON AND THE PROMOTION OF ART MUSIC IN AMERICA

An aspect of Chadwick's life that should not be overlooked is the way in which he brought European and U.S. musicians together, thereby fostering a change in the cultural relationships between them. His training in Germany as a young man brought him in contact with many important European figures, and his outstanding success as a composition student brought him respect, not only in America, but also in European musical circles. Although many American composers struggled to be recognized, Chadwick's compositions were known and respected in the U.S. and Europe; he had won prizes and enjoyed performances of his works in Germany, and when he returned to the U.S. his works were also recognized and performed. Chadwick's role as director of the New England Conservatory also contributed to changing cultural relationships between the U.S. and Europe. His German musical training carried over into his teaching in the U.S., and Chadwick instituted changes that reflected practices in German conservatories. Chadwick also helped to connect the U.S. and Europe culturally through his role as negotiator in the Boston Symphony Orchestra European conductor selection, explained in this chapter. It was a task that certainly contributed to the growth of the symphony orchestra in the United States.

This chapter examines an exchange of letters between Henry Higginson and George Chadwick that not only gives a "behind the scenes" look at the conductor search for The Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1905-1906, but also displays the changing relationship between the U.S. and Europe regarding musical interaction and the promotion of art music. Chadwick played a key role in the conductor search because of

his ability to effectively communicate with people from Europe and important figures in America such as Henry Higginson.

As a young man, Henry Higginson spent four years studying in Europe, and it was his desire to pursue a career in music. His father, however, continually pressured him to come back to the U.S. and join the family's State Street brokerage firm. Eventually Higginson reluctantly returned to the U.S. and, after serving in the Civil War and attempting an independent career as an oil speculator, he finally succumbed to his father's wishes and joined Lee, Higginson and Company. Although he became a successful stockbroker, he believed that his destiny was to become a philanthropist and music benefactor. In 1881, Higginson decided that it was up to him to fill the void left by the lack of a permanent and complete orchestra in Boston. His goal was to offer the best music at low prices. He was prepared to sustain large losses if need be, all for the cause of musical excellence, completeness, and the cultivation of public taste.¹ With the support of musical organizations such as the Harvard Musical Association and figures like John Dwight Sullivan, The Boston Symphony Orchestra was established. The first concert was performed under the leadership of George Henschel, and the orchestra won the support of Boston's elite and became a major focus of the city's social life. After Henschel resigned as conductor, Wilhelm Gericke took his place.² Higginson believed that only Germany could provide the Boston orchestra with the leadership it needed, reflecting the German preference that was prevalent in "high art" circles of the late

¹ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 122-123.

² Ronald L. Davis, *A History of Music in American Life, Vol. II, The Gilded Years, 1865-1920* (Huntington, New York: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1980), p.12.

nineteenth and early twentieth century. Higginson intended to continue on with the tradition that had been set in the past by searching for another German conductor.

Henry Higginson was unable to go to Europe to engage in negotiations for the conductor position. Chadwick, however, was on sabbatical from his duties at the New England Conservatory and traveled to Europe in 1906 with his wife and two sons. Higginson contacted Chadwick through many letters and cables and asked him to meet with Karl Muck to convince him to accept the conductor position in Boston. The letters from Higginson to Chadwick and Chadwick's memoirs, both found in the archives at the New England Conservatory, provide us with detailed information about the process.

In a page from Chadwick's memoirs of early 1905 [no specific date given] he discussed his plans for taking a sabbatical from his duties as director of the New England Conservatory. He described his goals and ideas for the trip, which included an enriching experience educationally for his sons abroad, the possibility of having some recent compositions performed in Europe, finding inspiration for composing in a new environment and plans for writing a work for an English festival.

And now we begin to make plans for my sabbatical vacation. . . . I dreamed of getting my newer compositions heard in Europe thought that a change of surroundings would give me some new ideas. . . . For several years we had hoped and planned for a sabbatical year in Europe with the whole family. The reasons were—first, a change of scene, air and occupation, with a view of increasing the musical fertility of G.W. Second—to give to the boys a working knowledge of French or German or both, and a glimpse of European life. Third—to give to I.M.C. a rest from the hum-drum domestic life, which has been practically the

same ever since our children were born. Incidentally, I hoped to get some performances of my orchestral works, and with that object in view I had spoken for the co-operation of the Concordia in Leipzig, and given notice to Nikisch and others of my intended sojourn. . . .The Executive Committee of the N.E.C. gave me the leave of absence and very generously voted me full salary during my absence.³

Chadwick wasted no time in working toward one of his goals for his sabbatical, to devote time to composition and find musical inspiration during his time away from familiar surroundings. The Chadwick family departed for Europe on September 16, 1905. On this date in his memoirs, Chadwick described the boat they were traveling on and how comfortable the family was. Only one day later, on September 17, Chadwick described how he already took time to work. “I compose in the forenoon, afterwards study French . . .”⁴

Chadwick received initial communication about the conductor search from Henry Higginson on February 15, 1906 upon returning from a day of sightseeing in Florence, Italy. Chadwick was expected to cut his family’s Italian vacation short in order to assist Henry Higginson in a search for a conductor. Chadwick’s turmoil was unquestionable, yet his sense of obligation to Higginson, and actually to the future of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, was forceful enough to override his personal plans. Chadwick made the decision to do whatever he could to help, despite personal sacrifice. In his memoirs of Feb. 15, 1906 Chadwick described his reaction to his first contact from Henry Higginson.

³ The Archives at The New England Conservatory of Music.

⁴ Ibid.

Found a letter from Henry L. Higginson when I got home. The gist of it was that he had engaged Dr. Karl Muck to conduct the B.S.O. next year but that he had not signed the contract and he could get no word from him in regard to it, and knowing that I was a friend of his in 1879, would I go to Berlin if necessary and hustle him along. So here was a pretty how-de-do! If I did this for H.H. it knocked the 'stuffin' out of the rest of our Italian Journey. At the same time, I felt that I ought to do whatever I could to help Higginson. So I wrote back that I was in Italy but would be glad to do whatever I could to help him. To this, I received an answer by cable and a letter on March 2nd which will be described in the proper place, but it was evident that if we were to see anything of Rome and southern Italy, that we had better be moving on. I very much regretted this as we were just beginning to get into the atmosphere of Florence, but I thought, and Ma agreed with me, that if I were able to be useful to Mr. Higginson, I should do so even at the sacrifice of my personal convenience. So we hustled to 'do' the rest of Florence as quickly as possible and get out in a week.⁵

In a letter dated January 31, 1906 Higginson wrote to Chadwick and explained his dilemma with the Muck situation (he had written to him and never heard back) and why he felt that Chadwick was the man to solve the problem.

... As you know, there is a very large musical library here, and you also know the position the conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra holds in this town; like your own, it seems to me an honorable and respectable position. As I said, I wrote to Dr. Muck and cabled him, and another friend who knows him wrote to him setting forth the whole matter. He has never replied to me directly. I then asked a

⁵ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

cousin of my wife (who, by the way, was born in Carlsruhe) if she would go to see Dr. Muck, and ascertain if he had received the letters and telegrams. She found that he had done so, and that he was not able to come on the first of January, 1907, and had been trying to get free. She learned that he is ready to come here on October 1, 1907. This will suit me very well, and I will bridge over the time until then, and very possibly Mr. Gericke may stay; if not, I will find somebody else.

Just why Dr. Muck hasn't thought it necessary to answer me, I do not know. Perhaps, you are aware that artists are careless in such ways, and he may think that a message is as good as a letter. I write to you because of your interest in all things musical, and especially in the Conservatory and in the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and I ask you to see Dr. Muck in person, tell him the advantages and the disadvantages (if any) of his position here, and get him to sign the contract which I will send to you within a few days. Please await this contract. Someone told me that you and Dr. Muck were classmates. If so, it is a fortunate circumstance. . . .⁶

Higginson went on to caution Chadwick about obstacles such as government interference, which caused him a high level of anxiety in connection with the new conductor search; in fact Higginson's level of anxiety about the matter as a whole made Chadwick's role as his representative a complicated one. As Higginson noted, Chadwick was expected to stand as an obstacle to government interference.

My fear with the gentleman is that he will sign a contract, and then be ordered by

⁶ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

his government not to carry it out. This happened with Richter some years ago. He signed a contract, which had been carefully made, and that contract lies in my room in my drawer. He never has excused himself, and he has never mentioned the subject to me. I don't wish to be subjected to any such trial again; therefore, may I ask you to guard against it if you can. . . .⁷

Higginson cautioned Chadwick about potential problems but at the same time he seemed to believe that Chadwick was capable of negotiating successfully, although he stressed that Chadwick communicate with him as much as possible and keep the matter secret. He went on in the letter and admitted that he was imposing on Chadwick, and he explained why he was unable to take care of this matter himself.

Dear Mr. Chadwick

I am quite aware that I am asking a great kindness of you. I should go to Berlin myself and settle this matter, but was laid up last summer, though I am well, my physicians will not allow me to go. It seemed to me that you were the best person known to me to do this business. The one thing I have to ask is a cable-reply, and pray use the cable freely—not saving pennies to save words which should be said; and that you will also write me on the subject.

Furthermore, that you do not mention this matter to anybody except always Mrs. Chadwick, to whom I wish to pay my respects. . . .⁸

As of March 3, 1906 Chadwick was still enjoying sightseeing in Italy, but in his memoirs of March 4, 1906 he recorded: "Two letters from Higginson, who is getting anxious and impatient." On February 17, 1906 the manager of the Boston Symphony

⁷ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

⁸ Ibid.

Orchestra, Charles A. Ellis, wrote a letter to Chadwick for Higginson, which actually took some pressure off Chadwick temporarily, yet Higginson expected Chadwick to be readily available if he needed him.

My dear Mr. Chadwick:

Mr. Higginson is not very well and asks me to write confirming his cable sent this morning, as follows: "Thanks for the letter. Do not change your movements until you have my next letter. . . .

As you know already, Miss Braun has seen Dr. Muck, who is disposed to accept the post in Boston, beginning October 1, 1907. The papers have been sent to Miss Braun and we are hoping to hear that they are satisfactory to Dr. Muck and that he has signed the contract.

For the present there is no occasion for you to go to Berlin or derange your plans in any way on our account. Should there be any hitch in the negotiations with Dr. Muck, or should your help or advice be needed in securing a conductor for the intervening season of 1906-07, Major Higginson will feel free to call on you again. He appreciates very much indeed your readiness to assist him and wishes me to thank you for your kindness.

Hoping you are enjoying your holidays, with best regards to Mrs.

Chadwick and yourself, I am

Yours very truly,

C.A. Ellis

P.S. Please do not mention to any one that we are in treaty with Dr. Muck. It will

be much better if the matter is not discussed by outsiders.⁹

Higginson's health evidently improved because he wrote to Chadwick himself on March 5, 1906 and was clearly anxious about settling the matter. Higginson's added note at the end of the letter indicates that he realized he sounded distressed but that he was truly indebted to Chadwick for his willingness to help.

My dear Mr. Chadwick

I wrote you yesterday in my own hand, and can only add that I have your cablegram in reply to mine, saying that you had engagements, and that you could go on the fifteenth of this month to Berlin, and asking if that would do.

I cannot quite tell how it will suit. If the party in question signs the contract, it will not be necessary to go, and on this last point I cannot inform you yet; therefore I am a little puzzled as to my reply to your cablegram. . . . I want very much to get this thing finished, but I certainly must await your convenience, and am much obliged to you for being willing to go at all.

With kind regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

H.L. Higginson

P.S. I am tired and cross so if this letter is not kindly written it is kindly meant.¹⁰

Chadwick was aware of Higginson's impatience yet it was Chadwick who was inconvenienced. Chadwick did not complain openly to Higginson but did mention the interruption of his planned schedule in his memoirs of March 5, 1906. Chadwick described some interesting experiences he was having in Italy and how he would have

⁹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

¹⁰ Ibid.

been able to enjoy more, fulfilling some of his goals for the trip, if it were not for the interruption of Higginson's summons.

Glorious day filled with warm sunlight; went to see Perosi who lives in a little hole in the wall at the Vatican. We got along very well in bad German—his the worst ever!

Talked about Rheinberger, with whom he also studied and was very cordial indeed. The Vatican Library was in disorder and being cleaned and rearranged so I could not see the wonderful manuscripts; but in Santa Maria – something or other, there were authentic M.S.S. of Palestrina and he would try to get me the entrée; and also he would get me an invitation to the private mass [*sic*] of the Holy Father, on his birthday, March 10th when I could hear the Choir at its best. Alas! On that day, I was speeding towards Berlin to do Henry Higginson's errands for him!¹¹

In his memoirs on March 6, 1906 Chadwick described more of his explorations in Italy, where he was trying to take in as much as possible before he would have to cut his trip short and do Higginson's work. Higginson cabled him that day, putting the pressure on him to drop everything and go to Berlin.

Went to the Vatican picture gallery and climbed all the 287 steps; there is no other way to get there. Here are most of the great paintings; Raphael's Madonna of Foligno; the Transfiguration, his last great work painted for the Medici. . . . In another room, a marvelous Titian, a portrait of the Doge Nicolini Marcello, an ugly "cuss" but what a portrait! Also a Madonna by Titian and some Peruginos

¹¹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

and in a small chapel all by itself, the last two works of Fra Angelico. Walked about in St. Peters (Palestrina is said to be buried under one of these altars) heard the great bell which impressed me less than the one in Innsbruck, and got home tired. A cable from Higginson came begging me to go at once to Berlin.

Answered that I would start on March 10th.¹²

On March 6, 1906, Higginson wrote a letter to Chadwick and went into great detail about the benefits of his offer of a fixed salary, giving us an inside look at the “behind the scenes” workings of the BSO. Higginson was very concerned about Chadwick being prepared to defend any objections that might come up regarding salary. Chadwick was expected to process all of the details, convey them to Muck and then convince Muck to accept the offer.

My dear Mr. Chadwick:

I wrote to you yesterday, and am going to send this letter to Berlin to my cousins. Perhaps you will show it to them, also, for I wish to say a word about salaries.

There is a great difference, as you know, between a fixed salary, which is sure, and occasional engagements which pay more and are very uncertain.

Richard Strauss came here, with all of his reputation as a composer, and got good pay in New York. He came to Boston, and asked so much that I wouldn't engage him. He did play the pension concert with our orchestra and divided the receipts.

Weingartener goes to New York, travels about the country, and gets good pay.

The engagement may last a year, or two years,; [*sic*] and that is the end of it.

Nikisch travels all over Europe, lives a dog's life, and perhaps makes a

¹² The Archives at the New England Conservatory.

considerable sum of money; but all these men have no salary on which they can count one year to another.

I am offering a fixed salary for a term of years, and feel very sure that at the end of that time the man who receives it will have had as much pay, and far more comfort, than these gentlemen who are on the road so much, and are taking such risks.

Only today an excellent musician came to me, who left the orchestra thinking that he could do much better for himself. Today he came to ask to be taken back, and I shall take him back if I can find a place for him. He is happier and better with a fixed salary than with what he can pick up. He has probably been earning more money than I pay him, but he prefers to come back.

I say all this in order to meet any arguments which our friend in Berlin may bring as regards pay. You know the value of a fixed salary, and that my pay is as secure as that of the Opera House in Berlin.

These conductors who get considerable sums for a few evenings, or weeks, have all kinds of men to play with, and know that the money is raised by subscription. In short, there is not the same element of certainty about it that there is with us. The conductor here has a comfortable home in which he lives, and he conducts his life as he wants to. He goes on the journeys, as you know, about once a month, and when May comes he is free as air until October. He is independent of everybody but me, and you can give me such a character as you choose.

Be kind enough to set these arguments before my cousins as well as before

the party himself. . . .¹³

Henry Higginson's confidence in Chadwick as a negotiator stemmed, in part, from Chadwick's extensive experience in Europe. In Chadwick's memoirs of March 9, 1906 he discussed his last day, his regrets about leaving Rome, his continued dedication to the conductor search and his realization that the tables had turned and Higginson was at his mercy. Chadwick also discussed the fact that although Higginson had done much for the cause of the orchestra, he was not always an effective communicator, particularly with German candidates. Chadwick felt obligated to offer his services. Although he was willing to assist and mentioned his appreciation for all that Higginson had done for the orchestra, he certainly expressed resentment at Higginson's condescending manner toward American musicians.

. . . Our time in Rome was far too short; we should have had another month and even then, we should have scratched the surface only. Never have I been in a place so stimulating to the imagination, so inspiring, so interesting in every artistic and historical way. . . I shall always feel that we made a great sacrifice in leaving Rome to do Mr. Higginson's work for him, but the B.S.O. is a great institution and he had made many sacrifices to make it the far-reaching power for the musical uplift of the people that it has become. It seemed as though I was the one who could help him out of the hole. The conductorship of the Orchestra was going begging!

No matter for what reason, he had gotten things into such a condition that the job did not appeal to the first class German conductors, and so I felt that I ought to sacrifice my personal affairs and help him out if I could.

¹³ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

The real reason that Higginson believed that nobody but a German could conduct an orchestra, and least of all an American.

I got nothing for it and never expected anything, but I always shall miss that trip to Naples and Southern Italy which we did not take. We are not likely to get it back.¹⁴

Despite Chadwick's rapport with European musicians, his attitude towards his German hosts was not always positive. Chadwick had had to struggle with competition from Germans all of his life, and his comments reflect his somewhat negative opinions of some Germans. These feelings were underscored by some comments he made in his memoirs of March 10, 1906. "Arrived at Rapallo at 5:30; very quiet and interesting town. Hotel Europe, quiet and comfy, but too many d— Germans! They permeate everything like a stench! And no air!"¹⁵

Despite Chadwick's negative feelings and his regrets as far as his shortened Italian journey, he clearly felt an obligation to continue on with Higginson's errands. In Chadwick's memoirs of March 14, 1906 he recorded his feelings about the end of his Italian trip; nevertheless he mentioned his continued sense of duty.

Arrived in Lucerne at 6.45 and it was pretty cold after Italy. Left at 2 P.M. and went along with Ma as far as Olten; she continued to Lausanne and I changed for Basle, where I got the sleeper for Berlin . . .

And so ended our Italian journey, some three or four weeks sooner, and several hundred miles shorter than was first intended. For me, it seemed an

¹⁴ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

¹⁵ Ibid.

unavoidable duty . . . ¹⁶

Despite the inconvenience of working for Higginson, Chadwick was able to use his time profitably to promote his own work. In Chadwick's memoirs of March 16, 1906 he described how he filled in the hours because Muck wasn't available; he found some time to socialize with a German associate, Max Heinrich, who was translating Chadwick's theory textbook into German. This text was considered a teaching tool for music students in the U.S. and the interest it caused in Germany demonstrated Chadwick's international reputation. Although he seemed to be on good terms with Heinrich, Chadwick did not reveal his reason for being in Berlin. Apparently, Chadwick felt it was important to honor the secrecy that Higginson had so adamantly requested.

Went to Hoch Schule. Everybody (Joachim, Halir, Bruch, etc.) away. Hunted up Abel, who had been good to me on my previous visit, and lunched with him at the "Traube". He told me that Max Heinrich was in town and I went to see him. Spent all the evening with him in a restaurant; wrote postal cards to our friends; Max said "they won't believe it will they George?" He is translating my harmony book into German. I did not tell him why I was in Berlin.¹⁷

In his memoirs of March 20, 1906 Chadwick described his first meeting with Dr. Muck and why the contract had not been signed, one of the reasons the whole affair became so prolonged.

Saw Dr. Muck by appointment at ten. He said that he had not signed the contract because he could not find out whether Von Hulsén, the Intendent, would release him; also that he had heard that it would cost him 50,000 marks a year to live in

¹⁶ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Boston; and that Savonov got \$30,000 from the Philharmonic in New York . . . but that he would like to come and would try to see Von Hulsén at once. Which means more waiting!¹⁸

In his memoirs of March 22, 1906 Chadwick recorded what happened with the meeting between Muck and the Intendant.

Muck has conferred with Von Hulsén the Intendant, who will not release him unless he sacrifices his pension. In a few more years he gets it anyway, but he says that he wants to come. Cabled H.H. and wrote full particulars.¹⁹

On March 22, 1906 Higginson wrote a letter to Chadwick in response to his cables and concluded that Muck would not come to Boston. Chadwick was expected to wait for Higginson's next order, possibly to communicate with another German candidate.

Dear Mr. Chadwick:

I have various cables from you and a letter this morning, and at last it is definitely settled that Muck won't come. I had begun to doubt whether I wanted him because he showed such vacillation. If he chose to come with the pay that he could get, and a long engagement, he would be better off than if he were to remain in Berlin with a pension. He could easily lay up enough to equal his pension, and he would have a share of the pension fund belonging to the orchestra, which isn't much, but which is growing.

You ask what to do next, and I really don't know. I have just heard about Schneevoigt and have cabled for information about him, and I think I shall ask

¹⁸ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

¹⁹ Ibid.

you by cable to get such information.

I am inclined to think that Nikisch is our best man, and I am considering that question. I will write you more in a day or two.

Thank you very much for all your trouble.

Very truly yours,

H. L. Higginson²⁰

The process was becoming more complicated than either Higginson or Chadwick had imagined. Chadwick expressed his frustration with the uncertainty of the situation in his memoirs of March 23, 1906. "At twelve received a cable from Higginson 'Good. Is not Nikisch our best card?' Of course he is, but why does he put it up to me?" Cabled to H.H. for instruction."²¹ Despite Chadwick's feelings he continued on with the search for a conductor. In his memoirs of March 25, 1906 he described his attempt to see Nikisch and how once again negotiations were put on hold.

Tried to see Nikisch. Auch verweist! [also out of town] In fact, at this time, Nikisch was conducting in Berlin and Hamburg besides the Gewandhaus and the Opera in Leipzig. How he ever got the time to study anything is a mystery.²²

Higginson wrote a letter to Chadwick on March 26, 1906. He expressed his negative reactions to Muck's refusal and gave Chadwick further instructions for bargaining with Nikisch.

²⁰ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

My dear Mr. Chadwick:

I have another letter from you, for which I thank you. So our Berlin friend has fallen down after all his protestations about coming here, and after his having agreed to come without fail. His head is full of foolish ideas about the life here, and about the necessary cost of living.

You know how it is with musicians. They spend what they like, and many of them live in a very foolish way. . . .

I telegraphed you about Nikisch, and I shall send a despatch [*sic*] today asking you to see him and try to make a bargain with him. He knows the ground and knows what I require. If he wants to come, he will do so, and if he doesn't, we shall get along without him; although I don't know just what to do.

In any case, I fancy that secrecy about all these moves is best, and therefore I will ask you to maintain it. If Nikisch is engaged, I hope it will not become known for the present, and certainly I shall be glad if the terms are not known. As regards business, he will probably draw better than anybody, and if he chooses to do his best, it is the best that can be done. . . .²³

In his memoirs of March 28, 1906 Chadwick described his meeting with Nikisch and explained why he had reservations about accepting the position.

Had an interview with Nikisch. He would like to go to Boston but there are many difficulties. He remonstrates a present income of over \$20,000 with an assured pension in cash from the Gewandhus of 400000 [*sic*] marks whenever he is incapacitated from conducting. After all, what would he gain by going to Boston?

²³ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

“when I left Boston, I was poor like a mouse” he said. And what assurance [has] he that the B.S.O. will be permanent? To this, H.H. cabled in reply, “\$750,000 set aside in my will to endow the B.S.O.”

Cabled the whole story to H.H. They are beginning to be very obsequious to me at the Post where the telegraph office is.²⁴

Higginson’s personal financial commitment to the B.S.O. certainly showed his unwavering dedication to the institution. His commitment and persistence, however, did not convince Nikisch to change his mind.

In his memoirs of March 31, 1906 Chadwick expressed his exasperation. Chadwick had good reason to be annoyed. He was separated from his wife and children, his own goals and plans for his trip were put on hold, and the entire affair was becoming increasingly complicated and drawn out. Nevertheless, his dedication to the Boston Symphony Orchestra prompted him to continue with the conductor search.

Diary says D____! Another cable from H.H. says “do not understand his wishes; much depends on your help.” This keeps me here over Sunday, hence the ‘cuss’ word above. If I could only get “Pauline” (Nikisch’s cable name) to say something definite!²⁵

In his memoirs of April 1, 1906 Chadwick wrote: “Saw Nikisch again. He wants \$125,000 in cash, and I think I know what that may be for! Cabled to H.H.”²⁶ In his memoirs of April 3, 1906 Chadwick recorded the chain of events and expressed the fact that he thought Higginson was being unreasonable with his offer. Chadwick was the

²⁴ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

middleman and at this point did not feel much appreciated.

Cable from H.H. "Can not pay "Pauline" \$125,000. I went to see Nikisch at one o'clock; he finally came down to \$60,000, but not a cent less. Why should he?

Cabled to H.H. Left for Lausanne at 4.10 and mighty glad to get away; it was a thankless job. Changed at Halle and had a 1st class coupe to myself all the way to Basle.²⁷

Higginson found himself in a quandary when he kept meeting refusals from various conductor candidates; despite the confusing circumstances and uncertainty about the future he continued to look to Chadwick for help. In a letter dated April 4, 1906 Higginson expressed his continued dependence on him. Chadwick had a good deal of responsibility on his shoulders. The future of the Boston Symphony Orchestra was in his hands.

My dear Mr. Chadwick:

I have a long, interesting letter from you dated March 22nd. The Muck chapter is closed, and I fear from your last telegram that the Nikisch chapter is closed, at which I shall be surprised. . . .

Now as regards Mottl: - We asked Mottl last November, before anybody, if he would come here for 50,000 marks, with the usual work, which was laid out carefully before him. He answered that he could not reply until Christmas, and he wouldn't reply, notwithstanding we asked him again. There it was dropped, for we took up Muck, who said he would come. When Muck began to swing, I asked Mme. Ternina if she would speak to Mottl again (who is in Munich) and she

²⁷ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

replied that he wouldn't come. . . . Perhaps he would come, and perhaps he wouldn't. I am giving you the whole story of the case because we may still ask you to go and see him. If we don't take Mottl, I don't see just where to turn, and I shall have to ask you about it. . . .

If I have tired you out, you will say so, and I will send Ellis right out to Europe. If I could go myself and talk with you and Mrs. Chadwick, I think we could settle it; but I cannot very well go. In any case, I am greatly obliged to you for all the pains you have taken.

Either you have got Nikisch, and we shall hear of it today or tomorrow, or you haven't got him, and we will have to look further. . . .

I had some pleasant letters from my cousins today, who spoke of the pleasure of having seen you, and their security in the fact that you would find somebody who would fill the bill.

There are few musicians and artists whom I have found, in whom I can trust; the most of them seem to me a very shifty lot. . . . Very likely I may be writing you again this week . . .²⁸

In his memoirs of April 5, 1906 Chadwick wrote "H.H. cables 'Pauline' declines; go to Munich and see Mottl."²⁹

On April 9, 1906 Higginson wrote Chadwick another letter to inform him that since the conductor search had become so lengthy, his orchestra manager, Mr. Ellis, was on the way to Europe to help with the process. Although this may have given Chadwick some relief he would now have the added responsibility of communicating with Mr. Ellis

²⁸ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

²⁹ Ibid.

and interpreting for him. Higginson also suggested that Chadwick could still possibly settle the matter before Mr. Ellis came so he was by no means free of responsibility. Once again, Higginson emphasized the fact that he was in charge of the final decision.

My dear Mr. Chadwick:

. . . I do not understand the reply of the last man, nor his reasons for declining our offer. He is very skittish, and I am sure the best has been done. As the whole matter looks like dragging out its length until even you would be weary, Mr. Ellis is starting for Europe tomorrow, and will see you at once. . . .

I very much wish to go myself to see you and, with your aid, could settle the question more quickly than any other way, because after all the decision must rest with me, but the physician will not allow it. Perhaps before Ellis gets there something will have been settled. . . .

Once more, thank you for your labors past and future, and, with kindest regards to you and Mrs. Chadwick, I am,

Very truly yours,

H.L. Higginson³⁰

On April 16, 1906 Higginson wrote to Chadwick to inform him that Nikisch was still a possibility, but he certainly expressed some reservations about him, particularly in financial matters. He also went on to express reservations about a number of other musicians.

. . . Ellis telegraphed to Nikisch because he wished to see what could be done with him. I never believed anything could be accomplished, but we came pretty near

³⁰ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

it, or, at least, it looks as if we did. It is possible that that transaction may be taken up again with Nikisch, and, therefore, let me say that I should get his pension ensured here by somebody else than myself. It would be best, and perhaps the cheapest thing for me to do. The only thing impossible is paying any considerable sum down to Nikisch. He would lose it in a week or a month, and want some more, which I should be asked to produce.

I think you know everything that we know. Richter I asked but he doesn't wish to come because he is well placed and fears the sea voyage. Mahler and Weingartner I don't want because they are composers. I fancy Mahler is very difficult to get on with, and Weingartner apparently has no health. . . .

Ellis lands tonight at Cherbourg, and will be with you the next day, and then you will be going at it. . . .

I think we have taken in all there is to say about everybody.

Very truly yours,

H.L. Higginson³¹

In his memoirs of April 18, 1906 Chadwick wrote about the arrival of Ellis. Instead of finding relief from his duties because of the manager's arrival, Chadwick spent an entire day explaining matters to him and then traveled to Munich to serve as interpreter. "Charles Ellis came. Talked all day about B.S.O. matters. Have to go to Munich with him to do the talking; left at 6:20 and had a very uncomfortable and sleepless night. Arrived at 7 A.M." ³²

In his memoirs of April 19, 1906 Chadwick described a meeting with Mottl which

³¹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

³² Ibid.

resulted in even further extension of the conductor search: "Mottl telephoned that he would see us at 12:30; drove to Ternina's who was away. Mottl was pleased with the offer of 15,000 dollars and five years contract which Ellis offered him but Mottl wanted two weeks to consider it; made another appointment."³³

In his memoirs of April 20, 1906 Chadwick described the final process of the conductor search. Despite the fact that Mr. Ellis made the final negotiations with Dr. Muck, Chadwick did not feel that his own contributions were in vain. He expressed the fact that Higginson was appreciative and that despite personal sacrifice he did not regret his role in the conductor search.

. . . And so ended the travels of Aeneus [*sic*] in search of a conductor, as far as I was concerned, but Ellis did not get Mottl after all. He brought with him a list of German conductors, not one of them first class, who were to be considered as a last resort. Ellis interviewed some of them in Vienna . . . and perhaps in other places and eventually went back to Berlin and engaged Dr. Muck. It was said that it was negotiated through the Emperor, and that Muck was released by special permission. . . .

Mr. Higginson wrote me a very handsome letter acknowledging my services to him and has often mentioned it since. I never shall regret making myself useful to him, bore though it was, but until I see Naples, Capri, Sorrento and Southern Italy again, I shall deplore those lost days.³⁴

Apparently Chadwick's efforts were not in vain even though in the end he did not arrange the final bargain. On June 18, 1906 Higginson wrote Chadwick a letter

³³ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

³⁴ Ibid.

confirming the final details and he also acknowledged Chadwick's influence in obtaining Muck.

Dear Mr. Chadwick:

After all we've got your classmate Muck—as you now know Ellis's letter settling the matter has just come. We owe much to your kindness in telling him of the advantages of this town, thus tempting him. . . .³⁵

Higginson acknowledged the fact that the two men were able to communicate successfully in a letter dated December 29, 1906 and he also expressed his satisfaction with Dr. Muck, his recognition of the fact that Chadwick played an important role in obtaining him and pressed Chadwick to report his expenses for the conductor search.

My dear Mr. Chadwick:

. . . I am very glad to hear your opinion of Dr. Muck. He seems to me to be exactly what we want here. . . .

Meantime, I have never had the grace to ask you for an account of your expenses for my account while in Europe, nor to ask if I may be allowed to pay for your time which was spent in my work. You helped us much in getting Dr. Muck, for he could ask you questions perhaps that he could not ask Mr. Ellis or anybody else. . . .

You work for your living, as I do. Your expenses for me must be paid, and I shall accept your services as an act of friendship, or shall be equally pleased if you will let me make the time good to you. Whatever you decide will suit me.

³⁵ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

Very truly yours,

H.L. Higginson³⁶

Although Chadwick had mixed feelings about his role in the conductor search, he felt it was an important undertaking. In his memoirs of August 13, 1906 he described his feelings after returning home from sabbatical. No mention was made of charging Higginson for any expenses. Apparently Chadwick considered his errand running to be an act of friendship and a service to the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

. . . Thus ended our great pilgrimage. In many ways it was a disappointment but no amount of foresight could have prevented it under the circumstances.

Personally, I accomplished very little that I had hoped to do but as time goes on, I have grown to feel that it was not very important and we certainly did gather a fund of experiences which have been a joy to us ever since . . .

I shall never cease to regret the journey [sic] to southern Italy which we did not make, but I do not grudge the time that I devoted to Mr. Higginson's affairs.³⁷

Dr. Muck did, after all of the negotiations, come to the U.S. and accepted the position as conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and Chadwick was fully aware of the importance of his own role in the lengthy process.

The memoirs of Chadwick and the Higginson/Chadwick correspondence provide us with important information about the inner workings of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The information confirms that Henry Higginson was a powerful figure in connection with the orchestra, at least financially, but at the same time we learn that he was dependant on others to accomplish certain tasks. Chadwick's relationship with

³⁶ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

³⁷ Ibid.

Higginson was similar to his relationship with Theodore Thomas, because Chadwick found himself, once again, working in the practical side of the musical world. Rather than becoming involved in the artistic side of music, which Chadwick enjoyed immensely, he became involved with the practical task of negotiating and searching for a conductor. Although his errand running for Higginson may have seemed trivial at times, he actually played an important role in supporting the Boston Symphony Orchestra, opening up new relationships between the U.S. and Europe and furthering his own career. Both Higginson and Muck were highly supportive of Chadwick and were influential in programming his works in the future in Boston. This proved to be an important accomplishment for Chadwick since the preference for German music was so prevalent in the American musical scene at the time.

The memoirs and letters also show us that not only did Chadwick respect Henry Higginson as a man, he respected what he stood for. Both men were highly involved in educating the public, in bettering their own community and building the Boston Symphony Orchestra into the best musical institution possible. Chadwick's willingness to become involved in the conductor search showed not only his interest in his own career but also that of the musical community in Boston, one which played such an important role in the development of American music.

Chapter 3

CHADWICK'S USE OF SELECTIVE MODERNISMS IN "HOBGOBLIN" FROM *SYMPHONIC SKETCHES* AND "INTERMEZZO E HUMORESKE" FROM *SUITE SYMPHONIQUE*

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Claude-Achille Debussy's late nineteenth-century orchestral works were performed outside of France, not only in various countries in Europe but also in major cities in the U.S., where New York, and above all Boston, made an acquaintance with Debussy quite early. *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* was performed in Boston in 1902, *Nocturnes* in 1904, *La mer* in 1907, and in 1909 Mahler conducted *Ibéria* and *Rondes de printemps*. Views of Debussy's music fell in opposing camps; some critics believed he was a great innovator and others judged his works as monotonous and lacking in form. Some performances were received warmly by the public and others were muted.¹

During this period when Debussy's works were performed in Boston, Chadwick composed what were to become some of his most successful orchestral works: *Symphonic Sketches* and *Suite Symphonique*. Though Chadwick had been trained strictly in the German conservatory style and he was comfortable with European genres, he approached *Symphonic Sketches* and *Suite Symphonique* through an American sensibility.² In fact, recently scholars have credited Chadwick with creating an American symphonic style that departs from the German conservatory style, using movements from *Symphonic Sketches* in textbooks on American music to stake their claim.³

¹ Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001); s.v. "Debussy, (Achille-) Claude," Vol. VII, pp. 111-112.

² Richard Crawford, *An Introduction to America's Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), pp. 216-219.

³ See Richard Crawford, *An Introduction to America's Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), pp. 217-218 and Daniel Kingman, *American Music: A Panorama*, second concise edition (U.S.: Schirmer, 2003), pp. 348-350.

This chapter undertakes an examination of the sketches and scores of “Hobgoblin” from *Symphonic Sketches* (1902-1904) and “Intermezzo e Humoreske” from *Suite Symphonique* (1907-1909) revealing a variety of techniques that Chadwick used in his attempt to find a distinctive voice in American composition. At the same time, these movements, which are oddities to Chadwick’s style, tell us something about his reaction to the musical world around him in Boston, particularly when performances of Debussy’s works were occurring and drawing a great deal of attention.

Previously, scholars have analyzed these movements and pointed out Chadwick’s use of passages that reflect the language of impressionism associated with Debussy,⁴ yet close listening to recordings of these works and an examination of the scores, reveal that “Hobgoblin” and “Intermezzo e Humoreske” do not sound impressionistic overall. The titles for both movements and the descriptive line that Chadwick provided for “Hobgoblin” (that shrewd and knavish sprite called Robin Good-fellow) reveal his programmatic intent. In addition, the formal and harmonic plans of the movements are rooted in classicism, not impressionism. In fact, through information in the memoirs, this chapter reveals that Chadwick’s reaction to the performances of Debussy’s works in Boston were far from favorable. The question then remains; why did Chadwick make use of brief passages containing elements associated with impressionism in these movements? The answer lies in Chadwick’s attempt to find a solution to the dilemma that American composers faced at this time: how was it possible to develop a distinct voice in American composition when high art circles called for German, romantic sounding music?

⁴ See Bill F. Faucett *George Whitefield Chadwick: His Symphonic Works* (Landham, Md.: The Scarecrow Press, 1996), pp. 101-102 and p. 150.

In “Hobgoblin” and “Intermezzo e Humoreske,” Chadwick used what I term “selective modernisms” in order to carry out his goal for shaping a new sensibility in American composition. Instead of embracing all contemporary compositional practices completely, Chadwick drew upon them selectively for his own compositional purposes, using tone color, dramatic contrast, rhythmic variety, as well as humor and parody. When Chadwick selectively used elements associated with French compositional style, he took them out of their original context and placed them within a traditional framework that was still acceptable to the American public.

In “Hobgoblin” and “Intermezzo e Humoreske,” Chadwick also used selective modernisms that were not necessarily associated with the French style. Elements that undermined tonality, such as chromaticism, the whole-tone and pentatonic scales, and parallel voice leading, had been used by a number of modern masters. Chadwick, however, placed them carefully within his works in a manner that was not alienating to the public. He also made selective use of rhythmic techniques that had been used by contemporary composers. Chadwick employed changing meters, rhythmic ambiguity and complexity but cleverly combined them with elements that were recognizably American, such as a “cakewalk” and a patriotic tune that appealed to the public. With his combination of selective modernisms, traditional elements and innovative techniques, Chadwick was able to find a distinctive voice as a composer and planted the seeds for a new direction in American composition.

Before undertaking an examination of Chadwick’s techniques in the score and sketch of “Hobgoblin,” new information found in the donation of the Chadwick papers helps us better understand the development of the work and the growing acceptance of

Chadwick as a highly respected American composer.

Among the collection of score sketches contained in the recent donation to the New England Conservatory there is only one movement from *Symphonic Sketches*, the third movement entitled “Hobgoblin.” The other three movements were composed in 1895 and 1896, but apparently Chadwick had not been able to produce a satisfactory scherzo for the multi-movement work. He was appointed director of the New England Conservatory in 1897; his administrative duties did not allow much time for composition. In the summer, however, at his home in Martha’s Vineyard he conceived some of his most creative works, including “Hobgoblin.” Chadwick’s first entry in his memoirs of 1904 [no exact date indicated] gives us new information about the history of the work.

I had always intended to add a “Scherzo” mvt. to my Symphonic Sketches and had made a sketch of “Hobgoblin” some time before—probably about 1902. I got at the scoring of this piece at this time and worked at it steadily for a month or two. What a lot of time it takes to write things in a fast tempo! As [Horatio] Parker said about St. Christopher, the end of which is in 9/8 or 12/8 all 16th notes “after this I shall write only whole and half notes”!⁵

Chadwick typically worked quickly on the sketches for his symphonic works. The sketch of “Hobgoblin” clearly documents Chadwick’s progress. He began work on August 16, 1902 and finished it on August 22, 1902. The scoring and completion of the work, however, did not occur until two years later. Perhaps the addition of a long introduction and a coda in two parts added to the drawn-out compositional process of

⁵ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

“Hobgoblin,” but the end result was a movement that met with approval of the American public.⁶

In fact, Chadwick became involved with the Chickering Production concerts in Boston, which played an important role in the promotion of new music. A performance of *Symphonic Sketches* at Chickering Hall marked a turning point for Chadwick. The first pages of Chadwick’s memoirs of 1904 [the first and second page, no exact date indicated] give us new information about the success of *Symphonic Sketches* and its acceptance by the American public.

. . . Jordan Hall [at the NEC] drew away a good deal of business from Chickering Hall. To obviate this the Chickering firm gave B.J. Lang a certain sum of money with which to give orchestral concerts in Chickering Hall. He came to me with the scheme, wanted me to conduct some of the music, serve on a committee etc. The result was The Chickering Production concerts, but they might better have been named “novelty” concerts for most of the music had been unheard in Boston at that time. My contribution was The Symphonic Sketches, which although composed some ten years before [without “Hobgoblin”] and performed in several places, had never penetrated the German atmosphere of Symphony Hall. It caught on at once and some people asked why the piece had never been played at the Sym., which made Gericke [the conductor of the BSO at the time] pretty mad. In fact he took it as a personal affront that anybody should give concerts (and with his players too) of music which he had overlooked!⁷

⁶ Performances in November of 1904 at Chickering Hall, and Jordan Hall at the New England Conservatory were both warmly received according to Chadwick’ memoirs.

⁷ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

Choices in programming works for the Boston Symphony Orchestra during this period were made according to “high art” circles’ tastes, which leaned heavily in the direction of European classical works. With this particular performance of Chadwick’s orchestral work, the public experienced music as an extract from the American experience rather than as an importation from Europe. Not only did the American public think the work was worthy of notice, the German conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra was embarrassed that he had not programmed it himself.

Chadwick’s memoirs of November 1904 reveal that at the time of his fiftieth birthday he was at the height of his powers as a composer. The memoirs also give us new information about the history and promotion of “Hobgoblin” due to a concert, put on by officers of the Conservatory, to celebrate his birthday.

... Now my fiftieth birthday was drawing near. Our school officers especially Mr. Jordan and Mr. Estabrook proposed that I should celebrate it by a concert of my own compositions, some new and some others and offered to guarantee the expenses if I would give it. As I now had several things that had not been heard in Boston as well as some that had only been performed once I was particularly glad to undertake this job.⁸

Chadwick’s birthday celebration concert was further enhanced by the inclusion of Boston Symphony Orchestra members. His association with this institution certainly played an important role in the promotion of his orchestral music.

... On account of the N.Y. trip of the Boston Symphony Orchestra it was not possible to give the concert on my actual birthday anniversary but it was pulled

⁸ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

off on the 21st Nov. with an orchestra of sixty, which for once included all the first wind players and most of the good strings of the B.S.O.—A better outfit in fact than I ever had at Worcester. I had two good rehearsals and the men seemed to take a good deal of interest in the show.⁹

Chadwick's memoirs from November 1904 give us new information about the performance of *Symphonic Sketches* in its final design of movements; Chadwick laid out the program and we learn that "Hobgoblin" (the third movement) and "Jubilee" (the first movement) were performed for the first time. Movements from other works had been inserted in previous performances of *Symphonic Sketches*, but at the November 21st performance all four movements in its completed order were presented for the first time. In his memoirs of 1904 Chadwick wrote:

Symphonic Sketches

Jubilee

Noel

Hobgoblin

A Vagrom Ballad

First performance of Jubilee and Hobgoblin¹⁰

From the information in the November memoirs we also learn that critics who attended the concert played an important role in promoting Chadwick's works; in this case, they wrote favorable accounts of Chadwick's accomplishments both past and present, reflecting a new respect for Chadwick as a composer.

. . . The tickets were subscribed for. The floor was well filled and the best

⁹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory.

¹⁰ Ibid.

musical folks were all there. The students filled the gallery. . . . The critics considered themselves my invited guests, rather than in their professional capacity and wrote with much friendliness and in quite an interesting musical way about what I had accomplished since Rip Van Winkle. And more than one of them hinted that it was no credit to Boston that these works had waited so long for a hearing.¹¹

The faculty and staff at the New England Conservatory held Chadwick in high regard; on his 50th birthday, November 13, 1904, they gave Chadwick a variety of gifts and expressed their appreciation. Chadwick's memoirs of November 1904 tell us about the show of support for their director.

. . . On my birthday (13th) I rehearsed the orchestra in the morning. At 12 I was told that I was wanted in Recital Hall. I found the Faculty assembled there and they proceeded to present with a beautiful silver punch bowl and ladle for which the orchestra had contributed. Mr. Elson made a most affectionate and moving speech which quite broke me up. . . . I could not help feeling that all this was pretty genuine and that they were glad of the opportunity to show their affection and regard for me.¹²

Chadwick not only enjoyed a great deal of support from the Conservatory and the public at this time in his life, he had also reached a point where he truly believed he was producing his best musical works. His memoirs of November 1904 give us information about his gratitude for all of the support and his outlook on his life and accomplishments at the time.

¹¹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

¹² Ibid.

... It certainly did a good deal to reconcile me to the loss of my youth which after all is not a matter of years. It certainly seemed as though I was doing the best work of my life and doing it easier than I ever had.¹³

Chadwick's assessment of his compositions of the period was not off track. Indeed, *Symphonic Sketches* was to become his most successful and most performed orchestral work.

An examination of the introduction to "Hobgoblin" illustrates a departure from the heavy, German conservatory style; the lean texture and the limited instrumentation reinforce the light character of the movement. Although Chadwick used a full woodwind section, including the piccolo and bass clarinet, the brass section contains only horns and trumpets. The trumpet is used very sparingly, most likely because of its bright tone color. The percussion section in this movement consists of only timpani and a single triangle. Chadwick did use a full string section, including a harp, yet often the strings are used as background material and the woodwinds or the French horn are highlighted. In the opening of the introduction, a grouping of instruments similar to chamber music is used instead of a heavy full orchestra. The horn begins as a soloist with no accompaniment. When the winds enter, only the flutes and clarinets are used. The triangle is the only percussion instrument in the opening and is used sparingly for color. The first violins are the only group that plays any continuous material and the second violins and viola are used sparingly with only a few pizzicato notes and many rests. Most instruments are given bits of motivic material to play and the woodwinds and strings engage in a hocket-like exchange. The transparent texture, subtle nuances, and understatement reinforce the

¹³ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

constantly changing, mosaic-like points of color and effectively portray the *Scherzo Capriccioso* marking at the top of the opening page. See Example 1.

Example 1: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 1-9.¹⁴

III.

Hobgoblin.
Scherzo Capriccioso.

The musical score is for the third movement, 'Hobgoblin', from George Whitefield Chadwick's *Symphonic Sketches*. It is marked 'Scherzo Capriccioso' and 'Allegro vivace. (d=112)'. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Flauti, Piccolo, Oboi, Clarinetti in Si b, Clarinetto basso in Si b, Fagotti, Corni in Fa, Trombe in Si b, Timpani in Fa-Do-Sol, Triangolo, Arpa, Violini II, Violini III, Viola, Violoncelli, and Bassi. The score shows the beginning of the piece with various instrumental entries and dynamics like p, pp, and piz.

¹⁴ All excerpts from the full score of "Hobgoblin" are from: George Whitefield Chadwick, *Symphonic Sketches* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1907).

The sketch of the introduction shows Chadwick's interest in color with his choice of the opening horn solo, the fluctuation of colorful motivic material among different instruments, and the effective use of rests. Although mm. 5-8 do not have specific instrument indications, the pitches and octaves in the sketch clearly match those of the final score. See Example 2.

Example 2: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 1-8.¹⁵



An examination of the full score reveals a brief transitional passage in the exposition that contains harmonic, melodic and scoring elements that resemble Impressionism. The strings quietly tremolo or pizzicato in the background and the winds, brass and percussion have minimal material. The harp, however, moves in an undulating, wave like motion through the use of arpeggiated half-diminished seventh chords and dynamic markings that cause it to stand out from the rest of the orchestra. Vagueness and ambiguity are achieved because of the themeless nature of the passage but also because the half-diminished seventh chords do not resolve traditionally but are placed parallel to each other. After this atmospheric area of musical stasis, there is chromatic movement,

¹⁵ All excerpts from the score sketch of "Hobgoblin" are from: The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

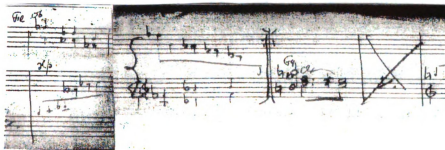
and the last arpeggiated half-diminished chord does finally resolve to a C major chord. Harmonic resolution, however, is delayed considerably. See Example 3.

Example 3: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 165-176.

The image displays a musical score for a section of "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, measures 165 through 176. The score is written for a large ensemble, including woodwinds, brass, strings, and piano. The notation is complex, featuring many accidentals, ties, and dynamic markings. The piano part is particularly prominent, with large arpeggiated chords and a melodic line that spans several measures. The overall texture is dense and dramatic, characteristic of the piece's "Hobgoblin" character.

The transitional passage in the sketch shows that Chadwick had the idea of using selective elements of impressionism in mind prior to compiling the full score. The harp is clearly indicated, and the parallel, unresolved half-diminished chords are evident. See Example 4:

Example 4: “Hobgoblin” from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 165-176.



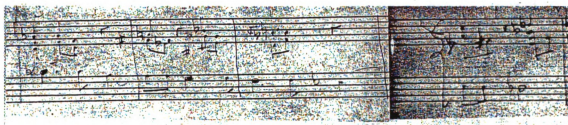
Chadwick’s use of the whole-tone scale, the pentatonic scale and also modal scales reflect an exotic flavor often associated with impressionism. In the full score, soon after the transitional passage with the harp, there is a whole-tone scale used in the bass line played by the string basses and the cellos. The ascending chromatic scale in the higher instruments that moves in contrary motion to the descending whole-tone scale adds to the undermining of tonality. See Example 5.

Example 5: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 185-188.

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes staves for Flute 1 (marked 12), Flute 2 (marked 10), Oboe (marked 12), and Bassoon (marked 12). The second system includes staves for Clarinet (marked 12), Bassoon (marked 12), and Piano. The score is in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked 'moderato'. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p cresc.* and *cresc. molto*. The piano part is marked *f cresc. molto*. The score is written in a standard musical notation style with various musical symbols and clefs.

As with much of Chadwick's material, the whole-tone scale is clearly apparent in the sketch, therefore Chadwick's use of this technique to create a weakening of tonality was part of his plan before he orchestrated the entire movement. See Example 6.

Example 6: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 185-188.



At the end of the movement, in the last part of the coda, Chadwick makes use of the pentatonic scale. He uses the descending scale in the strings to effectively close the movement by arriving at the tonic note of the key of the movement, F major. See

Example 7.

Example 7: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 494-499.



A comparison of the sketch and score of “Hobgoblin” illustrates Chadwick’s use of rhythmic ambiguity. In the full score, prior to the previously mentioned section where the harp is emphasized, there is an ambiguous rhythmic section. Although Chadwick makes use of hemiola frequently throughout the movement, in these four measures the rhythmic complexity is most apparent. Every instrument in the score participates in a four-measure phrase that throws off the rhythmic pulse and sense of bar line. Following the four-measure phrase, Chadwick departs from the conventional, balanced method of phrase structure and uses a two measure phrase to set up the vague, themeless section with the harp. See Example 8.

Example 8: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 159-167.

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system consists of five staves: four for the upper strings (Violins I, Violins II, Violas, and Violas/Celli) and one for the lower strings (Double Basses). The second system consists of three staves: Violins I, Violins II, and Double Basses. The third system consists of four staves: Violins I, Violins II, Violas/Celli, and Double Basses. The score includes various dynamic markings: *ff* (fortissimo), *dim.* (diminuendo), *p* (piano), and *pp* (pianissimo). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is 4/4. The score features a variety of musical notations, including eighth notes, quarter notes, and half notes, as well as rests and slurs. A double bar line with a repeat sign is present at the end of the second system.

Another area of rhythmic ambiguity in “Hobgoblin” is in the development section. The meter has been in 3/4 all along and suddenly in the clarinet part only, the meter changes to 4/4 for four measures and then returns to 3/4 once again, creating a sense of fluctuating meter and syncopation. See Example 9.

Example 9: “Hobgoblin” from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 277-286.

The musical score for Example 9, "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, measures 277-286, is presented in three systems. The score is written for a full orchestra and includes a vocal line. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 277-286) shows a change in meter for the clarinet part. The second system (measures 287-296) continues the development. The third system (measures 297-306) shows the return to 3/4 meter. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte).

The meter changes are clearly marked in the sketch, so once again Chadwick had unconventional techniques in mind before undertaking the full scoring of the movement. See Example 10.

Example 10: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 281-285.



Another meter change occurs in the coda. The meter prior to the last eight bars of the movement is 3/4, but Chadwick changes to 2/4 for the last eight bars. See Ex. 11.

Example 11: "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 490-499.

The musical score for "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, measures 490-499, is presented in two systems. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor). The time signature changes from 3/4 to 2/4 at measure 495. The score is written for a full orchestra, including strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion (piano and triangle). The piano part is marked with 'ff' (fortissimo) and 'p' (piano). The triangle part is marked with 'ff' and 'p'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Another interesting rhythmic technique that Chadwick uses in “Hobgoblin” is his placement of entire measures of rest. In the coda, prior to the meter change from triple to duple, Chadwick uses two grand pauses. Chadwick is known for his sense of humor and in this passage he is apparently trying to fool the listener. It sounds as if the movement is coming to a close but then he inserts another grand pause and then proceeds with a flourish to the meter change in the last eight bars. Perhaps Chadwick is trying to convey the capricious nature of the Hobgoblin one last time through his surprising techniques and unexpected meter changes. See Example 12.

Example 12: “Hobgoblin” from *Symphonic Sketches*, mm. 486-499.

The musical score for "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches*, measures 486-499, is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 486-499) shows a complex orchestral texture with multiple staves for strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion. The score includes grand pauses (G.P.) and a meter change from triple to duple. The second system (measures 500-509) continues the orchestral texture, featuring a flourish and further meter changes. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Although “Hobgoblin” does embrace traditional formal and harmonic schemes for the most part,¹⁶ it illustrates Chadwick’s departure from total adherence to the German conservatory style through the “selective modernisms” of light texture, descriptive tone color, dramatic contrast, and humor. Another movement that demonstrates similar characteristics is found in Chadwick’s *Suite Symphonique*.

An examination of the recently donated score sketch and the full score of “Intermezzo e Humoreske,” the third movement of *Suite Symphonique* (1909) reveals that it also departs from the heavy, German conservatory style and engages in French modernisms like “Hobgoblin” from *Symphonic Sketches*. Both movements contain colorful orchestration, light textures, and impressionistic passages containing non-functional harmonies used in parallel fashion, a liberal use of the whole-tone scale, orchestration that emphasizes understatement and subtle nuance, and unusual meters and meter changes. Despite the similarities between the two movements, there are some noticeable differences.

In “Intermezzo e Humoreske” Chadwick engaged in new techniques by inserting elements from American popular music such as a cakewalk, a quote from a popular, patriotic American song, and a musical parody of Debussy that is indicated in the score. These techniques, along with French modernisms, have previously been discussed by scholars such as Steve Ledbetter, Bill Faucett, and Victor Fell Yellin. Ledbetter describes Chadwick’s use of parody as a “lighthearted parody of the most recent trends.”¹⁷ Bill Faucett claims that the movement “displays Chadwick’s adeptness at composing in the

¹⁶ See Bill Faucett’s analysis of “Hobgoblin” in: Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick His Symphonic Works* (Landham, Md.: The Scarecrow Press, 1996), pp. 99-103.

¹⁷ José Serebrier, dir., *Suite Symphonique* by George Whitefield Chadwick, Czech State Philharmonic, RR-74CD.

impressionistic style, although it is not clear whether this parody should be understood as complimentary or comical.”¹⁸ In Victor Fell Yellin’s discussion of the work he claims that “Chadwick takes some liberties, recognized by contemporary commentators, that indicate he wished to show his audiences he knew a thing or two about modernisms or, at least, that he did not entirely depend upon the Leipzig crowd for his inspiration.”¹⁹ These contributions to Chadwick scholarship have been valuable, but at the same time they raise some probing questions. What was the motivation behind Chadwick’s use of the Debussy parody? Was Chadwick just using his characteristic brand of humor or were there larger issues that came into play? Was Chadwick truly appreciative of French impressionistic music since he had not totally embraced it? Was he possibly just trying to prove that he could write effectively in the style?

The papers in the recently donated “Chadwick” collection indicate that Chadwick was creating a new American style that included a variety of influences, yet he was in a paradoxical position as an American orchestral composer. In forging his own style, he was limited by the constraints of the society within which he was immersed. Chadwick was under pressure to write music that people wanted to play and perform, such as German, romantic sounding music. Chadwick, however, was not interested in just imitating the German style. He was experimental and tried to forge his own style with an emphasis on color, humor and innovative orchestration yet if he strayed too far away from tradition, his works would have been rejected. Then again, if Chadwick did not delve into more recent techniques such as French impressionism he might have been

¹⁸ Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick His Symphonic Works* (Lanham, Md.: The Scarecrow Press, 1996), p. 150.

¹⁹ Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick Yankee Composer* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), p.128.

criticized for being a composer who was behind the times. Nicholas E. Tawa described the dilemma that American composers faced regarding the use of modernism in composition in the early twentieth century: “first, while none succumbed completely to any of its manifestations, all were influenced by the fresh modes of expression it made available, some slightly, others to a greater extent. Second, because these musicians refused to embrace fully its artistic precepts, they underwent sustained attack from critics in the several up-to-date camps.”²⁰ Chadwick was forced to selectively adopt different approaches, from the past and the present, within the confines of societal expectations, in order to appear as not “too conservative” and not “too modern.”

Chadwick’s memoirs reveal his dislike for Debussy’s music and enable us to better understand the motivation behind the Debussy parody in “Intermezzo e Humoreske” and the brief impressionistic passages in “Hobgoblin.” On various occasions, Chadwick had the opportunity to hear performances of Debussy’s orchestral works. Chadwick did not hold impressionistic compositional techniques in high regard, despite the fact that he used them quite effectively in his own orchestral works.

In his memoirs of April 1906, Chadwick made a list of some orchestral works, which he called “novelties” that were performed during the Boston Symphony Orchestra season; in addition to this list of works, Chadwick made some observations about certain pieces and composers, including Debussy. He wrote: “Debussy, ‘The Sea,’ a distinct falling off from ‘Une Apres midi d’une Faun.’ [sic] I could not find much salt in it.”²¹ This remark, although humorous, was quite abrasive, especially when an account of

²⁰ Nicholas E. Tawa, *Mainstream Music of Early Twentieth Century America* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1992), p. 7.

²¹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music

Chadwick's negative reaction to a performance of Debussy's *Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun* is taken into account. In a scrapbook from 1904 [no specific date given]

Chadwick wrote:

Afternoon of a Faun

. . . for us poor unimaginative cusses with good health and tolerably clean skins and hearts, and normal appetites and desires, this savors of perversion or at least of a tendency in that direction. But what else is to be expected of a modern French man!²²

Although Chadwick was critical of Debussy, he demonstrated curiosity about his works and a desire to keep abreast of current trends in composition. Prior to attending a performance of *Pelleas and Melisande*, Chadwick took the time to study the score quite thoroughly. In Chadwick's memoirs of April, 1909 he wrote:

. . . Having spent considerable time during the past week in playing the score, analyzing the harmony and reading the libretto, I did not expect to be much surprised by the actual musical effect in the performance. . . . What did we get? A succession of dialogues . . . accompanied by music, while being suggestive and often beautiful as mere sound, so monotonous, that leaving its intrinsic general ugliness out of the question, from its own standpoint, it is distinctly incompetent.²³

In his memoirs, of April 7, 1909 Chadwick specifically explained why he found the music to be inadequate; the opera's lack of development, its deficient rhythmic aspects, the melody's lack of diatonicism and the orchestration's lack of variety in color

²² The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

²³ Ibid.

were especially offensive to Chadwick, since these techniques were so in opposition with his own works. He claimed this to be true not only of Debussy but also other current French composers.

This music is made on a system and one very easy to reduce to recipes, so easy, in fact, that the most of the young Frenchmen have already found it out and are working it for all it is worth; and it is a system that is not capable of great development, even with utmost complacency of the hearing ear, to say nothing of the understanding heart. . . . and so these melodies? with all the diatonic semi-tones obliterated and the harmony developed from the whole-tone scale, sound older and more threadbare than the commonest conventions of Mozart and Hayden [*sic*] long before the Opera is half finished. Another blemish and possibly the worst of all, is the poverty of rhythmical invention. Pages and pages of repetition of inconsequential two-measure phrases, transpositions, upward and downward by major and minor thirds, and only in a few places, evidence of real dramatic power, either in the sustaining of a mood or in the building of climaxes. Add to this an instrumentation also very monotonous in color; for this too is made on a system, the system which avoids all normal orchestral tone, but without which there can be no contrast of color; . . .²⁴

Chadwick's own orchestral works placed a strong emphasis on variety of color and innovative orchestration, and in Chadwick's mind, Debussy's music was in direct opposition to this. What he couldn't tolerate was music that, in his opinion, seemed tedious and lifeless. He was, however, certainly not against experimentation and fresh

²⁴ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

techniques. He was well aware of modern composers' techniques. In fact, in his memoirs of April 1909 Chadwick paid his respects to Wagner and Strauss.

. . . for even Wagner and Strauss often write long passages, of sustained, real and normal part-writing for the orchestra, and without failing to give their individual touch too, but such passages are seldom found in Debussy.²⁵

In his memoirs of April 1909, Chadwick, with his typical sense of humor, went so far as to say that Debussy's orchestration was not innovative.

After all, we are pretty well "manured" (as the farmer said) to stopped horns and trumpets, violas and basses "up in the attic" and clarinets "in the cellar". There has been nothing new about these things for quite a while and therefore, the Debussy orchestration to me, at least, was rather monotonous.²⁶

Chadwick was familiar with the principles of impressionism and its connection with creating an atmosphere, and he was also well aware of the effective, dramatic elements of opera, since he had composed both comic and serious operas himself. In his memoirs of April 1909 he acknowledged the appropriateness of creating atmosphere in music but at the same time he explained why he believed that Debussy had failed to create an effective work. Its atmosphere of illusion detracted from the drama of the work.

But let us admit that for the sake of argument, that the generally recognized principals [*sic*] and material of a work of music Art may be entirely dispensed with, and yet on account of inherent poetic expressiveness and suggestiveness, the result may be logical, complete, even epoch-making. Natural melody, sonorous

²⁵ The Archives at the New England Conservatory.

²⁶ Ibid.

orchestration, nobility of expression, well proportioned development thematically, significant harmonization without absolute cacophony and above all, the adaptation of the musical material to the characters and action of the play—all of these things may be absent, if only an atmosphere is created, an illusion of the reality of the dramatic motive. It is her[e], and just here that, to me, that Debussy has failed. His figures are puppets, perverted ones to be sure, but still puppets and not so very far removed from the wax “figgers” of the Italian opera. Real passion there is none . . .²⁷

In his memoirs of April 1909 Chadwick continued his criticism of Debussy and discussed opera composers who effectively made use of atmosphere; Chadwick was very familiar with these operas as well since he had studied their scores in the past.

. . . Now all this impression might, and probably would have been different if I had not looked at the book before the performance! But Wagner can stand that test and so can Verdi, to say nothing of Mozart! Atmosphere indeed! If this stuff is atmosphere, how about the second act of “Tristan” or the Nile scene in “Aida” or even the dawn in the last act of “Tosca”?²⁸

The acts and scenes from these operas contained emotional intensity, tension, harmonic drive and a heightened dramatic effect, and Chadwick believed that these components were necessary in order to create an effective atmosphere, one that clarified the story. In his memoirs of April 1909, Chadwick concluded his remarks about Debussy by accusing him of being insincere, certainly not a composer whom he revered.

Well, what next? Another work on these lines would be a mere repetition—sure to


²⁷ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

²⁸ Ibid.

be an anticlimax. On any other lines, he confesses to his own insincerity. Up to you Claude!²⁹

The information in Chadwick's memoirs reveals that although he recognized Debussy's influential position as a composer, Chadwick did not embrace his style of composing. Chadwick had used Debussy's techniques effectively in "Hobgoblin" but only in brief passages with an emphasis on description, contrast and color, rather than giving importance to lengthy passages of illusion. Since Chadwick did not hold Debussy in high regard, it becomes clear that his parody and use of impressionism in "Intermezzo e Humoreske," from *Suite Symphonique* was not an act of homage to the French composer but instead it was a clever and humorous way to make fun of the French style. In addition, this work shows that Chadwick was not just an imitator of the German romantic style. Instead, with a blend of his characteristic sense of humor, a traditional framework, and selective modernisms he composed a fresh, finely crafted orchestral work.

In his memoirs of 1909 [no exact date given], Chadwick made note of the progress of *Suite Symphonique*, and he was clearly pleased with the originality of the trio.

. . . and last of all was the trio of the scherzo- -that renegade ditty for the basses, which I hope has quite a little of  WICK in it whether the rest of it has or not.³⁰

In "Intermezzo e Humoreske" from *Suite Symphonique* Chadwick made use of classical elements such as ternary form and standard tonal structures for the most part but

²⁹ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

³⁰ The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music. The tiny score signature is a copy of Chadwick's actual writing on the memoir page.

in the trio Chadwick cleverly asserted his own unique voice as a composer most effectively. The opening of the trio demonstrates several modern techniques. Chadwick used the unusual meter of 5/4, in a 3 + 2, arrangement. The non-conventional meter, the accents on the offbeat, the use of ornamentation and the hocket-like scoring created a jagged asymmetrical motion. In addition, this opening is recognized as a “cakewalk,” a dance form derived from American vernacular music. In the opening of the trio, Chadwick also demonstrated his penchant for colorful and innovative orchestration. He placed an emphasis on the lower strings and woodwinds by giving them the melody. He also achieved varied and interesting colors through the upper strings’ use of pizzicato, the addition of the harp, and an emphasis on percussion instruments such as the xylophone, triangle, cymbals and timpani, which are highlighted in a lean texture. See Example 13.

Chadwick departed from standard tonal schemes in a passage that leads to the following Debussy parody through the use of the chromatic scale, augmented chords and the whole-tone scale. See Example 14.

Example 14: "Intermezzo e Humoreske" from *Suite Symphonique*, mm. 156-161.

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Intermezzo e Humoreske" from the *Suite Symphonique*, specifically measures 156 through 161. The score is written for a full orchestra, with staves for various instruments including woodwinds, brass, and strings. The notation is complex, featuring a variety of note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f*, *dim.*, *pp*, and *rit.*. The score is arranged in a multi-system format, with measures 156-161 clearly indicated. The bottom left corner of the page contains the publisher's information: "A. P. S. 9376".

In the passage marked *parodierend* in the score, Chadwick used a variety of French modernist techniques such as the whole-tone scale, non-functional harmonies, a sense of stasis, the sweeping motion of the harp, diverse rhythmic layers, and understated dynamics through dynamic markings, mutes and directions such as “sul ponticello.” See Example 15

Example 15: “Intermezzo e Humoreske” from *Suite Symphonique*, mm. 184-189.

(*parodierend*)
un poco meno mosso

A.R.S. 9576

pp

K

Example 16 “Intermezzo e Humoreske” from *Suite Symphonique*, mm. 196-201.

A. B. E. 2020

In the score sketch Chadwick clearly marked his use of “Yankee Doodle” in quotation marks. See Example 17.

Example 17: “Intermezzo e Humoreske” from *Suite Symphonique*.³²



This study of “Hobgoblin” and “Intermezzo e Humoreske,” along with the information in Chadwick’s memoirs helps us understand Chadwick’s motive behind his use of brief impressionistic passages. Through his use of selective modernisms and his wonderfully developed sense of humor, Chadwick turned a negative reaction to Debussy into two clever and amusing parodies that not only departed from the German conservatory style but also planted the seeds for a new direction in American composition. Although Chadwick was very critical of Debussy in the first decade of the twentieth century, he conveyed a more open mind by the 1920s.

Chadwick shouldered a responsibility to keep his students up to date with trends in composition; in 1922, he added an appendix to the fiftieth edition of his harmony textbook³³ and addressed the development of harmony in modern works.

³² George Whitefield Chadwick, “Intermezzo e Humoreske,” from *Suite Symphonique*, The Archives at the New England Conservatory of Music.

³³ George Whitefield Chadwick, *Harmony: A Course of Study* (Boston: The B.F. Wood Music Co., 1922), pp. 237-260.

Since the publication of this book in 1897, much ‘water has flowed under the bridge.’ Among modern composers a growing impatience with the restrictions, conventions, and well-worn chord progressions of the past has led to developments in musical composition which are little short of revolutionary, and there are few living composers, whether French, German, Italian, English or American, who have not been affected by them.³⁴

In the textbook, Chadwick addressed techniques such as polyharmony, the free progression of unrelated triads and seventh chords, the use of the whole-tone scale as a harmonic basis, and the liberal use of enharmonic equivalents. He also provided illustrations and exercises for the student.

Although Chadwick showed contempt for Debussy, upon hearing performances of his orchestral works for the first time in the early twentieth century, the addition of the appendix in his *Harmony* textbook in 1922 reveals that Chadwick’s views of Debussy had softened over the years, despite the fact that his admission was reluctant.

As a mentor to a younger generation, Chadwick did not discourage experimentation or innovative techniques. He encouraged examination of modern masterworks and his own orchestral works such as *Symphonic Sketches* and *Suite Symphonique* must have served as inspiration for younger composers who desired to venture on a new path.

³⁴ George Whitefield Chadwick, *Harmony: A Course of Study* (Boston: The B.F. Wood Music Co., 1922), p. 237.

CONCLUSION

Although Chadwick was considered a prominent and influential composer during the first part of his career, the outbreak of WWI brought anti-German sentiments to the U.S., even in connection with concert music. A new breed of American composers, who studied with Nadia Boulanger, emerged from Paris. They were opposed to Chadwick's style because it was viewed as conservative. Nicholas E. Tawa discussed the consequences of Chadwick's and other composers' refusal to fully embrace modernism. "The result would be the eventual elimination of their works from serious consideration as musical literature worthy of interest. The avant-gardists would consider them irrelevant to the new American society . . ."¹ Therefore, Chadwick's name has been relegated to brief mention in textbooks.

Although there has recently been a gradual emergence of Chadwick scholarship, this dissertation's examination of new primary sources gives us a more detailed look at Chadwick's activities as a composer and advocate for American music. The new sources reveal that Chadwick's versatility, in a variety of roles as a musician, enabled him to make more significant contributions to American orchestral music than previously thought. In his role as conductor he was able to promote classical music by programming European masterworks alongside American works. In his role as composer he contributed high quality orchestral works that had been commissioned for American festivals. In his role as negotiator for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Chadwick enhanced communication between Europe and the U.S. and contributed significantly to the growth of the American symphony orchestra. Chadwick's early twentieth-century

¹ Nicholas E. Tawa, *Mainstream Music of Early Twentieth Century America* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1992), p.7.

orchestral compositions departed from the German conservatory style and laid a foundation for shaping new trends in composition in the U.S.

Through an examination of Chadwick's relationship with the conductor, Theodore Thomas, new information has been uncovered not only about the development and promotion of Chadwick's career as an orchestral composer but also of performance issues in America. A study of the relationship between Chadwick and Thomas has given an inside look at what the musical experience was like in America during the developmental stages of the American symphony orchestra.

A study of the relationship between Chadwick and the musical philanthropist, Henry Higginson, has shown that Chadwick's European training, his influential position as director of the New England Conservatory, his acquaintances with European musicians and his ability to communicate all allowed him to bring the U.S. and Europe together in matters connected with the American symphony orchestra. The Chadwick/Higginson correspondence has also revealed discrete moments in American musical history that give a better understanding of the history and the development of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

An examination of Chadwick's memoirs and the sketches and full scores of "Hobgoblin" from *Symphonic Sketches* and "Intermezzo e Humoreske" from *Suite Symphonique* has also allowed us to see how Chadwick departed from the German conservatory style. He made use of selective modernisms so that he could combine them with traditional principles, elements of American vernacular and innovative orchestration in order to show not only that he was aware of modern trends but that he had found the solution for the dilemma that American composers faced. He was able to find acceptance

among a society that was not often cordial to its own composers.

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