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February, 1946

THIS ISSUE IS Dedicated To the 1945 Musicological Research Competition

WINNER

LOIS VON HAUPT
Tau Alpha
As part of her award Lois was made an honorary associate member of the American Musicological Society for the current year.

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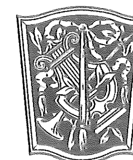
VOLUME 40  NUMBER 2

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The above are excerpts from four of the Theses entered in the 1945 Competition. The fifth Thesis was not condensed for publication.

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Audrey Landquist

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June Tienken Magoon

June Tienken Magoon—We regret June has sent us no picture. She was graduated from Wellesley College and received her Master's from the University of Michigan. She was initiated into Gamma chapter and is now a member "at large" in Washington, D. C. Her thesis is an interesting exposition of a little known period of music in England.

JAZZ

An Historical and Analytical Study

Lois von Haupt, *Tau Alpha*

Winner of the 1945 N.A.A. Research Award

INTRODUCTION

△ In the short span of two or three decades, jazz has spread its musical idiom around the world. Although writers on the subject both praise and condemn it, none deny that the territorial extent of influence is one of the greatest in the history of music.

The purpose of this thesis is a search for the essential nature of jazz which can account for its breadth of appeal. Such a search must deal with more than theoretic analysis of a musical idiom. History must be drawn upon to reveal the reasons for its structure since time, purpose, and development are factors of its expression. Thus in observing how jazz grew lies the possibility of understanding also, why it grew. Purpose and design, spirit and form are inseparable constituents of all music. None can be overlooked in a quest for musical evaluation.

A study of jazz, both historical and analytical, copes with difficulties from the start. There is, to begin with, no jazz which is written exactly as it is performed, and furthermore there is very little in the nature of written transcriptions of improvised jazz to be found. Accordingly, phonograph records and personal notes from "jam sessions" must be the main sources of material. A second difficulty lies in the selection of recordings. Here is found no agreement either among performers or writers on the subject as to what is jazz and what is not. There is disagreement not only in definition, but as consideration turns to appraisal, technical analysis gives way to various personal preferences.

Under these circumstances, it seems expedient that an attempt be made to clear away some of the confusions surrounding the evaluation of jazz before considering the analysis of its musical idiom. The following questions cover the basis from which most of the controversies arise. *First,* can serious importance be attributed to a music created impulsively, without deliberate construction? *Second,* how can jazz be studied or appraised since it has no literature in terms of composition, and no tradition in terms of outstanding composers? *Third,* how can jazz be compared with European music since jazz has no structural sophistication, no harmonic development, no thematic configuration? Its form appears to be that of theme and variation, or no form at all.

The trend of thought, which suggests such questions as these, displays the main factor of misconception of the aesthetics of jazz. This mis-

understanding lies in judging jazz by the same standards as those developed by Western music. That this procedure is faulty, may be seen by recalling any other style of music. Arabian music, for example, with its unfamiliar scales and qualities of sound, demands recognition based upon its own standards of excellence. Jazz, likewise, evaluates itself by other than European ideals of art. Critical judgment must find, therefore, a new set of measurements identified with an understanding of jazz in relation to its own purpose. When these new standards are early set up, perhaps then, a relationship will reappear in its correct perspective between the European standards of critical judgment and those of jazz. On the other hand, it may be found that no esthetic basis whatever, can be established for comparative relationship any more than between the beauty of a cathedral and that of a modern refrigerator.

The second question referring to the absence in jazz of development in terms of written composition leads directly to a problem which will be considered in this thesis in spite of lack of notated music. The history and evolution of jazz is not lost. It can be established to a great extent through the aid of phonograph recordings and through cognate sources such as literature, anthropology, sociology, and economics. From this synthetic picture, a study may be made of the evolution of jazz from primitive tribal expression to present manifestations. The course of its progress in its divergence from European music will clarify not only the technical aspects of its musical idiom, but also the purpose and meaning of its style.

AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS OF DANCE MUSIC AT ITS PRIMITIVE LEVEL

The outstanding characteristics of jazz indicate that America is not its natural background. Jazz is a result of one culture imposed upon another. The Negro succeeded in bringing his music with him from Africa and in preserving its spirit and its form. This is the only tenable explanation in the face of such basic differences as those which separate standard music from jazz.

America presents a sociological culture which makes use of this Negro music, but is not the creator of it. The history of the evolution of jazz must go back further than the American period of development. Africa suggests the natural setting with a tribal culture containing a functional need for this particular music.

What then are these qualities that may be recognized in American jazz and that point to Africa for possible explanation? Original characteristics are to be found in structure, content, performance, and in the element of improvisation.

Structure, in terms of scale, rhythm, harmony, and form, contains the material ingredients of all music. And in the study, therefore, of the development of a music, these elements offer the most concrete evidence and have the advantage of being most easily observed and compared. With content, performance, and improvisation, however, we are dealing with abstract qualities. To isolate and analyze these characteristics of jazz, they must be pictured against, and observed as a result of, their surrounding cultural medium. The first of these is content: that

which jazz has to say. This element is marked by high excitement and rhythmic drive. Jazz is undeniably music for dancing; but in place of the sophisticated, intellectual qualities that dominate European music, jazz is primitive, emotional, and exciting. Compare it to the sweet sound of the standard dance orchestra which preceded the jazz band in this country, the miniature symphony orchestra with its melodic string section. In sweeping away all opposition and taking over America's social dancing, jazz displayed the natural musical expression of that civilization and, as far as the ballroom was concerned, imposed thereon a music different in content, which pointed not to contemporary cause and effect but to some other culture. It seems logical to expect that somewhere between the African tribal dances and that of the American ballroom, these distinctive qualities of dance excitement and high emotion will fall in place as necessary to a way of life.

Improvisation also points to an African origin in raising the following questions. Why does jazz always combine the creator and performer in one and the same musician? Why is spontaneity so necessary to jazz that modern composers of a written form strive to preserve in their scores, above all else, that impression of extemporaneous performance? The explanation is not to be found in the standard music of America. Ours is a written form which replaces improvisation with study and deliberation. If answer is to be found to this riddle of the intrinsic requirement of jazz for improvisation, it must be found in African origins.

And finally in the consideration of the characteristics of jazz which point away from America, comes the element of performance. In actual sounds, a style arises which cannot be caught by our system of music notation. Micro-tonal inflections and slurs, micro-rhythmic alterations and syncopations, the color of Negro vocal declamation: these traits are inherent both in the idiom of all Negro music and in the specific style of jazz. In fact, the qualities of sound in jazz are so strikingly individual that many writers have mistaken a part for the whole and defined jazz as only a manner of playing music; a bag of tricks, an idea without material design. Can this be true? Once again an answer can be found only in the study of how jazz grew.

Structure, as presented through melody, rhythm, harmony, and form; the spiritual content of emotional stimulation and rhythmic drive; the necessity for spontaneous expression; the style of performance; all these elements of jazz require explanation through a different culture and environment than can be found in America today. Africa, then, is indicated at every turn as the logical starting point from which to trace its development. However, it has been said that tracing jazz to an African ancestry is an unsatisfactory procedure due to the fact that the African continent presents so many tribes, all with such varying musical traits. Furthermore, musical recordings for such study are few and authentic information meager. All this may be true, yet a beginning of this study must be made with such available facts as present striking agreements and correlations which can not be ignored.

Fortunately we need not cover the entire continent of Africa in a study of jazz in its primitive stage, or rather in the primitive stage from which it was to evolve. Melville Herskovitz[1] alters the findings of Ulrich

[1]*Myth of the Negro Past,* N. Y. 1941. p. 33 ff.

Phillips and older authorities who believe that our slaves were drawn from the entire continent. The data brought forward by Herskovitz indicates that the Negro population of the New World came from a much more restricted area than was originally believed. This district is almost exclusively along the west coast from the Senegal and Gambia rivers; from the Gold Coast and Slave Coast as far south as Angola and inland to an estimated seven hundred miles including the region of the Belgian Congo. Within this territory, there still remains a great variety of Negro musical traits; but the size of the undertaking begins to shrink.

Regardless of geographic situation, primitive song has certain elements in common. Curt Sachs, in *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, East and West,*[2] divides all primitive song into two types; the logogenic style, a musical vehicle for the expression of text; and the pathogenic style, an emotional outlet in sound. Here again, for this study, a further limit may be set, for jazz springs not from an interest in the words of a text, but in the release of an emotion. Another tie binding jazz to the pathogenic style is that of motion, for this music expresses itself through the combination of song with bodily movement; a rhythmic movement accented by stamping, clapping, or the beating of sticks or drums. Though song is employed, the interest is not in the words but in the dance, in motion, in rhythm.

At the present time over a thousand recordings of African tribal music are available. The *Survey of Primitive and Folk Music in the United States*[3] includes a bibliography of phonograph records and written transcriptions to be found in the archives of American libraries, museums, and individual collections. As illustrations for this thesis, the recordings used were those made by the Denis-Roosevelt African Expedition.[4] In territory, the records cover the Belgian Congo and the regions of Ruanda and Urundi.

Among the thirty recordings that are present on these twelve discs, nineteen will be found to represent the pathogenic style of song; rhythmic rather than narrative, and rhythmic to a much higher degree than melodic. In performance, with one exception, all the songs are in the antiphonal form of solo by a leader alternating with choral response. Accompaniment carries a driving, continuous rhythm by drums, sticks, xylophones or rattles. Melodic instruments are conspicuous by their absence, with the exception of an occasional flute.

Is this music improvised? The question is important and will presently be discussed in detail. For a general impression, at this point, the music sugests a free, unstudied, spontaneous expression, held slightly to a melodic line. There can be heard a prevailing reiteration of a short melodic phrase, either literally, thus stressing the rhythmic effect, or the repetitions will vary so that only the general contour and direction remain constant.

These limited and general observations are confirmed by reports of anthropologists, travelers, and explorers, all of whom have recorded their findings from observation on the continent of Africa. Percival R. Kirby,

[2]*The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, East and West,* N. Y. 1943, p. 30 ff.

[3]George Herzog. *Survey of Primitive and Folk Music in the United States,* Bulletin 24, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D. C. 1936.

[4]Accessible through Reeves Sound Studios, 1600 B'way, N. Y.

for many years a resident in southern Africa, writes, "Antiphonal singing, where a soloist is answered by a chorus, is common; in fact it is so frequently met with that it may be considered to be basic. . . . There is a tendency for melodies to proceed in a downward direction. . . . The musical forms employed are of the simplest, as a general rule, they rarely exceed a single musical sentence."[5] Here is Joseph Appel's description of tribal dancing: "Two of the tribes were accompanied . . . by a corps of singers who sang in perfect unison, and at times the dancers would also sing—an antiphonal chant. The music was more interesting than the dance. For here was the origin of our syncopated jazz . . . the music, not of melody or of harmony, but of rhythm. . . . They snorted, shouted, and sang. They stamped the ground with savage beat . . . working themselves into an ecstacy, with which climax the dance always ends and the dancers sink exhausted to the ground."

Analysis of the African tribal music may be summarized by the elements which point toward the evolution of jazz. Melodically the pentatonic genus and the pattern of chain thirds predominate, with little or nothing in the heptatonic mode. The fact that chain thirds are present allows for the speculation that here may be a link with European music, since it has been demonstrated that primitive music on that continent contained this formation.[6] In both Europe and Africa, chain thirds point ahead to a harmonic structure and chordal movement from one set of thirds to the alternate ones lying in between. The Negro's preference in the Blues for the seventh chord (of three thirds) finds a background not only in European harmony but also in African song. This structure as melody is heard on disc No. 12 (See reference 4), the first recording; disc No. 3, second recording; and on discs Nos. 5 and 6. The flat seventh and flat third step of the scale, so characteristic of jazz today, are quite distinguishable in the African music. However it must be admitted that these elements are but contributing factors, not dominating ones, as we find them in jazz. Whether or not there is here a direct line of ancestry is open to question. None the less, here are these melodic characteristics in African music, and we hear them, today, in music of the American Negro.

There is little in actual rhythmic patterns which carry through from African music to American jazz. But on the side of value and purpose rhythm weighs heavily, for both the African and the American Negro desire their music to be primarily rhythmic, with a driving, urgent vitality. No other country contributing to the colonies of the United States can duplicate this rhythmic urge in music.

The harmonic ingredient of African music has been fully enough discussed to mention here only its outstanding feature. Europe developed chain thirds into standard chord formation and progression. The African, in assimilating this quality in American environment, may have recognized his own melodic pattern at its foundation. A later chapter will consider to what extent a combination was effected of the African pentatonic and chain third modes of music with the American style of chordal progressions.

In antiphonal form, an unbroken development links the primitive expression to the present one; in the style of repeated refrain emphasized by

[5]"A Study of Negro Harmony," *Musical Quarterly,* N. Y. July, 1930.

[6]Curt Sachs, op. cit., p. 259 ff.

contrasted volume of solo and chorus, originally vocal and now either vocal or instrumental. It carries from Africa to America in work-song, spiritual, and dance.

Two more elements of primitive music are of primary importance since they have strongly influenced its evolution. These are the elements of improvisation and the part played by the social function of primitive dance. Improvisation as a basic conception of music, and dance as its motivating force have combined to shape and rule the destiny of Negro music.

Primitive man is much closer to his music than is the present day performer. Primitive man needs no teacher. He shapes his own instrument and in so doing learns how to manipulate it and produce the tones he desires. He does not think of music as a series of lines and little black dots on a white paper, which must be studiously practiced and perfected in every detail. To him, the essence of music is the spontaneous manipulation of pleasing sounds to suit his mood or fancy. His materials lie in the duration and qualities of tone produced by his song, or the setting of some resonant substance into vibration. The improvisation of the primitive is thus much closer to music-making than the complicated, systematized, and difficult art of the written composition form.

Yet at some time in his cultural progress, man found himself in need of musical notation. The evolution of music through written symbols has led from simple structures to complexity. The artistic grandeur of musical construction, its beauty in symmetry and thematic composition, all magnificently interwoven elements of form owe their artistic recognition, today, to man's development of symbols for sound; to visual music supplying the necessary architectural plans. The present standard of musical value is predominantly based on mastery of the written design.

This is the cultural parting of the ways; for man, despite the pressure of higher civilization, has not entirely lost the music of his original conception of improvisation; a music judged by the ear rather than the eye; a music, the value of which would be destroyed rather than enhanced by a written version. His music must burst forth, a spontaneous utterance of his mood. Its worth lies in the degree to which the music heightens or releases his emotion. At the primitive level, emotion is not repressed but fully expressed through motion and accompanying must unite with gesture. Likewise at an early stage, man discovered that a gesture repeated rhythmically greatly intensified the emotion that he desired to release. Thus the dance became his most expressive outlet, and it is dance which throughout the ages has safeguarded improvisation. Dance united with and fostered this music of motion in sound; spontaneous music of emotion rather than of the intellect.

In contrast to musical analysis, there is no lack of information on tribal dance, and there is uniformity in general description and interpretation. Primitive dance is not for amusement. The African tribal dance is a serious religious ritual, necessary to the life and prosperity of the group. The prevailing religion is animistic in character, sustaining the belief in a spirit dwelling in all things animate and inanimate. These spirits are powerful and destructive, to be placated and somehow persuaded into a friendly attitude toward the tribe. The witch doctor is the means of intercession. In the dance his soul rises through ecstatic trance to a supernatural plane and enters into combat or entreaty with the particular spirit approached. Hence ecstasy is the constant factor in the magic rituals of tribal dance.

Another factor is important through its absence. At this primitive stage of civilization, no dance is an individual expression. Whether performed by a group, or alone by the witchdoctor, the dance is the expression of the entire tribe in its hope to preserve itself from evil or malignant spirits and to prosper through the help of good ones.

In higher civilizations, tribal dance is influenced both by foreign contacts and through changes in function. Division of labor and class distinctions are evident in the rise of professional dancers as opposed to the amateur. Sacred tribal dances of communal participation pass into the hands of a small number trained to execute them with perfection. The professional brings also in his train a new dance function, that of entertainment. Hours of study and rehearsal lie behind the virtuoso dances of acrobatic or other stylized representation of occupational skill.

With both sacred and spectacular dance a matter of practiced performance, spontaneous dance creation is left to the less sophisticated social class. No longer pouring its vitality into religious rituals, the power of rhythmic motion is free for new outlets which are found in the folk dance. Through this medium, dance covers an emotional range all the way from the release of grief tensions in funeral rites to the exuberance of dancing for fun, and most of all in the expression of love. Through the excitement of rhythm and music, folk dance sought to release the mating desires. It is old wine in a new bottle. Dance ecstasy is still the same no matter whether its motive be magic or sexual. In both spiritual and jazz, the fact is emphasized by the unity of dance and music; a music so exciting that it shares equally with the dance the emotional intensification that drives the dancers toward their goal of ecstatic trance.

Influences Contributing to the Development of Jazz

AFRICA

Rhythmic urge, ecstasy of dance

WEST INDIES	LOUISIANA	Other Sections of the UNITED STATES
Spanish rhythms (rhumba, tango, habanera) Preservation of African rituals.	Preservation of African dances French popular songs, dances	Anglo-Celtic hymns Plantation songs, dances, spirituals, Blues.

Influence of Improvisation, "Vocal" instrumentation

AMERICAN-NEGRO JAZZ IDIOM

Influence of notation, Tin-Pan-Alley Tunes, Commercial promotion		Influence of notation, Expanded orchestra, European musical form
	HOT JAZZ	
"SWEET JAZZ"		"SYMPHONIC JAZZ"

JAZZ IN THE UNITED STATES, 1700 TO 1895

The period 1700 to 1895 in the evolution of jazz in the United States is one without musical record. Collections of spirituals and, to a small extent, work-songs make their appearance after 1867; but the direct line of development remains unexplored. There is no written music to be found which illustrates the Negro dance until approximately 1896. Phonograph recordings follow at a still later date.

This is neither a new nor insurmountable difficulty. Music of the early Middle Ages presented the same problem. For that era, with practically nothing in the line of notated music, historians sought their information from other sources. Anthropology, sociology, economics, contemporary painting and literature, and the scholastic writings on music and the dance contributed to a synthetic re-creation of the period in its musical expression. As a similar line of procedure is followed here, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gradually come into focus presenting to the historian the African Negro upon this continent as he meets the exigencies of his life and destiny in song.

General Processes of Acculturation

Twenty African Negroes were brought to the United States in 1619 and until the following century, a negligible number was added. Then, as the need for labor increased, the Negro slave became the logical answer, and importation was accelerated. Authorities vary in their estimates of the number of tribes represented and the territorial extent from which the Negroes were taken. The most conservative report, that of Ulrich Phillips,[7] lists ten. In addition, Melville Herskovitz[8] points out that the slave population of the United States represented every strata of caste and intellect from the African slave to the chieftain and witch doctor. Thus not the lowest nor the highest was brought to this country, but a broad representation of African culture. What happened to their native way of life, their music, their dance?

Anthropological study makes clear that when one culture is imposed upon another, the minority or conquered culture reacts, generally, in one of three ways. The first possibility is an assimilation of the new culture added to a re-interpretation of the old. That is to say, rather than altering old beliefs and customs, the new is added to it. This process is manifested most strongly in the field of religion. Egypt, Greece, and Rome offer examples where both conquered and conquerors took over the gods of their opponents. The old deity survived with the additional powers of the new one. This absorption may be observed in the African's reaction to the Protestant religion in this country. The Baptist and Methodist doctrines represented elements that were easily recognized by the Negro. The American preacher, like the African leader, was magnetic, often to an hypnotic degree. The ritual of worship was stimulating and provided opportunity for the release of high emotion. Jerking, jumping, running, shouting became accepted features in the African's adaptation. Therefore it was a simple thing to alter congregational hymn-singing to that of a leader-and-response style of native origin. Also, as the hymns were sung in lengthy repetitions, the tempo gradually accelerated and the music

[7]Ulrich Phillips. *Life and Labor in the Old South,* N. Y. 1929, p. 188 ff.
[8]Herskovitz. op. cit; p. 296.

slipped into the syncopations of purest jazz, accompanied by hand-clapping and tapping of feet. In the "running spiritual" or ring-shout, the African idea of the "possessed" dancer was preserved in the endeavor for dance ecstasy. Herskovitz, Myrdal, Berlin, Parrish, all attest to the preservation of African culture through this expression. In the development of jazz, this relationship is self-evident.

When an element of culture is in direct opposition to the prevailing expression, the second type of reaction is apt to occur. This is one of preservation. Thus the Voodoo religion, forbidden and suppressed, kept itself out of sight of hostile authority. With no opportunity for combination or assimilation, this element of religion was left isolated and intact, retaining its original form. Through an underground existence, it still survives today in hidden places and in secret practice. Its rituals and magic have been observed and described by Zora Hurston as a preservation of African culture.[9]

The third possibility in the imposing of one civilization upon another appears when a factor of the old culture becomes disintegrated and lost, or is divested of its original function and absorbed completely by the new culture. Katherine Dunham illustrated this reaction through her dance studies in Hayti. She notes that the African tribal dances which came to the West Indies, retained a certain amount of their ceremonial significance and choreographic form through the period of slavery. With the gradual adoption of the prevailing religion of the locality, these dances became absorbed to a minor degree by the newer orders. The disintegration of African religious dance patterns under this impact, resulted in the destruction of the integrity of the old dances, and released these patterns for a variety of social functions. Disintegration removed their significance and rendered them more vulnerable to the influence of, and modification by other dances. The former ritualistic patterns were not merely performed as such on social occasions, but were combined with the social dances of European influence. An example of this is seen in the Beguine, which is practically the national dance of Martinique. Here, the last movement of the mazurka "mazouk" has been inextricably woven with hip and shoulder movements which are clearly of African pattern. In the United States, this last type of cultural disintegration would appear in the combination of African dance movements with the social dance-steps of whatever nation dominated the territory.

Specific Influences on Negroid Song in Louisiana

Anticipating these three processes of cultural intermingling and absorption, attention must be drawn to the specific examples found in the State of Louisiana since that State is to play the role of the birthplace of modern jazz. Why Louisiana should have been the chosen spot for this particular expression of music will be determined through the investigation of the following situation. Influences and pressures were present which allowed African music to maintain its integrity best in that part of the country until the style of jazz became set in its classical mold. It is interesting to note at this point that Herskovitz states his belief that there is, even today, preservation of more numerous and definite African practices in this State than anywhere except the Georgia Sea Islands.[10]

[9]Zora Hurston. *Mules and Men,* Philadelphia, 1935
[10]Herskovitz. op. cit., p. 251.

Three nations have left their mark upon the cultural growth of Louisiana. Colonized and governed by the French, 1699 to 1769, the territory was given by Louis to "his beloved cousin," Charles III of Spain by a secret pact in 1762. Spanish domination continued until November 30, 1803, when it passed back to France for twenty days and then to the United States by purchase. Spanish influence reached Louisiana through the natural channel of importing both slaves and the system of plantation organization from the West Indies. It is important to note that the French continued the Spanish rather than the British style of administration, for the resulting influence upon Negro culture is of marked difference.

Under the Spanish-French system, the African way of life was allowed to persist under the most favorable circumstances. The average British plantation system preserved, to some extent, the original culture of the slaves through their separation from white influence; their segregation into quarters of their own, their ostracism from White social activities and the consequent setting up of their own. Compared with the British, the French plantations were run on a much larger scale. The proportion of Negroes to Whites was much greater, and the Negroes in most cases were allowed to govern themselves. Thus the White influence, small to begin with, was removed still further.

Another factor, that of religious tolerance, resulted in certain cultural preservations. The prevailing faith of Catholicism offered to the Negro no easy tie with his native African ritual. He could not express his customary dance frenzy in this ceremonial mold. Consequently his cultural accommodation took a different form than it did with Protestantism. The Negro demonstrated a surprising intellectual sophistication in his attitude of disregard for a divergent outer form while retaining within it the original African significance. Hurston[11] gives not only data but photographs of Voodoo service being conducted under the symbols of the Catholic Church. Until 1848, and again after the Civil War, the Negroes were allowed to perform their Voodoo dances in Place Congo at the edge of the city of New Orleans. As these dances will presently be described in some detail, the point here lies in the fact that the African music in content and structure was preserved until the late 1880's. The preservation of this musical idiom and style of dance for so long is of prime importance since here are contributing factors to the evolution of jazz.

In addition to the influences set up by the French, migrants brought to Louisiana an infiltration of Anglo-Celtic cultures. In contrast to the French, the English exerted a closer, more constant, and stronger pressure upon the Negro slave. In religion, they were more active than the French in converting the slave to Christianity. The African's acceptance of the Baptist and Methodist evangical teaching, his gradual accommodation of old and new cultures is revealed in the evolution of plantation singing into the form of the spiritual.

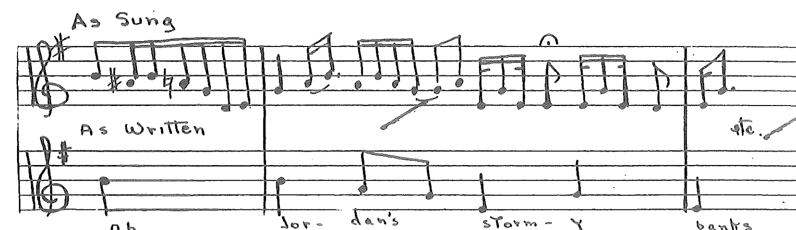
The earliest contemporary description of plantation singing is found in the introduction to *Slave Songs of the United States,* published in 1867, edited by William F. Allen, Charles P. Ware, and Lucy McKim Garreson. It pictures the congregation of singing as: "with zeal and spirit, swaying of the bodies and nodding of the heads . . . and with rhythmical move-

[11]Hurston, op. cit., see illustrations.

ments of the hands." It becomes clear that even after so many years in this country, the African preference for rhythm over melody or words has not been lost when we read that in the singing of spirituals the singers are "not daunted by words. The most obstinate scripture phrases or snatches from hymns, they will force to do duty with any tune they please; and will dash heroically through a trochaic tune at the head of a column of lambs with wonderful skill."[12]

The African characteristics of leader and response style and of heterophonic or embellishing treatment of a melody appear again as the editor comments, "there is no singing in 'parts,' yet no two appear to be singing the same thing. The leader starts each verse, often improvising, other 'base' him with refrain or join solo. When basers start, the leader may stop." The basers follow their whim when to start, when to stop, the harmony, and rhythm. The editor points out that it is a strange "network" of sounds that cannot be precisely represented, "slides, turns, cadences not in articulated notes . . . The singers overlap so that there is never silence."[13]

Handy[14] has notated several examples of this style of embellishing a melody. Since it represents how little the notated version of Negro folk song suggests the original way of its actual performance; and since it is also an element of jazz treatment, it serves as a double illustration.



That the expression of African religious dance-ecstasy was preserved in the evolution of the Negro spiritual is attested to through the descriptions of one contemporary eye witness and by several witnesses at a later period. Allen's Slave Songs[15] quoting the *Nation* for May 30, 1867, summarizes the "shout" spiritual as characterized by the shuffle, hitch, et cetera, both song and dance being extremely energetic and "not unlikely a relic of African dance as the Romaika is a development of the pyrrhic." Lydia Parrish[16] adds more detail to the choregraphy of the Shout from her observations of this dance along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina. It is a choral dance according to her description, in which the participants move in a counter-clockwise circle. The hitch or shuffle keeps the feet flat on the floor, but allows for a vigorous heel-tap, and definite hip movements. The shoulders are held rigid, the elbows bent with palms up. Add to this the comment of Katherine Dunham.[17] Quoting the Federal

[12]loc. cit., p. IV.

[13]ibid., p. XXIII.

[14]W. C. Handy, *Blues, An Anthology,* N. Y. 1926, p. 27

[15]Allen, op. cit. XIV.

[16]Lydia Parrish, *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands,* Creative Age Press, 1942, p. 54.

[17]Dunham, op. cit., p. 994.

Writer's Project in Chicago, 1938, study of cults, to the effect that Negro shoulder motion in dance is a form of self-hypnosis retained from African tradition, the illustration being the Haitian "Zepaules," a vadoun ritual.

Thus the spiritual is found to be a strong link, indeed, the strongest link, which connects jazz with its African heritage. The spiritual is jazz in another dress, a religious, rather than a secular robe. Every other basic element of jazz is present; the structure in melody, rhythm and form; the content of high emotion and dance stimulation; the natural and convincing appeal of spontaneity. The change in function from religious ritual to social dance and the substitution of instruments for voices. These only remain to complete the evolution into jazz.

The British desire to convert their slaves to Christianity was undoubtedly the strongest influence upon Negro music in plantation life, but it was not the only one. The pattern of daily life and experiences carry a cumulative importance that is potently evident in the secular folk song and dance. Again progressing toward the crystallization of a negroid musical idiom, these forces are visualized most clearly as they emerge through the descriptions of various authorities on colonial life. Phillips draws this picture; "The plantation force was a conscript army, living in barracks . . . It was also a homestead, isolated, permanent, peopled by a social group with common interests. White and Black children mingled in play." The harmony of the group, the degree in which education in reading, writing and the crafts was carried on, and the measure of harshness or leniency in the discipline administered varied according to the personality and policy of the plantation owner. Here Phillips continues to compare plantation life to a pageant and variety show. "Dance in the new sugar house preceded by prayer; the bonfire in the quarter with contests in clogs, cakewalks, and Charleston—yet undiscovered by the great world; work songs, rabbit-hunt, coon-hunt, log-rolling, house-raising, husking-bee, quilting-party, the wedding, cock fight, crap game, children's play—all punctuated plantation life, and most all were highly vocal—even the festive sorrow of a funeral."[18]

Lomax contributes more detail to the picture as the background of music and dance appears: "When musical instruments were rare among the plantation Negroes, they often made music for jig dancing by clapping their hands or slapping their thighs. The mouth with lips protruding often served as a substitute for the drum when intense emphasis was desired. Words sometimes were attached to these patting chants, just as words followed the mountain breakdown tunes."

The difficulty in finding examples of dance music in this early plantation period is explained by H. W. Odum[19] in this fashion: "Certain songs might be classed as dance songs, but practically every Negro song is, or could be used as dance accompaniment. There are very few pure dance songs . . . It is common for the Negro to mingle every kind of song into one, so that what he naively calls 'coon songs,' 'devil songs,' 'work songs, and 'ragtime' may all alike become love songs or dancing breakdowns."

One cannot make a study of jazz without some recognition of this

[18]Phillips, op. cit., p. 195 f.

[19]Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, *The Negro and His Song,* Chapel Hill and London, 1925, p. 167.

tremendous flow of song. Literature has been defined as whatever in written speech has an abiding human interest. In this sense, some folk songs, however fragile in thought and rough in phraseology, have won their way to recognition. Although in most cases, the primary interest centers on rhythm and melody, when the Negro has something to communicate, he does so simply and naively. In the estimate of Lomax[20] "The Negro's ability to portray an emotional situation or to picture an incident in a few graphic and powerful one-syllable words is almost without parallel. The texts of the folk-songs offer illustrations."

John Tasker Howard has formulated a classification in such clear outline that the great field of human experience which the Negro folk-song covers, may be seen at a glance. He classifies the spirituals into funeral songs, chants, songs of semi-religious nature, Bible stories (often in a comic vein), slave songs, sorrow songs. To Howard's list can be added the running-spiritual or ring-shout. The subdivisions under secular songs cover: slave days, plantation melodies, cabin songs, work songs, (cotton picking, corn picking, stevedoring, railroad gang), steamboat songs, prison songs, devil songs, blues.[21] To these should also be added the great folklore songs of Uncle Remus, John Henry, et cetera, the party-game songs, and social dance-songs such as the juba, cake-walk, et cetera.

Development of Instrumental Music

The weight of consideration up to this point has been on the song rather than dance as an instrumental music. This has been a logical procedure since the employment of musical instruments for melody rather than for rhythm was a later development. In fact, so strong is the native background of vocal expression that instrumental music has never completely severed its connection. Today's jazz band improvises on a song theme and in performance is marked by a vocal style of intonation.

The Negroid development of an instrumental style of music offers at this juncture a strong parallel to the situation in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In both cases, against a background of vocal music, an instrumental style emerged. This was accomplished first by the use of instruments as an accompaniment to song, then as an occasional substitute for a vocal part, later taking over all the vocal parts, and finally altering the composition style to suit the qualities and tonal color of each particular instrument.

Jazz as instrumental music is not a parallel development to that of dance, but bound inseparably with it as one expression. The rhythm is dance, the style is spontaneous song, while the addition of instruments is governed by the social and economic pressures of the time and place.

The history of this evolution may well start early in the nineteenth century, soon after the Louisiana Purchase. Once a week in New Orleans, the slaves were allowed to assemble for social and recreational diversion. The weekly restriction was due to the tremendous noise on these occasions. The meeting place, for the same reason, was moved to the edge of the city. The spot was known as Congo Square. It was a large open field, the grass worn away by the stamping and shuffling of

[20]John and Alan Lomax, *American Ballads and Folk Songs,* N. Y. 1934, Introduction, p. XXVIII

[21]John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music,* N. Y. 1929, p. 423

hundreds of restless bare feet. American culture receded to a dim background as the African released his urgent desire to give expression to his own native way of life. That the Negroes had not forgotten their traditional dances even after many years of expression and exile is attested by the description in a diary written by J. G. Flugel, a German traveler, dated February, 1817—New Orleans.[22]

Although discontinued during the Civil War, the Congo dances were again performed in public after the emancipation and were not yet entirely abandoned even two decades later. In the following description given by George W. Cable[23] in 1886 can be seen the jazz ensemble in embryo, a preponderance of rhythm, a variety of tonal colors and with the addition of vocal melody.

"The drums were very long, hollowed, often from a single piece of wood, open at one end having a sheep or goat skin stretched across the other. One was large, the other much smaller. The tight skin heads were not held up to be struck, the drums were laid along on the turf and the drummers bestrode them, and beat them on the head madly with fingers, fists, and feet, with slow vehemence on the great drum and fiercely and rapidly on the small one.

Sometimes an extra performer sat on the ground behind the larger drum, at its open end, and beat upon the wooden sides of it with two sticks. The smaller drum was often made from a joint or two of very large bamboo, in the West Indies where such could be got, and this is said to be the origin of its name, for it was called bamboula . . .

One important instrument was a gourd partly filled with pebbles or grains of corn, flourished violently at the end of a stout staff with one hand and beaten upon the palm of the other.

Other performers rang triangles, and others twanged from jew's harps an astonishing amount of sound! Another instrument was the jawbone of some ox, horse or mule, and a key rattled rhythmically along its weather-beaten teeth. At times, the drums were reinforced by one or more empty barrels or casks beaten on the head with the shank bones of cattle."

Such is the wide pitch range of the percussion instruments. But this is not all. On the side of more definite pitch, the author describes a primitive marimba and the banjo. " . . . The grand instrument at last, the first violin, as one might say, was the banjo. It had but four strings, not six: beware the dictionary. It is not the favorite instrument of the Negroes of the southern states of America . . . but for the true African dance . . . there was wanted the dark inspiration of African drums and the banjo's thrum and strum . . . To all this there was sometimes added a Pan's pipe of but three reeds, made from single joints of the common brake cane and called by English-speaking Negroes 'the quills' . . ."

And what kind of melody could be heard against such a background as this? The author describes it: "a long drawn cry of tremendous volume, richness and resound to which no instrument within their reach could make the faintest approach . . . All the instruments silent while it rises and swells with mighty energy and dies away distinctly, 'Yea-a-a-a!' Then the crash of savage drums, horns, and rattles."

As to the dance which this music inspires. Here is how the Bamboula is characterized by the observer; "a smiting of breasts" in a crescendo of sound and with a rise of voices, the energy and vitality of the "thrust of improvisation," with low bows the men choose partners, the rhythmic clap of hands and beating of thighs, the rise and fall on toes, the sudden stomp of the foot upon the ground, rising to a climax . . . "Now for the frantic leaps! Now for the frenzy! Another pair are in the ring. The man wears a belt of little bells or, as a substitute, little tin vials of shot *"bram-bram sonnette."* And still another couple enters the circle. What wild—what terrible delight! The ecstasy rises to madness; one-two-three of the dancers fall—bloucoutum! boum!—with foam on their lips and are dragged out . . . still the dancers rage on."[24]

Thus thru these dances is preserved an African musical culture with its rhythm, melody, yet the picture is still not complete. Through the article just quoted and one other, "Creole Slave Songs" in the April, 1886 issue of Century Magazine, Mr. Cable lets us see for the first time what music was sung for these dances. It should be recalled that the culture surrounding the Negro in this section was a luxurient one which early tried to bring to America the splendor of the French Court. Although the Negro would feel to a very small degree the musical influences emanating from the French Opera House of New Orleans, he was, however, exposed continuously to the music of the streets, the whistled and sung popular airs, the dance tunes of the celebrated Quadroon Balls and of the famous Mardi Gras festivities. Thus, at this impressionable period, the influence upon Negro melody is that of the quadrille, polka, mazurka, march, and the Creole folk-song.

Many excellent scholars have interested themselves in the extent to which Negroes have appropriated White Melodies and texts in the creation of their spirituals. A similar controversy might be extended into this field of dance music wherein the French popular dances met the African dances of Bamboula, Cata, Counjaille, Calinda, Congo, and Guiouba (Juba), in a musical intermingling. Aside from the dubious importance of such consideration, it is, at best, not conclusive. Scholars seem prone to base their deductions upon the comparison of notated music, and we are back to that fundamental difference of music as it is written and music as it is performed. The value of Negro music has always lain, not in his musical text, but in what he did with it: the vocal embellishments and rhythmic alterrations which defy notation, and the tonal qualities of color which cannot be described.

Erich von Hornbostel[25] who believed that Negro music had no distinguishing traits in scale, rhythm, or harmony from the European style, still admitted that, "in contrast to this, you will readily recognize the Negro by dance and song. Not *what* but the *way* he sings, identical in Africa and in America and different from any other race . . . difficult if not impossible to describe or analyze." He continues to explain that although natural motility becomes restricted with rising civilization, the emotional motility of dance survives longer than any other cultural expression. Thus, though our Christianized slaves might banish religious dance, they could not totally suppress their emotional gestures and not only

[22]Herbert Asbury, *The French Quarter,* N. Y. 1938, p. 240 ff.

[23]George W. Cable, "Dance in Place Congo," *Century Magazine,* 31; pp. 517-532.

[24]ibid.

[25]Erich von Hornbostel, "American Negro Songs," *International Review of Missions,* XV, no. 60, 1926, pp. 748-753.

the ring-shout after service, but the plantation dances, the juba, the cake-walk, on to the Charleston and jazz, all these preserve an African culture of rhythmic motion.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Negro dances emerge which do not look back to Africa, but reflect contemporary American culture. In the emergence of these dances may be seen simultaneously the rise of their counterpart in music. The African-Negro has become the American-Negro in the "Blues," "Rambles," "Rags," "Strut," and "Stomp." These dances demand separate consideration for through them, although not yet given the name, jazz reaches its classical form.

The first mentioned of these, the "Blues" reached national popularity some time after the publication of the first music in 1912. This was the "Memphis Blues" by W. C. Handy. As a Negro music, it traces back to a folk-expression of plantation days. Whereas the spiritual was choral music, the blues was a solo improvisation, melancholy in feeling, though not always so. "Got de Blues, but too dam' mean to cry." Any idea served for text and was then subjected to the singers personality and mood of the moment. In the 1890 period, the title, "Blues" signified the form of a twelve-measure pattern based on the text. As dance music the title did not indicate either tempo or mood, for Blues are on recordings at both a slow tempo and at the faster tempo of the contemporary quadrille or two-step.

The "Shout" on the other hand does indicate a mood and tempo, and not the running-spiritual that the title suggests, although it appears to be a secular expression of that religious frenzy.

The "Ramble" likely came from that part of the Negro-Minstrel Show known as, the "Walk-around." As Gilbert Douglas[26] describes it, at a signal from the orchestra, the minstrel company would rise. Then to a lively tune in 2/4 time, one of the company would step down-stage from the semi-circle, walk around for sixteen bars, do one step of a reel, finish with a break, then resume his place in the semi-circle—as another stepped out to repeat the performance but with his own variations. This would continue until six or more dancers had appeared. Then all dancers would come down-stage and dance together while the rest of the company patted time and shuffled. "Dixie" was written by Daniel Emmet for such a "walk-around" and first played in 1859.

The "shuffle" brings forth another dance element which is close to pure rhythm. The meeting ground for sand-dancing, buck and wing on one hand and the Irish clog on the other, resulted in the highly stylized rhythmic complications of tap-dancing. The accompanying music could again demonstrate the development of jazz from plantation-days of improvisation to contemporary sophistication.

The "strut" as a title in early jazz relates to a figure in the cake-walk. This dance tradition, according to Katherine Dunham[27] "may properly be considered the urbanization of the plantation folk dances incorporating in the whole such separate figures as the Black Annie, Pas Mala, Strut, the Palmer House, and later Walkin' the Dog, Ballin' the Jack, and other individual expressions."

Thus is found in the 1890 period in New Orleans a Negro Musical

[26]Gilbert Douglas, *Lost Chord,* N. Y. 1942, p. 13.

[27]Dunham, op. cit., p. 999.

Idiom clearly crystallized into dance styles with definite titles. This is the earliest jazz, though the term is not yet in use.

Improvisation

The influence and importance of improvisation and modern instrumentation must be considered before the picture of the earliest jazz is complete. Aside from the natural ability for spontaneous song, improvisation was the outcome of social and economic necessity. After the Civil War, although no longer a slave, the Negro's economic and social state remained unchanged. He continued, as before, at the bottom of the social strata, and as before, he continued to fill the needs for heavy manual, and above all, cheap labor. It was only through his gift of musical improvisation that the Negro found a way to lighten this strenuous existence. Occasionally he could afford to buy a musical instrument. He would have no use for an orchestral one, which eliminated the string chord, the piano was too expensive, the flute had too small and impersonal a tone for his liking. What he bought was a band instrument, a trumpet, clarinet, or trombone. With one of these, he might open up a new field of livelihood. Picnics, balls, burials, publicity wagons, and the red light district offered opportunities. Lacking any musical training, usually unable to read or write, the Negro found his own instrumental technique; and from that background of Congo Square tom-tom rhythms and the popular French tunes, he improvised his music. Jazz was, in this first period between 1890 and 1917, an independent negroid art of improvisation. Its rhythmic idiom of syncopations and unusual stresses placed it apart from all other American music. Its instrumentation and tone qualities were equally original. With the first ensemble of which we have record (Buddie Bolden's group) in 1895, the ensemble and formula which characterize the New Orleans style of Jazz were present; melody carried by clarinet, cornet, trombone against the rhythm of guitar and drum, a five piece band playing in continuous, collective improvisation.

Robert Goffin[28] mentions that the oldest known of jazz classics, "Tiger Rag," is the adaptation in the Negro musical idiom of a quadrille called, "Get Out of Here." While another jazz number, "High Society" is but the syncopation of a popular French march. Thus is heard the first jazz, bringing with it the syncopations, the ragged beat, the unusual stresses of the tom-tom to an ensemble that recalls the African predilection for rhythm over melody or harmony. The melody is carried by the cornet in a free and personalized interpretation. Trombone and clarinet weave their improvisations in a polyphonic web around the leading voice, against the guitar and drum rhythms.

The tone quality is different from anything to be heard in America, not only because of the combination of instruments, but because of the unusual effects in tone produced from them. Without a teacher, the Negro's approach to his instrument was one without tradition or standards of performance. Through the means of continued experiment, the Negro arrived at tonal and technical accomplishments at a divergent distance from the European practice. The European standards set up perfect pitch and a neatness of attack, and purity of tone. The Negro sought to make his instrumental ensemble sound as much like the vocal rendering of the

[28]Robert Goffin, *Jazz, From Congo to Metropolitan,* N. Y. 1944, pp. 19-20.

blues as possible. The human wail, and moan, the rising intensity of passion, these the Negro sought to capture on his instrument.

Under the Jazz Man Label a series of recordings has been made to preserve the original New Orleans style, employing musicians who have continued the New Orleans tradition. Record No. 10, Bunk's Blues gives dramatic and emotional oratory to the instrumental voice of the blues. Note the intense vibrato to the sustained tones by the cornet, the microtonal varying of the pitch, the glissando, the attack a second after the beat. The changed and odd stresses upon the high E flat, and the variety in the descending melodic lines all starting from this same note. This record represents the standard seven-piece ensemble; cornet, clarinet, trombone, banjo, doublebass, piano and drums. The piano did not appear in the earliest of New Orleans jazz bands, but joined the ranks very early, as the cornet was later to be replaced by the trumpet.

Thus, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, the musical picture of jazz is complete. The many contributing strands are woven at last into a solid fabric. It may be said conclusively that at this time the Negro musical idiom has crystallized and in its instrumental dance-form, jazz reaches its purest, classic form.

Until popularization added foreign influences this music was an independent Negroid art. It was the voice of a people, a dynamic, musical expression culminating in their folk-music of which jazz represented the dance. From this may be seen the importance of the New Orleans style. It is folk-jazz untutored, virile, spontaneous, the parent of all later versions.

UNITED STATES, 1895 TO THE PRESENT

Much has been written in the past ten years on the history and appreciation of jazz from the New Orleans period to the present day. The majority of writers have placed all evaluations upon the individual gifts of performance. The reason given is that jazz, being an art of improvisation, can be neither analyzed nor in any adequate way appreciated from a written score. They continue to feel that whatever is to be learned and evaluated must be achieved through study of actual performance in terms of instrumental technique and inspiration.

The argument is true, but incomplete, and succeeds only in lowering the levels of artistic standards to those of the individual performer. Such books on jazz, in order to cover the field, must appraise the performance and personal musical qualifications of at least a hundred and fifty soloists and bands (and from just one, or how many recordings?). And all this evaluation is through the medium of the written word. What a task! Where are there words in any language designed for the purpose, or capable of describing a single tone, let alone the complex colors of jazz ensembles?

Furthermore, in such an individual-against-individual estimate, which critic is to set the standards of excellence. The recent voting by Esquire's Board of sixteen Jazz Experts[29] is revealing. Asked to select the two best performers in each of twelve classifications, the results are tabulated to show every name voted for, and the number of votes each name received. The top names received a majority of votes, but nothing approaching unanimity. Under trumpet are listed ten names voted "best" by the

[29]"Esquire's All-American Band," *Esquire's Jazz Book*, Chicago, 1944, p. 51.

experts. Under trombone, twelve names; under piano, eleven favorites. This is average for all the classifications. Almost as many "bests" as there are voters. I believe this will always be the case as long as standards are dependent upon personal preference.

Any art, worthy of the term, must, by its eternal qualities, transcend the expression of the individual. It offers ideals of beauty against which individual achievement may be measured. It is subject to the static and dynamic pulls of its ever-changing moment in history and geographic point of location. It is the complete musical reflection of the moment. To limit the possibilities of jazz to the boundaries of individual talents, even to the greatest talents, is still, in my opinion, to belittle the magnitude of the art.

Perhaps we are so close to jazz that it is actually an impossibility to see the forest because of the trees. None the less it is still possible to widen the panorama by looking back at the progress of jazz for the last fifty years; a progress based on the evolution of style seen against the background of primitive African folk and urban influence. The value of contemporary jazz will slip into place through the more distance perspective of the historian beholding it fifty years hence.

The first "rags" and "blues" of the Buddie Bolden group and their immediate followers did not signify either successful promotion or even acceptance of the New Orleans style of Negroid music. It continued as a local product with small exports of talent along the gulf cities and up the Mississippi; and with an import of the piano style known as "Ragtime" which was particularly flourishing in St. Louis. Despite various opinions that this style antedated jazz, it actually developed from the same background and at the same time as jazz, merely forming a separate line of expression defined by the musical possibilities of the piano. "The Harlem Rag" published in 1895 (one of the first) and written by Thomas M. Turpin displays a moderate (not fast) tempo in the usual 2/4 time. It was, as with all jazz, an art of improvisation, and the written composition can but suggest the drive and rhythmic urge of the music created to the accompaniment of dancing feet in a unity of inspiration. Boogie-Woogie is the direct descendant of ragtime, the contemporary title for the piano-style of jazz.

With the year 1917, the Storyville section of New Orleans was closed by the government. A hundred or more musicians found themselves out of work. The exodus spread north and west. Chicago took the lead and held it for over ten years as the city of opportunity for the jazz musician. The term "jazz" came into current use from this time. Its etymology seems open to various interpretations. The Jazz Record Book[30] gives a comprehensive history as a corruption of the Elizabethan "jass" which had survived in the vernacular of the bawdy-houses.

Success of jazz was of necessity slow. The performers needed time to polish, to organize, to solidify their own art. The public needed to free itself from prejudice against the color of the musician and the belief that as music, this was a novelty, a noisy hokum. Until the late 1920's jazz could claim but a small audience in the United States.

Its first entering wedge came as the waltz and quadrille declined in

[30]Charles Edward Smith, with Frederick Ramsey, Jr., William Russell, and Charles Payne Rogers, *The Jazz Record Book*, N. Y. 1942, p. 4.

popularity. Both of these dances were played in a rapid tempo, and the public acceptance of the fox-trot was a victory for the slower tempo of the Blues.

Dance orchestras were still miniature versions of the European symphonic orchestra with the melodically dominating string choir. To most band leaders jazz was a crazy bit of nonsense which might be offered as a moment of novelty. In this fashion they absorbed many jazz men, whose solos against the background of European orchestration and classic colors was like the entrance of a clown into the cathedral. Popular songs too retarded the progress of jazz. Sweet and sad, or of saccharine sentimentality, they held the public favor through the "mauve" nineties and the first decade of the twentieth century, a song-style with no interest in lively rhythms.

Between 1914 and 1917 occurred a dramatic turning-point both in the progress of jazz and in the musical expression of the people of this country. An exhibition team in ball-room dancing caught the taste and acclaim of the American public to such an overwhelming extent that I believe it is almost to their influence alone that practically overnight America changed from a singing nation to a dancing one. It turned from long hair to bobbed locks. Irene Castle set the feminine styles for the nation. Wielding such an influence, the acceptance and use of the current rags in their repertoire had much to do in turning the public favor in the direction of the Negro musician and his music. And it is a matter of fact that from this time dance music has replaced song music in popular appeal.

Doubtless the simplication of dance steps had much to do with it. The elimination of the complicated figures of the reels and quadrilles, the replacement by the single or double steps of the one-step, two-step, and fox-trot brought dancing within the reach of all who could walk in time to music. The 2/4 and 4/4 time of these dances opened wider the door to jazz. The fast tempo of the one-step and two-step, which came from the march, in the hands of the Negro was usually called a stomp or a rag. "Slow tempo dances (as the fox-trot) were almost always Blues and were known by such titles as Drag, Slow Shuffle, Crawl, Wobble, or Creep. Dance steps then, as now, were very nearly self-explanatory. There were for example the shag (originally a shuffle step), hop, jump, grind, twist, belly rub, strut, wiggle, et cetera."[31]

The first recordings of jazz were issued in the 1920's by the Gennett Company of Richmond, Indiana. These records of King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, The Wolverines, and The New Orleans Rhythm Kings are now collectors items. The first record by a Negro blues singer was released in 1920. "Crazy Blues" sung by Mamie Smith, the first woman of her race ever to make a jazz record, was in the nature of an experiment. "This record and subsequent ones sold 7,500 copies weekly."[32] Such an indication must point to the acceptance of a style.

The 1920's were the years when Chicago offered enthusiastic audiences and prosperity to its jazz musicians. In response to this encouragement and to the European style of music around them, the jazz musicians added sophistication, variety, and greater technical excellence and complexity to

[31]*ibid,* p. 9.
[32]*ibid,* p. 73.

their range of expression. It was the work-shop period for Louis Armstrong, Benny Goodman, and Bix Beiderbecke and many others.

By 1929 the basic structure of hot jazz had been laid. The New Orleans Style of continuous collective improvisation by a small group of five to seven musicians now varied its performance by the alternation of group and solo improvisation (recalling the leader and choral response of the spiritual and of the African background), or of solo improvisation riding along on either melodic ensemble or rhythmic background.

This was also a period of experimenting with big groups, and of other hybrid expressions leading away from jazz as a folk art. Early in its career, jazz had attracted the attention of European composers. Its popularity there antedated its acceptance in America. With Stravinsky, Ravel, and Hindemith attempting to incorporate a jazz idiom into European musical molds, the same line of endeavor presently took shape here, of making a lady of jazz by enveloping her in a symphonic dress. George Gershwin, Ferdie Grofe, and Paul Whiteman produced various examples of concert jazz, complete with symphony orchestra. That this was a line of digression as far as pure folk jazz is concerned is apparent on many counts. First, that vocal, hot intonation of the small instrumental group was completely lost. Second, the moving force of dance exuberance could not be sustained in the extended symphonic pattern. The vitality and sparkle of improvisation was missing as well as the rocking rhythm of swing that can be built up only by a small group of musicians "in the groove."

The economic depression of 1929 through the early thirties did not overlook the jazz men. Many theatres and night clubs using small bands closed their doors. The depression brought back the sentimental and soporific in the popular tune of tin pan alley. The "sweet" music of the Wayne King, and Guy Lombardo was preferred by the anxious and dispirited public. Jazz was not dead. As before in the history of the Negro in difficult times, it went underground. Though little music appeared on recordings during this period, an interest in the idiom was being cultivated through the publication of a growing number of articles and books on the subject.

In 1933 with the successful engagement of Benny Goodman and his band at a prominent hotel, with Bob Crosby's orchestra on the air, jazz emerged from its private sessions and placed itself ahead of the "sweet" bands in public favor. "Swing" was the term seized upon as of commercial novelty value and phonograph records, good and bad alike were issued in a confusing deluge. Jazz could not escape the influences of phonograph and radio, particularly that of commercial promotion and publicity. The "super-colossal" ideas of Hollywood engulfed jazz with name-bands, featured stars, soloists, conductors, bigger and bigger bands with less and less jazz of the basic New Orleans style. It is possible for seven men to improvise and maintain a musical cohesion, but to turn twenty musicians loose is to invite chaos. The answer to the problem was the arranger. In his hands the musical language of the Negro was reduced to a mere flavor, or it was crystallized as nearly as possible under the handicap of our inadequate notation system. The result in any case was a written score for all parts except the solo, which was improvised within the restrictions of harmony and of a definite number of bars.

Despite the "sweetened" or big band version of a folk art, which

represents perhaps ninety per cent of radio programs, pure improvised folk jazz still finds its place in the remaining ten per cent. Sometimes it is a small group within the larger one, a featured trio, or quartet, or quintet within the large orchestra. It also finds expression in the jam session, a gathering of jazz musicians for the purpose of improvising in the New Orleans style.

Summarizing the influences which shaped the course of jazz from 1895-1945, the main categories include:

1. Racial discrimination, a retarding influence.
2. Phonograph and radio, increasing the dissemination of this music to such an extent that a whole era of normal development is accelerated into the span of fifty years.
3. The change in popular taste from song to dance, (melody to rhythm), an accelerating influence.
4. Commercial promotion and big business, a Hollywood-Baroque influence.
5. Tin pan alley offering pale imitations and weak melodic material for jazz improvisations, a degenerating influence.
6. Literary publications; confusing and controversial, but an indication of public interest.
7. A divergent pull away from pure jazz in the direction of European form and tone, a concert version, or any hybrid style seeking to combine jazz with some other traditional element in form, or tone color.

That anything of the original Negroid idiom could survive under the battery of such strong influences seems in the nature of a miracle. That anything approaching pure jazz can be found today is strong testimony of the enduring qualities of this Negroid musical language.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion returns to the three questions posed at the beginning of the thesis and offers an answer to the third. This is the question, "How can jazz be compared with European music et cetera?" In summary, it appears to the present writer that, motivated by such fundamentally differing concepts, it seems logical not to impose upon jazz the measure of another musical culture.

The second question, "How can jazz be studied or evaluated since it has no literature in terms of compositions, and no traditions in terms of outstanding names?" is the problem dealt with by this thesis through a combined historical and analytical study.

The final question remains: "Can any importance be attributed to a music created impulsively, without deliberate construction?" The value of music does not rest upon the method of utterance, but upon the lasting appeal of the music itself. Jazz has or has not importance as music, not because it is improvised, but because of its essential value. Pure jazz should be judged as a folk art of the dance, not by the standards of a written form of concert-music.

In the widest sense of the term, jazz has invaded vocal and instrumental popular music, its idioms have been used by European and American

(Concluded on Page 79)

The Music of Sweden

Audrey D. Landquist, *Mu Epsilon*

"What Music expresses is eternal and ideal. It gives voice not to the passion, the love, the longing of this or the other person under such-and-such conditions—but to passion, love or longing itself."—Richard Wagner.

Sweden is a far-flung country with a wide variety both of scenery and climate. Its southern half, lapped by the southern beaches of the Baltic Sea and the Oresund, has the rich verdure of Danish vegetation. Swaying wheat fields ascend in undulating lines toward the edge of the stately forest of beach and oak. Then pines and firs stretch on and away to the moors, enclosing wide expanses of watery blue. Then the country broadens out again, and an ideally beautiful landscape meets the gaze, with the Malar Lake as its centerpiece. Stockholm reposes dreamily on the borders of this lake. Still further to the North are the vast virgin forests. Broad rivers intercept the woods, where the foot of man seldom or never treads. They reach without a break for hundreds of miles across the Arctic Circle, where Winter holds its icy sway so completely that the sun does not rise at all for several days at a stretch, and, by way of evening up, remains above the horizon for the entire month of June. Here the Lapland Alps commence, forming a gigantic demarcation line westward toward Norway, and then transecting in a southerly direction the entire Scandinavian peninsula. Every now and again, inhabitated regions break the regularity of the mountain range, which finally ends and broadens into wide forests.

Swedish music emanates from these virgin woods, where the "Nick," the water sprite of Norse mythology, still gambols in the rivers and streams. The elfin-dance in nebulous meadows turns to music, the bush of the heatherlands vibrates as tone, the sighing of the rushes in a thousand little lakes swells into a humming song, and the ceaseless beat of the waves on the far-flung coast seems a mighty chant. But even where Swedish music shows an international trend, where it—purposely or accidentally—follows abstractly, stylistic aims, it does not lose its indigenous touch. It is always the story of helpless man in the midst of gigantic Nature, of the lonely human who turns to Nature as to a mother, to dream happily in her lap, to confide to her his woes and joys, to listen to her teachings and to reveal again the old, almost forgotten sages of bygone days.

In a land of mists and of mountains, of long winters, and summers all the more precious because they are so short, days of grace snatched out of a dark year—the influences of scenery are more clearly to be discerned than in regions where nature is more uniformly favorable. Be the national music of the North natural or gay, it is for the most part fresh. The sadness of it is seldom tinctured with languor; the sweetness has something in it that braces as well as charms the sense.

The Swedes are eminently a musical people. One of their old sea-laws
as that a hymn by the man on the watch, at sea, should be sung every
ight. Surely there is something truly picturesque, as well as devout,
such an ordinance.

Sweden is a nation founded over twelve centuries ago by one of the
iost virile and responsible peoples in the world, and they remain that
day. Schools and colleges are numerous; electricity is cheap and plentiful;
oman holds an exalted position in social and political life; the rail and
ir lines are probably the very finest in Europe; telephones are modern in
quipment and management; and all these factors contribute to a social
rganism standing at the top with the most advanced countries of the world.

Though Scandinavian art was first brought to the attention of the
orld at large through the Norwegian (Grieg in music and Ibsen in
terature), Sweden has in more recent years held her share of inter-
ational attention. After Ibsen, the Swede Strindberg was perhaps
e most talked-of dramatist in Europe. Still more recently the novels of
elma Lagerlof and the sociological writings of Ellen Key have been widely
ranslated and read, not only in European lands, but in America also.
oise and artistic control are, in fact, to be noticed generally in modern
wedish art, and especially in music. The cosmopolitan character of
wedish political history is here seen in its results. Someone has called
tockholm "the Paris of the North." The epithet is just: grace, conscious
rtistry, sensuous self-indulgence, are to be found in Swedish music in a
egree that contrasts markedly with the militant self-expression of the
lorwegian school.

Writing on the subject "The Music of Sweden" I have divided my
hesis into five periods, namely: I, the period between 2000 B.C. and 1100
.D.; II, from 1100 to 1530 A.D.; III, from 1530 to 1720; IV, from 1720
1810, and lastly the V, from 1810 to the present.

Music presents itself since ancient time (Urtiden) in three distinct forms:
. as a cult; 2. as a practical object; and 3. as artistry. Music has always
een considered to have greater power to force the gods to answer the
rayers of mankind than mere words. Not only singing but also the
ounds made by instruments had in the cult great value. Of these the wind
nstruments were first used, especially the flute. That among our fore-
athers the horns and the flutes were instruments of cult eminence can
eadily be proved by all the various findings in the earth of both. The
orns were made of animal horns and the flutes of the bones of animals.

In the province of Skåne horn instruments made from deer horns have
een found. These come from the Stone Age. In Sigtuna, Falsterbo and
he province of Västergötland flutes have been discovered dating from
bout 900. A horn with an iron band was found during excavation in
ödermanland. This horn came from about 500 B.C. The horns that
ame a little later were made of bronze and formed in the shape of the
orn of an animal so we can therefore draw the conclusion that the first
nusical sound to make the gods listen to the supplication of man came
ut of the horn of the cow, the ox, or the deer. In 1639 and again in
734, in the duchy of Schleswig, horns of pure gold were found which had
een used in the worship of Odin, covered with Runic inscriptions, which
ave not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Other instruments belonging to
his period that have been discovered and preserved in museums are bronze

horns somewhat curious in shape, called ludr. These instruments have been tested by experienced horn players and give forth a fine, resonant tone. Regarding music in these ancient times we know very little with the exception of these instruments.

Just before the time of the birth of Christ, Sweden undoubtedly came in contact with the Roman Empire and learned something of the music of southern Europe. From the Germanians on the continent we hear nothing musical until about 400 A.D. Musicians and scalds were considered people of great convenience during the Viking times and at the Svealand court at Uppsala the cultic music was practiced even by the kings. The scalds, or saga-men, recited and sang stories telling of their Norse gods, goddesses and heroes, Woden, Thor, Odin, Freya, Brynnhild, and of the abode of the gods, Walhalla. These ballads formed the national epics called sagas and eddas, from which Richard Wagner drew the story for his immortal music cycle, the Nibelungenlied, and of which the oldest received their present form early in the eleventh century.

The songs were taught orally and learned by heart, as there was no notation at this early date (500 A.D.). They accompanied themselves on small harps which could be carried easily. The harp was handed around the banquet table so that each guest in turn might sing a song as his share of the entertainment. Singing and composing poetry were a necessary part of a gentleman's education.

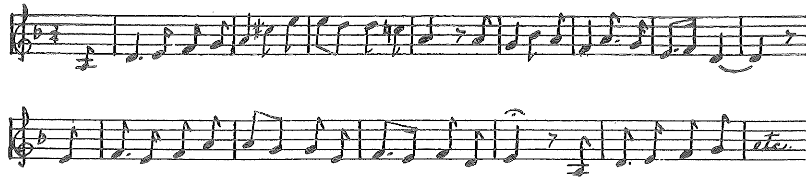
When the explorations of the Vikings in 1100 discontinued, the wandering scalds and musicians (also called "spelmän" or "lekare") lost their importance. The scald became jealous of the spelmän" and vice versa, which became the downfall of both. In this century three more instruments came into Sweden—the drum, the trumpet, and the basun.

The folksong came into Sweden from western Europe but developed in Sweden without any contribution from outside sources. Melodically it became one with the old ringdance and the legend song (legend visan) and here was also blended the text of the secular and the text of the sacred.

The folk music of a nation is always a sure foundation of a national school, and Sweden is now proving that she is no exception to this rule. Sweden is a land of song and a nation of singers and the people are noted for their rich store of traditional song and dance. While the music is not of as great depth as that of its sister country, Norway, still there is in it a finely lyric quality which makes its appeal strong. The poetry of Scandinavia is peculiarly rich in ballads, legends, and tales of ancient and mediaeval warriors on sea or land—the heroic-epic element being abundant, while the lyric element plays little part except in the refrains to the ballads. The Swedish folksongs are the most beautiful and poetical of the Scandinavian songs and are among the world's best.

The northern melodies usually begin with the up-beat, and by preference with the step of the fourth. They are very frequently in common or 2-4 time and adhere to the simplest modulations. The phrases are not repeated on different steps of the scale as in so many other countries, and this gives the melodies great variety. The minor mode prevails. This prevalence may be due also to the old church modes.

The "Värmelandsvisa," one of the most beautiful folksongs in the world, exemplifies the above qualities; it begins thus:



These folksongs had however nothing to do with the church. About the year 1300 the church had no power over the people. The church was a closed institution that cared neither for the people, their songs or their music. The organization period of the Swedish church was 1100. The first and foremost city, as far as church music was concerned, was Lund. A century later it became Uppsala. The next in order was Linköping, then came Strängnäs and Västerås. Each "domkapitel" had a special musical leader or cantor. It was compulsory for the chosen singers to be present at all services. Those who were absent as well as those who sang out of tune were given a heavy fine.

As Sweden at this period was Roman Catholic it was natural that the various orders of this church should interest themselves in the arts. The foremost among these was the Dominican order which brought new streams of music from the western part of Europe. The diocese of Skara and Västerås was under English missionary influence, while Linköping and Lund were influenced by Denmark and northwestern Germany.

In the 1100's hymns and antiphonals were sung in the church. As the music which was used was prescribed by the Roman Catholic church, there were graduals, antiphonals, chants, and others. Most of the books used at this time have been destroyed. In 1200 practically all the bishoprics stood under German influence. Before that time undoubtedly Sweden had drawn most of its musical substance from England and France. When Sweden came in greater contact with these countries and from them learned their church music, no notes as they are today representing sound were used but gradually this so much superior system pushed aside the neumen or letter system used before. The first book on musical theory in Sweden came from Skara in 1475.

In the latter part of 1200 and the beginning of 1300 the organs began to appear in the churches and the improvements that took place in these instruments—the introduction of the register and pedals—was a great step. The keys of the earliest organ were so big that the key or rather plank had to be struck with a club or with the fist. About 1375 they were made very small, much smaller than today. The oldest organ with the plank keys is in Vreta Kloster church in Östergötland. There is an organ with small keys in Norrland church on the island of Gottland, which was built in the beginning of 1400. During 1400 there were organs everywhere in the Swedish churches. Even the homes had organs at this period—small portable organs, which were also used by the wandering "lekare" or "spelmä."

The secular or worldly music seems to have been cultivated almost exclusively in the towns where musicians had established guilds. These musicians were called "yrkesmusiker." First they traveled from place to place. Afterwards they became stationary. With 1300 they became more learned singers. In the 1500's they became a section of the "kungliga hovkapellet" or the royal court.

At the end of this age came the change. The material had been gathered. Now the building could begin.

The regimes of Gustavus Vasa and Erik XIV were a very important period for the growth in Swedish musical art. In the sixteenth century musical art in Sweden reached a high level. Gustavus Vasa was a connoisseur in music, and encouraged composers of the Netherland and Italian Schools to his court. King Erik himself was the author of many compositions and we read that during his imprisonment he wrote many vocal compositions in eight parts. In a list of King Erik's library we find both printed and hand-written music of which he was the author.

The influence of the Reformation created a great setback to the music in the church. Everything in the service that had previously been sung was now read by the clergymen. Some years later a great deal of the music of the Roman church was restored but instead of being as formerly in Latin it had to be sung in Swedish. King Gustav and Erik could undoubtedly have helped the church in introducing the simple Psalms from Lutheran Germany but these two men were more interested in higher form of polyphonic music and cared very little for the ultra consonant hymns.

During the fearful religious strife between Catholics and Protestants the Court Orchestra became more of a performer of hymns than music of higher caliber and it consequently degenerated, and in the year 1602 we find this fine organization had dwindled to two spelman and three trumpeters, sum total five.

Soon, however, the schools, though small, became places for musical training and laid great emphasis on song. Through them the interest grew and the singing of choirs and the playing of instruments was taken up anew. In the school songbooks in the first part of 1600 we find difficult compositions in intricate many-voiced style. The priest singers had vanished with the old church and the new clergy were ignorant men as far as music was concerned. But the schools restored the higher form of music and as long as it did not come from the old hated channel (although the same music) all concerned were again happy and satisfied. A book from 1611 tells us how the musical instruction in the schools was conducted. Every day one hour was laid aside for music. In the lowest classes they began by singing Lutheran hymns, from these they progressed into the Gregorian mass and lastly, in the highest classes into figured music. At the same time all were given theoretical knowledge of the elements in music as well as the basic principles underlying the polyphonic tonal art. The printed books came from Germany. The Swedish books were written by hand. In the 1600's printing of books was begun. The first musical book for church songs was "En Liten Sångbok," which was printed in 1553. The first "nottryckare" printer of Sweden was Andreas Gutterwitz. After 1610 printed music books became more common, though real chorale books were not found in Sweden before the 1700's.

The congregation was not asked to sing at this period—only the choirs and priests. But by 1620 the Lutheran State Church music had reached and established the form that it has today.

In 1620 the Royal Court Orchestra again became the central institution for the higher form of music and we read that at the wedding of Gustav Adolf II there was the sound of a great orchestra of many musicians

"var ljuvlig." Under him music rose. For the first time there was a choir of singers, instruments and trumpets. In 1627 there were four singers, sixteen instrumentalists and eight trumpeters. It cost $12,000 for the year 1629. All the musicians of this great orchestra came from Germany. It became the fashion that every well-educated man must know something about music. However, during the whole period from 1530 to 1630 there was no dominant leader in the court.

With the entrance into the Thirty Years' War Sweden became the central point for European affairs. Sweden became bound with the cultures of Germany and France. The Swedes traveled to other lands and learned their ways, and the Germans flocked to Sweden.

In the 1630's Swedish people learned the musical trade in the palace. A boy nine to ten years old became "diskantist." He lived with the head of the court who taught him to read and write. The boy sang in the chapel. Then the king could later send him to other countries for instruction. He could become organist, or cantor, or song leader in a school, or musician in a city.

The orchestra at this time had violins, alto violins (violas), viola d'amour and "gambor." Also "archilutan" or "teorben" were in the orchestra. Oboes began to be used. The lute was the instrument of the home. The cello came in one hundred years later, the clarinet, one hundred and fifty.

In 1640 we find Andras Düben and his brother Martin to be the leading spirits in the musical world in Stockholm. Both had studied the organ in Amsterdam and were among the greatest of performers Sweden had at that period. As organists they had control over the three finest instruments in Sweden—the organs in Storkyrkan, Hovkyrkan and Tyska kyrkan in the city of Stockholm. Andreas Düben wrote the march for Gustavus Adolfus the IInd's funeral, and this composition became the first proof, so to speak, of what a Swedish composer was able to produce. He later wrote a large work for choir which was performed at the funeral of "hovkapellisten" Thomas Boltz. These two compositions were printed, a rare thing in those days. Several efforts had been made to make printing of music possible in Sweden but as yet all printed music books came from Germany and all the Swedish songs and Psalms used in the church as well as the secular music was written by hand. After Gustav Adolf's death and when his daughter Kristina became old enough, the music took a new turn. She broke away from the German influence and turned again to France and Italy. At the French court the ballet was the thing of the hour and Queen Kristina brought to Sweden and her court not only the French ballet and French musicians but also a large theatrical troup from Italy as well as an orchestra of twenty-four instrumentalists and a number of singers. In this way opera came to Sweden and, according to history, these operatic performances, during Queen Kristina's reign, were of the very finest. Düben was asked to write music for the French ballet. He wrote three allemandes, thirteen courantes, two sarabandes and one bourree. However, church music was dearest to him. In 1660 he wrote a "Miserere" for Karl Gustaf's funeral. After Queen Kristina's abdication, the court resumed its former austerity, and everything in music became again dull and lifeless. At last all that was left of the orchestra were a few French violinists. Andreas Düben was now an old

man and had no longer power to keep up the old order. He died in 1662. It was not until a hundred years later that the Swedish theatre was given a firm basis upon which to build.

Soon, however, Sweden came again under German influence because of the provinces in northern Germany under Swedish control, so that Sweden came continually in contact with the great art centers of Hamburg, Lübeck, Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden. Andreas Düben's son, Gustav Düben, became now the leading musician in Sweden. He was born in Stockholm in 1624. In 1663 he became the court musician. He wrote some compositions, including three dances, a "Simfonia con cimbalo e spinetta" and vocal works. He made changes in the music of the court. He had to write the music for all festivals and important occasions. He wrote several works for vocalists including "Fader Var" for four parts and five violas and "Surrexit pastor bonus" for four parts and two violas. His best work was in the field of small "arias." He died in 1690.

As yet there were hardly any really Swedish compositions or composers to speak of. Almost everything was of foreign origin. Even the so-called Swedish composers—born in Sweden—were of foreign parents or grandparents. We should really mention one powerful Swedish composer's name, Olof Rudbeck. He possibly did more for the music at Uppsala than many before him. This powerful man in Uppsala's musical life worked hard to establish a printing establishment. But the Swedish composers had to continue to be satisfied with hand-written notes unless they sent their manuscripts to Germany and that was an expensive thing to do. Rudbeck was the real originator of musical life in Uppsala. There was a full orchestra at Uppsala—not only stringed instruments, but all the others. A new large organ for "domkyrkan" was bought at his initiative. He also had a good voice. He and a student of his, Harald Vallerius, worked on the psalm book in order to unify it and modernize it.

The period between 1690 and 1720 represents on one side a lowering of the higher form of music and on the other side a broadening of the musician's scope. Instead of large compositions, works of solo nature became more popular. The clavier was played everywhere, and music became more intimate. The menuet and polonaise made their entrance. Karl XI cared little for music and the court was almost silent. Of course we must remember that this was a time of the most terrible famine and even in the King's palace there was not food enough for all.

A great personality in Swedish music was Johan Helmich Roman, beyond doubt of Swedish blood, according to Patrick Vretblad in his biography of "The Father of Swedish Music," which title has been so rightfully given to this great man. He was born on October 26, 1694 (9 years after Johan Sebastian Bach), in Stockholm, and did more for Swedish music than any man before him and long after. This remarkable Swedish composer and man of great learning in so many fields outside of music wrote not less than thirty-three symphonies, a great deal of chamber music and seventeen sonatas for violin and piano as well as twelve sonatas for flute. Besides this he wrote volumes of sacred music and brought the church music up to a high standard. He wrote many cantatas, larger and smaller works for choir and enumerable melodies for song. He brought the court orchestra up to a high degree of excellence.

He laid the foundation for the great concert activities that later became so famous and are today famous in Stockholm.

Of great importance was Roman's use of the Swedish language entirely. He translated many works on musical theory and harmony.

Some musicians in the court at Roman's time were Gustaf Witte and Petter Brandt, who was concert master. Another was Jakob Henrik Meijer, who wrote two cantatas. Michael Zettrin and David Kellner were at the court also during Roman's time. Kellner wrote a chorale book. Ferdinand Zellbell was born in 1689 and was organist at the Storkyrkan. He wrote a chorale book and was a great organist and teacher.

At this time the theatre was in the foreground. In 1753 a troup came to Stockholm and they continued to perform until Adolph Fredrik's death. Francesco Antonio Uttini, who was one of the most important men at this time, was born in Bologna in 1723. In 1754 he came to Sweden where he remained the rest of his life. He composed several operas for the Italian troup: "Il Re pastore" became the most popular. He also wrote chamber music. He was closest to the new time and had great influence. His symphonies had three movements, following each other. His melodies were very beautiful.

The music in Stockholm was becoming more alive. Many virtuosi were appearing. In the 1760's a concert society was founded. Lars Samuel Lalin was one of the founders. Two additional important names at this period are Anders Wesström and Erik Ferling. The former was born in 1722, appeared at court, traveled and was chief musician of the state. Ferling was his rival as far as violin playing was concerned. He was born in 1733 and became concertmaster at the court, where he was one of the best violinists that Sweden has had.

Next to Stockholm in importance was Gothenburg. There the first musical offering was in 1718 when "amor noster crucifixus" by Johan Anthonius Bonn was performed. Olof Liedner took the lead in beginning a series of concerts which were held every Thursday for sixteen weeks beginning October 25, 1756 at 5:00 p.m. Carl Dijkman, his successor, who was organist, flutist and violinist, continued this series.

The musical director of Uppsala after Vallerius was Christian Zellinger. Then came Erik Burman, under whom music stood especially high. He was born in 1692 and in 1719 became director of music at the university. He wrote several musical dissertations.

In Lund music went forward. Petrus Estenberg established a music chapel in 1720. His successor was Fredrick Kraus.

With Gustaf III the opera became the center of music. In the beginning they called in people from other places, but they wanted an opera house of their own. The Italians had the serious opera, the French, the lively. Sweden wanted to go between as Ehrensvard, the king's first theatre head, said: "unite the splendor of French with the charm of Italian opera." So Gustavus III established a Royal National Opera. All arrangements were made by this lover of the great arts, the King of Song, for a large opera chorus and ballet as well as to have a fine large orchestra for the presentation of the greatest operas of that time. The king threw himself passionately into the task. He wrote texts for the Royal Opera, having, in fact, written a rough draft of the text of the opening work. He was present at rehearsals and required accurate reports as to the reactions of the

public. The Royal Theatre has been a national theatre in the real sense of the word. It was created for the education and culture of the people, not for the king's personal pleasure. The king was the patron and any deficit was made up from his own private purse.

The first opera was given January 18, 1773, and was "Thetis och Pelee." Johan Wellander wrote the text and Francesco Uttini the music. It had great success. Then came Handel's "Acis och Galathea" and Gluck's "Orpheus och Eurydice." Hitherto Sweden had depended entirely on foreign opera troups but King Gustaf insisted upon Swedish-born singers.

Another great achievement at this period was the establishment of the Royal Musical Academy, antedating all other institutions of the kind in northern Europe. The men who took the initiative were Axel Gabriel Leijonhufvud, Patrik Alströmer and Adam Horn. In 1771 they presented to Gustavus III a resolution asking for the establishment of a musical academy. The king was deeply interested and on September 18, 1771, decreed that it should be done: (1) to promote musical work; (2) to have concerts given and to build an orchestra; (3) to compose various types of compositions on a Swedish basis. The heads of the project were the director and the concertmaster. In 1771 Ferdinand Zellbell was named director and Erik Ferling, concertmaster. The teachers were: harmony, Henrik Philip Johnsen; song, Lars Samuel Lalin; pianoclavier, Karl Johan Ramse and Johan Fredrik Palm. More teachers were added as time went on.

The Royal Musical Academy of Sweden has, up to the present, been the great leader in things musical in Sweden. Its teachers are chosen from the finest of musical scientists, composers, instrumentalists and vocalists. It is famous in Europe as a conservatorium where no one is permitted to enter as a student unless he already is in possession of a great deal of musical equipment and unmistakable talent. At this Academy the question of "how much money have you got?" is not asked the student trying to enter, but "what is your ability?" It would be well if this could be true throughout the United States.

Gustavus III did perhaps more than any monarch Sweden had previously had and with his death—an assassination on the stage of the opera house on March 16, 1792—a great epoch in the tonal art had come to an end. As yet no printing of music was done in Sweden. Only the title page was printed. All the rest of the thousands of choral as well as other music books were written by hand. There were many people doing nothing else than copying music which was bound and sold at a specific price. In 1788 the Musical Academy was given concession to print music, and it is interesting to note that this was not done with the old individual type but engraved on copper plate, the same as it is today.

In 1777 a new lift came to the opera when Johan Gottlieb Naumann was called to Sweden from Dresden. He became very well liked but had to return in 1778. In 1782 a new opera house was built. Naumann was asked to write the opera for the "invigning" or dedication. On September 30 the opera house was opened with the opera "Cora och Alongzo." They persuaded Naumann to stay and write an opera on a Swedish scene. He wrote "Gustaf Vasa," which was his greatest work. Many of the melodies in it became popular and well known.

One of the earliest important composers was Olof Åhlstrom. He was

born August 14, 1756, in Södermanland. When he was six years old he went to Stockholm to study music. He came into the Musical Academy and later became organist at Maria Church, in which capacity he was very well known. He also studied bookkeeping and became war commissary. Gustaf III made him the music teacher of the crown prince. He wrote piano sonatas, overtures, arias and songs. Most of his songs became popular and very well known. His music even outside of the songs was originally Swedish. He was a pioneer among musical journalists also, editing the Musikalisk Tidsfoerdrif. Olof Åhlstrom was the forerunner of the true Swedish song. At the beginning of the nineteenth century he published a collection of eighteen volumes called "Skaldestycken Sätte i Musik" containing songs by himself, by Haeffner, Stenborg, Palm, and others. Many songs in this collection, as well as those by Dupy, Nordblom, Crusell, et cetera, still show the same tendency towards the Berlin School, but the words of Swedish poets were used, and attention was thus called at last to Swedish composers. A yet greater service which Åhlstrom did was to edit the songs of that strange original genius, Carl M. Bellmann, under the title of "Fredmans Epistlar och Sanger" (1790-95). These are in reality splendidly humorous pictures of Stockholm life skillfully adapted to favorite foreign (chiefly French) and native airs; very few tunes are original, but they remain household words in Sweden to the present day. Åhlstrom died in 1835.

Carl Michael Bellmann was one of the last, perhaps the very last, of the troubadours, a group supposed to have become extinct long before his time. (His dates are 1740-1795). But this is his proper designation. He wrote or improvised his verses. He sang them, sometimes to airs of his own, oftener to melodies of Swedish or other origin popular in the land. His subjects were those of the nature and life about him.

The interest for the theatre which during the second half of 1700 had been very strong, began in the beginning of 1800 everywhere to decrease. The reason for this was the constantly increasing tendency to popularize the musical and theatrical art so at last the performances contained nothing but vulgarities. The people were seeking their enjoyment in big pleasure palaces which were the outgrowth of the decaying theatrical and musical performances. The new dances introduced were symbols of the pleasure life of the time with their frivolities and spiritual poverty. The times about 1810 were especially sad. In 1809 there was not, what we can call, a legitimate theatre or an orchestra in Stockholm. The Musical Academy had almost stopped functioning. The composers left Sweden for other lands. Only in the homes and in the private clubs was there a little musical life left.

Sweden awakened as from a sleep when Karl Johan XIV—great, great-grandfather of the present king of Sweden—set foot on Swedish soil in 1810. That King Karl was musical as in every other way richly gifted, it would not take long to persuade music lovers who know that as ambassador of the French republic to Vienna he belonged to the aristocratic circles which petted and adored Beethoven. How he sought Beethoven with the request for him to write a symphonic work embodying the young Napoleon as the subject is commonly known. Less widely known it is that when old Karl XIII of Sweden died and was to be buried it was the only child and

heir of the new king who provided the funeral march played at the funeral.

King Karl found in Sweden a people ready to restore what had been lost. Musicians like Joachim Eggert (born in Germany in 1780) and Küster (also German) as well as the great Frenchman Du Puy, returned to Sweden and put their shoulders to the wheel and again the musical life began to pulsate. Du Puy presented the operas of Mozart and in the double role of both conductor and singer he brought the opera to such a high standard of excellence that it was considered the finest in Scandinavia, and the court orchestra one of the finest in Europe. At this period we have several great Swedish singers at the opera such as: Kinmanson, Lindstrom, among the men, and women like Jeanette and Christina Wasselius, Elisabeth Frosslind, and Anna Sofia Thamberg. To judge by the names there was only one Swedish member in the orchestra, Carl Johan Westerdahl, violinist. All the rest came from other countries. Two fine composers were active in Sweden at this period, namely: Crusell and Berwald. The former came from Finland, the latter from Germany.

In poetry, however, a new school had come into being—the romantic—and even the music was influenced thereby. The German Romantic School had Atterbom as leader and the new Scandinavian School had Esias Tegner and Erik Gustav Geijer as their standard bearers. Crusell wrote music to many of Tegner's "Frithiofs Saga" in 1826. Another great member of the new Romantic School was Johan Erik Nordblom. He wrote many of the so-called "Enkla Fokkvisor" that the people love so well. His simple romantic songs were full of that deep poetical feeling, that extraordinarily beautiful melodic curve, that seem to convey the meaning of the text. Nordblom's songs are still sung and much beloved in Sweden.

The first great Swedish composer and the earliest romanticist was Franz Berwald (1796-1868). His output was large and in the largest forms. He undertook symphonic works which until his time had been neglected in his native land. Without being known much outside Sweden he gained a place in the hearts of his countrymen which he has held ever since. His most popular work was his "Symphonie Serieuse" in G minor, which was influenced by Schumann and Beethoven. Out of half a dozen operas we may mention "Estrella de Soria," which was of large proportions. As a highly trained and spontaneous worker in the early romantic style Berwald performed a great service in awakening musical consciousness in his native land. His works grew in appreciation after his death, and exercised a noticeable influence on the work of the most modern Swedish composers. He became professor of composition and instrumentation at the Conservatory of Stockholm.

The folk music stood very high and light operas filled with folksong and folkdances were very popular. Of all these lighter forms of work, "Värmländingarne" is the most famous. This was composed by A. Randel, but the poet F. A. Dahlgren, had a great deal musically to do with it too. Dahlgren (1816-95) wrote the familiar song "Jänta å ja."

Many concerts were given where only folksongs were rendered. At the very first one the old folktune "Du Gamla, Du Fria" with text by Dybeck was sung for the first time.

The following paragraph is a translation of this song:

Thou ancient and free, thou mountainous North,
Thou peaceful, with joy and beauty crowned!
I greet thee, thou dearest of all the lands on earth
Thy skies, thy bright sun, and thy grassy meadows!
Thy throne is upheld by the mem'ries of yore,
When honoured, thy name was blazed the world o'er.
I know that thou art, and wilt be, what thou wert,
Yes, I will live and I will die in Sweden.

The opera was again almost dead, and not until 1840 was it brought back to life by Jenny Lind's return to Sweden after tremendous triumphs everywhere in the world. Born in 1820 in Stockholm she made her debut in "Friskytten." She died in 1887 in England. When she left Sweden, the opera became as dormant as before.

There was one branch in Sweden that really never was neglected, namely, "Körsången," that is, Singing in Chorus, especially those composed of male voices. The first half of the nineteenth century may be called the golden age of the Swedish Lied. It was a time of choral societies, some of which became famous throughout the continent. Through this medium Uppsala became a central point for music. The first organized society was established in 1830 in Uppsala by O. F. Fullberg. As leaders came after him Karl Laurin, Oscar Meijerberg, and Gunnar Wennerberg, one of Sweden's most delightful composers, who wrote "Gluntarne," which became a great Swedish "sallskapssång."

In Lund, work of the same kind was also done with no less a man than Otto Lindblad as leader. He was born in Smaland in 1809 and became a student at Lund. He became the leader of the men's chorus and traveled with them to Stockholm. Lindblad has written some of our finest quartettes for male voices, such as "Du som världen har till rike" and "Ur svenska hjärtans djup."

One of the most representative writers for male chorus was Prince Gustav. Most well known is his glorious "Sjung om studentens lyckliga dar." One of the most beautiful songs written in any language, in my opinion, is Prince Gustaf's song, "In rosens doft," which follows.

He composed his best songs from the city of Uppsala. Prince Gustav was entirely a child of the romantic age in music in which he was born. He was delicate of health and died at the age of twenty-five, leaving behind a great number of compositions, both vocal and instrumental. His style was influenced by that of his intimate friends, Lindblad and Geijer, yet bearing his own individuality stamped upon every one of his works.

The church music had also from about 1820 made great strides. During the Gastavian period this form had been very much neglected due to the contempt that existed for all things religious and lack of understanding of the chorale and the liturgical music of the church. At the advent of romanticism the work for a new book of chorales was again taken up with better results than before. Under Johan Olof Wallin's powerful guidance the new book was made ready. The revision came, in 1818, into the hands of two such men as Christian Haeffner and Erik Gustav Geijer. In 1820-21 the new book came out in two volumes.

Geijer was a prominent figure in the intellectual and artistic life of his country. Known as a composer, he was also archaeologist, historian, poet, professor, and for some time rector of the University of Uppsala. A collaborator of Geijer was Afzelius, also a renowned scholar and savant. The name of Haeffner, too, should not be omitted, for he wrote the needed accompaniments—always a difficult task—for the greatest skill and taste must be employed in order to preserve the artless simplicity and beauty of the songs.

Adolph Fredrik Lindblad followed for some time Geijer's style but soon, possessing greater power of utterance, struck out for himself. Lindblad, in his songs, displays greater artistry than Geijer. Also you find in his songs that freedom in his dramatic-declamatory style, especially in ballads. Commonly called the "Schubert of Sweden," Lindblad was the domineering personality in Sweden. His great forte was short, lyric tunes with simple melodies. The large symphonic and operatic forms were not for him. Wandering sweetness is to be found in the songs of Lindblad, the individuality of which is equalled only by their charm. They bear the national stamp; they are pure, natural, unaffected and really poetic and graceful. Among the most interesting are those to Atterbom's words, especially "Trohet." Others worthy of mention are "saknad," "O kom, nej dröj," and "En Sommarday."

Lindblad was the teacher of the famous Jenny Lind. His songs owe their fame and popularity in a great measure to having been sung everywhere by her. Lindblad also wrote the Swedish national hymn and made many arrangements of native melodies. He was born in Skenninge in 1801 and died in 1879. He traveled extensively throughout Germany and Sweden, and died near Linköping, Sweden.

The popular music was represented at this time by "taffelmusik" in restaurants and band music out in the open. The period between 1840-50 was especially "dansmusikens glanstid" when valse, polka and galopp were the mode. The dance music was also a musical stimulant without dancing. Johan Strauss, Senior, had made of the dance piece a musical work of art that could be played even in concerts.

Had the period before 1850 been somewhat dull as far as the theatre was concerned, the new time that dawned after the French Revolution became much more full of life. An Italian opera troupe visited Stockholm and gave brilliant performances of, among others, Verdi's operas. Jacopo Foroni, their energetic and brilliant leader, took charge of the king's opera as well as the court orchestra. The old classical works were dressed in new apparel. Concerts of the highest order were given. Foroni, being a great pianist as well, played Beethoven's later Concertos in a way that never had been heard before. He spent twelve years in Stockholm, in that time bringing back the love for opera and great musical works.

After Foroni, Ludvig Norman, a Swedish composer and conductor, continued the great work at the opera as well as with the orchestra. Norman was a truly idyllic composer, and among his songs the beautiful "Skogs Sånger" and "Månestrålar" should be better known. In his piano music he is something of a poet and tone-painter. In his larger works, such as the Symphony in E flat major, he is still the melodist.

Norman received great help in his work from August Söderman—the genuine Swedish talent. Born in 1832, he was the first of the Swedish composers to become known in America. He was more like Wagner—in using the recitative form. He wrote much music for the theatre, but never an opera, though he wanted it so much. Söderman was a man of great gifts, a man with a keen sense for organization, a personality for new things of value. He was a dramatic genius and possessed a marked pure Swedish style. His compositions are of lasting value. Söderman's first great work was "Tannhauser," written in 1856. Then came "Kvarnruinen." Shortly before his death he wrote his greatest work "Den Svarte Ryttaren." His ballad for choir, "Die Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar" had a tremendous success. Söderman also wrote scenic music, and even if he did not reach as far as grand opera he gave Sweden the first really dramatically powerful theatrical music. One of his most famous compositions is "Bröllopet på Ulväsa." Besides music for the church—solo songs with piano, male quartets, and others—we must not forget to mention his well-known "Ett Bondbröllop." Söderman died in 1876 at the age of forty-four.

Söderman was the time's universal spirit. He had a grip on most types of music: folk song, instrumental, choir music, song, and church, and on all he made his mark. He became the century's most rounded-out personality. His harmonies are individual, and his orchestral works show a breadth and solidity that are wholly modern in effect.

Farther along came Gunnar Wennerberg, the most noted writer of student music. As a follower of Geijer, he wrote solo songs and quartettes. His patriotic hymns have been known for two generations. His collection of duets entitled "Gluntarne" for baritone and bass gives a delicious tonal reflection of the joyous university life at Uppsala. He wrote also several religious works, as "Davids Psalms" and "Stabat Mater." Canon and fugue was the type of music dearest to him. Poet and critic, as well as musician, he served the state as Minister of Public Instruction.

One of the most talented of the early Swedish composers was Ivar Hallström, born in 1826 at Stockholm. He has been called the "first truly national composer of his country." He appreciated the artistic possibilities of the national folksong and made its use in his music a chief tenet in his artistic creed. This was preeminently true in his operas—such as "Den Bergtagna" and "Der Viking." Besides eight operas, he wrote several operettas, various ballets, and other works in larger form, as well as piano pieces and songs. He began life as a member of the legal profession, but soon forsook it for a musical career, becoming head of the Lindblad School of Music in 1861. He died in 1901.

The Royal Opera had at this time most excellent singers, great artists such as Louis Michaeli, Signe Hebbe, and Fredrika Stenhammer among the women, and Oscar Arnoldson and Fritz Arlberg among the men. A great star of the very first rank was Kristina Nilsson, although she celebrated her greatest triumphs in the big world outside of Sweden and visited her homeland but occasionally. To Christina Nilsson (Americanized spelling of first name) and Jenny Lind, Sweden owes a debt of gratitude for carrying the native melodies into foreign lands. Reigning long years as Queens of Songs, far from home, feted and honored in every way, they might well have been forgiven for forgetting their childhood home. But the fact remains that they never did forget, but returned to Sweden to use their earnings to found scholarships and endow institutions of learning and hospitals. In every way they tried to show their appreciation for what Sweden had done for them. Both of these great artists won their place among the immortals of the world of song by endless industry and patience. Endowed with great gifts they used them for the happiness and inspiration of mankind.

The Royal Musical Academy in Stockholm developed more and more into the great institution for musical learning that it is today. Prince Oscar was president of the Academy during the years from 1864 to 1872 or his succession to the throne. It was upon the suggestion and initiative of Prince Oscar that this academy began the publication of its records which lasted as long as he was president. This Royal Musical Conservatorium interests itself and takes tender care of Sweden's musical talent, and that the instruction it gives its students is of the finest we can rest assured. The Academy has a musical library of immense value, where the school keeps its precious manuscripts and documents from time immemorial. The library contains one of the rarest musical collections in Europe.

Great male choruses came out of Uppsala with Oskar Arpi as leader. After Arpi, Ivar Hedenblad became conductor of "Studentkören." In Gothenburg the male quartette and mixed choir work was cultivated to a high degree.

King Oscar II was a liberal patron of the arts. He once said: "Our folksongs are simple echoes from the deep forests, the high mountains,

the lakes watered by many streams, the rushing and roaring waterfalls. They seem to belong to the cold winter evenings with the crackling fire of pine wood; they seem to be heard best of all far from man's abode, in the wan northern summer light."

The time between 1880-1914 was a transitional period—a break from the old into new ideals. The old German and French impressions had to give way for the new Romanticism of Germany. Hallstrom wrote operas in the style of Gounod and in Swedish "sagostil" with folksongs and folk-dances. The scholars and those more artistically endowed worked for Wagner, Liszt and Schumann, and about 1890 their art conquered.

The leading composers of orchestral works were Andreas Hallén, Wilhelm Stenhammar, Hugo Alfvén, and Wilhelm Peterson-Berger. All these men were prolific writers and gave Sweden some of its finest compositions in the larger form.

Johan Andreas Hallén, the first of the new romanticists, was born at Gothenburg, Sweden on December 22, 1846. His operas include "Harold," "Hexfallen," "Waldemar's Treasure" and other stage works. His symphonic poems and Swedish rhapsodies are well known abroad. He has composed also several important choral works, as well as beautiful songs. Hallén stands out as the one representative operatic composer of Sweden belonging to the nineteenth century. He unites the charm of his native music with strength of passion and richness of instrumentation.

No modern Scandinavian composer approaches K. Wilhelm E. Stenhammar in the fusing of fresh poetry with strong intellectual and technical control. The list of his compositions includes two operas "Tirfing" and "Gildet på Solhaug," two symphonies, several cantatas, five string quartettes, a violin sonata and a piano sonata, besides piano pieces and songs. His compositions show a delightful fresh enthusiasm, and a warm richness of harmonic beauty.

Hugo Alfvén is Sweden's most important contrapuntist. He is "a classicist who burns incense at the shrine of Wagner." Born at Stockholm, Sweden, on May 1, 1872, he is best known for his work in larger forms. Alfvén is the only prominent symphonist in Sweden. His compositions have had frequent hearings in Europe, and include four symphonies: Midsommarvaka, a rhapsody; En Skorgårds-sagen, a symphonic poem; and numerous other works, including a violin sonata. In recent years his compositions have been presented at rare intervals by symphony orchestras in America. Alfvén has gained fame also as a conductor, directing festivals at Dortmund, Stuttgart, Gothenburg, Copenhagen and Uppsala. At present he is the director of music at the Royal University of Uppsala, and conductor of "O.D.", the famous students' glee club there.

Peterson-Berger, the opera composer, is not as richly harmonic as Emil Sjögren, of whom we shall speak later, but is more Scandinavian in style. His works include five operas, three symphonies, two violin sonatas, and various cantatas. Born in Ullånger, Sweden, on February 27, 1867, Olof Welhelm Peterson-Berger studied under Dentes and Bolanders at the Royal Conservatory in Stockholm between the ages of nineteen and twenty-two. After this he went to Dresden to pursue further his musical education under Edmund Kretchmer and H. Scholtz. From 1890 to 1892 he taught in Ulmeå, and from 1892 to 1894 in Dresden. In 1895 he returned to Stockholm, and in 1896 became music critic on "Dagens

Nyheter," which post he has held witth the exception of the years 1908-10, when he was assisting with the production of Wagnerian operas at the Royal Opera.

Peterson-Berger is a name that arouses strong feelings in Sweden. The seventy-seven-year-old composer, formerly a critic of vitrolic stamp—amusing if one were not the target for his barbs—seems to have champions as fierce as his detractors. Composer of these many charming songs and several operas which reflect a strong racial spirit, he has esconced himself in an island home in the northern province of Jämtland. There, vigorous and alert as ever, all affability to visitors, he makes one of his chief interests the annual production of "Arnljot," the three-act opera generally considered his finest large work. Known also as a poet, "P. B.", as he is is widely called, wrote the libretto as well as the music.

Perhaps the best known and most typical of modern Sweden is Emil Sjögren, the undisputed master of the modern Swedish art song—the "Schumann of the North." No other composer is so individual as he, none more specifically Swedish. His short piano pieces, choral works, and chamber music are highly prized in Sweden. But it is in his songs that Sjögren has expressed himself most perfectly.

Sjögren's pianoforte works are somewhat orchestral in style, and lean toward impressionism, thus exemplifying the modern tendency to rich harmonies (in which, of all composers, he approaches more closely to Grieg) and of the often- accompanying lack of melodic inspiration. His naturally big style appears to advantage in his "Nuptial March" and the energetic and festive sketch "The Village Inn." The rich harmonic coloring and skillful working out of what sometimes are insignificant ideas makes them attractive. His "Moods," "Novelettes," and "Erotikon," consisting of expressive sketches in the modern style, though showing Scandinavian atmosphere, deserve attention. Sjögren's work is distinctly national in tone.

Other composers not far from the front are Tor Aulin, Erik Åkerberg, L. Adolps Hägg, Gustav Hägg, and Bror Beckman.

During the time just before the World War there came a great change. It has taken Sweden long to yield to new musical currents. Grieg in Norway and Sibelius in Finland proved responsive to modern musical conceptions, but Sweden had retired peacefully to German academism and lingered in that shadow many years. A tremendous breakup took place when impressionism fought a tough battle against the German and French after effects of the Wagnerian influence. The Italian tonal art stood also in great favor, and Mascagni, Leoncavallo and Puccini were given a high place in Swedish esteem. The sympathy for the Danish had to give way for the Norwegian masters—Edvard Grieg and Johan Svendsen. Towards the end of the period there was interest beginning for Sibelius and the Finnish music.

Quietly and secretly, a strong, healthy and musical generation of composers has sprung up in Sweden, of importance for the future. We are occasionally reminded of it by its chief representatives (Atterberg, Berg, Rangström, etc.) but we still regard it with a little skepticism in the knowledge of a still older musical culture. This skepticism is, however, entirely misplaced: the valuable impulse of youth should not be passed over for historical reasons. And as it cannot be denied that the young Swedes

themselves do not quite know where they stand, it is high time that they were introduced to other countries and their music included in the circle of general intellectual refinement. Nothing but good can come of it.

The young Swedish group of composers are banded together in the "Foreningen Svenska Tonsattare" under the leadership of Kurt Atterberg, with their headquarters at Stockholm. They are by no means unconventional, in spite of their musical natures. As few of them—following the general rule—can live upon the proceeds of composition, they endeavor, first of all, to gain a sure footing in civil life. For instance, Kurt Atterberg is a wireless engineer at the Royal Patent Office in Stockholm; Natanael Berg is a veterinary surgeon in the Swedish Army; Ture Rangström handles the press affairs at the Opera, and is also a conductor and musical critic; Oskar Lindberg is organist at the Engelbrekt Church and professor at the Stockholm Conservatoire. But the work-a-day world does not impair their creative activity. The romantic element has ever been present in their lives; for the younger generation it is, as Rangström says, "an inner necessity, a melodious yearning, springing from Nature and the hidden depths of the human heart." To them, composing is an inevitable act. Atterberg expresses it thus: "We make music as the birds sing, only because we must." And this fundamental romantic perception, which promotes a national school of composition, engenders a strong feeling for Nature, lightheartedness, modesty and a deep affection for the native soil. The creative work of these young musicians explores the whole range of human emotions, from the heroic to the lyric, from the supernatural to the rhapsodic; but the idea of the fatherland dominates the whole. Nourished by the many forms of folk-song, this music is full of new charm, intensely individual, conceived in a careless rapture, not laboriously constructed, and permeated with ravishing melodic beauty.

How variegated this romantic element has proved itself to be is shown by the self-centered and sharply differentiated personalities of the four leading composers Atterberg, Rangström, Lindberg, and Berg. Kurt Atterberg, who was born in 1887, achieved world-renown by his six symphonies, of which the sixth won the $10,000 Schubert Centenary prize. His instrumental output is large, comprising all the major forms of music: two ballets, stage music and three operas. It is to opera that latterly he seems most attracted.

Though not less national in spirit, the work of Ture Rangström is a contrast to the clear, optimistic expression of the art of Atterberg. By reason of his strong lyric tendencies (he has written over 250 songs) the former composer seems, to some extent, to supplement the latter. The influence of Finland, with its sombre coloring and sonorous tones, appears to be associated with Rangström's world of Swedish emotion. He is more intellectual than Atterberg; his bent is more literary; he is a great admirer of Strindberg. He is deeply emotional, but is drawn towards the darker shades of thought , the demonic, wild and revolutionary aspect.

In general outlook upon life, Oskar Lindberg, who was born in 1887, has more in common with Atterberg; he is heavier and more solid in style, however, and is attached beyond measure to his native country Dalarne. Lindberg's music represents a kind of Swedish impressionism, distinct from the French by virtue of its strength in melodic tissue.

Natanael Berg (born in 1879) was at first considered cosmopolitan in

style with the appearance of his opera "Leila" and numerous symphonic poems, together with choral works and ballets. His light fanciful touch and excellent scoring has always charmed his listeners. Suddenly, in 1929, his Swedish heroic opera "Engelbrekt" came before the public, a work dealing with life, deeds, and death of a national hero of Sweden. its dramatic contents are in contrast with the lyricism of Atterberg's "St. John's Eve." In his latest opera, based upon Hebbel's "Judith," Berg once more deserts the Swedish spirit; but, for all his cosmopolitan demeanor, he is still a Swede at heart.

To avoid diffusiveness we content ourselves with mentioning a few living masters who are typical of the young school of Swedish composition, and each of whom is a little world in himself. They are Adolf Wiklund, a prolific composer for the pianoforte; Melcher Melchers, with slightly impressionistic but definitely Swedish orchestral compositions; Hugo Sedstrom, who happily combines the rich harmonic effect with a gift for melody; Josef Eriksson, with individual pianoforte works, modern in feeling and full of atmosphere, together with a quantity of songs; Emil Anjou, who has written light and refined sketches, which are not lacking in Scandinavian flavor; Knut Håkansson (d. 1929) a writer of chamber music in the old style and contrapuntal suites upon the tunes of Swedish musicians, which attempt to combine the popular melodies of Sweden with the polyphony of a Bach, a Handel, a Brahms, or a Max Reger; Patrick Vretblad, with rich, glowing harmonies and broad, flowing melodies; Adrian Dahl, who writes with technical fluency and a command of melody; Josef Jonsson, the author of big orchestra works and songs breathing the ancient spirit of Sweden (the "Northland" Symphony in particular); Johann Nordqvist, with tender songs and pianoforte pieces, full of color; Algot Haqvinius, with works for pianoforte and a remarkble string quartet; likewise Henning Mankell (d. 1930), the composer of numerous pianoforte works which combine the art of Scriabin with French impressionism upon a Swedish basis; Richard Andersson, the teacher of Stenhammar and Wiklund, and composer of many delightful pianoforte pieces; Gustaf Heintze, also with pianoforte pieces; Lennart Lundberg, composer of poetic, fresh and vigorous piano compositions; Karl Wohlfart, whose "Country Sketches" contain some of the harmonic beauty one always looks for in Grieg; William Seymer, writer of harmonically original chamber music; Eric Westberg, an extravagant talent, with his sensitive symphonic imitations of Swedish folk-tunes (he has been called the "Bela Bartok of Sweden"); Edward Rendahl, who writes in a very melodious though cosmopolitan style; Edvin Kallstenius, who stands alone, a strong and somewhat forbidding personality, evoking the austere tones of the northerner in classic forms; and Hilding Rosenberg, the expressionist, with his numerous orchestral works.

Among the very youngest are Albert Henneberg (born in 1901), who has already attracted attention; Lars-Erik Larsson born in 1908, a writer in an advanced neoromantic idiom; and Gösta Nystrom: he is said to glance back to Grieg's straightforward simplicity and melodic charm, and possesses in addition, something of French impressionistic style, with a dash of the piquant sauce that so often is used today—Stravinsky's best; he employs modern harmonic and rhythmic means; he does not use them with deliberation but with a spontaneous, careless atmosphere.

This represents the full growth of the national school of composition in Sweden, ready to disclose for us new treasures of the soul and mind. It is to be hoped that what it can offer may be accepted more generally outside the boundaries of Sweden itself—some slight recompense for that country's widespread encouragement of the music of other nations.

Sweden can boast of several women composers: Elfrida Andrée, the most gifted, a composer of an organ symphony, orchestral cantata, and chamber music; Valborg Aulin, with modern attractive harmonies; Helen Munktell, who has written a one-act opera, and several songs: Alice Tegnér, writer of songs; Caia Aarup, now in America; Nina Wahltsrom, composer of tuneful, attractive sketches; Amanda Maier-Röntgen, a violin writer; and Hilda Thegerstrom, who wrote songs.

King Gustav V, the present king of Sweden, inherited the same musical endowment as the earlier generations of the Bernadotte dynasty. It is not known that he ever devoted himself to composition but he early acquired a sound and resourceful piano technique. When he was crown prince, King Gustav evidently had left it to his youngest brother, Prince Eugene, the painter, to win fame as an artist, but he took the same fostering care of the cause of music as had the first and second Oscar when they held the rank of crown prince. Thus, after having presided over all committees of the Stockholm Jubilee Exhibition of 1897, Crown Prince Gustav became president of the Academy of Music and devoted much fruitful energy to it for the period of ten years that followed before he succeeded his venerable father to the throne.

Never has the royal box at the opera been so filled with appreciative and discerning members of the reigning house as since Gustav V became king of Sweden. The king is not only the foremost gentleman tennis player of his realm but also its foremost connoisseur and protector of music.

Crown Prince Gustav Adolf has followed in the footsteps of his father in developing into a happy combination of sportsman and man of recondite culture, while like his father he has also been carefully trained for the affairs of state. The present crown prince maintains strong his active interest in music. He is president of the Swedish union of singing societies which was formed from the organizations of all kinds and conditions of men in every province of the realm and which later has brought into its fold also organizations consisting of mixed and women's voices.

During all this time the Opera stood in the front rank. In 1891 the last performance was given in the old building. The structure was torn down and a new Royal Opera House was created in its place which was opened in 1898. It is a beautiful edifice with a superb auditorium. Its almost perfect acoustics were made possible by having the Royal Opera Orchestra play during the formation of ceiling and walls. Workmen made new curves and molded new contours, and if the acoustical properties were not what they should be after an orchestral test, everything was torn down again and the experimentation started anew.

The history of the Stockholm opera does not differ essentially from that of other institutions of the kind. As we have seen, it has enjoyed periods of brilliant success and suffered periods of decline. On the whole, it has kept fairly well abreast of the times in its own sphere. That it has been able to do so and, at the same time, acquire a repertory comprising the masterpieces of the world in opera, becoming an instrument of cultural importance for Sweden, is due to the fact that, since its inception, it has been allied with the State, and has been able to rely upon the State for financial help. It has thus been in a position to give worthy performances at a comparatively low cost to the operagoer. There has always been more stress on the work produced than on the attraction of star singers or conductors. Nevertheless, the Swedish opera stage has produced world-famous artists. It suffices to mention here such examples as Jenny Lind and Kristina Nilsson, and the names of the Court singer, John Forsell (who was Director-General of the Opera from 1923 to 1939) and of Harald Andre, the famous regisseur who has succeeded him. Gertrud Pålsson-Wettergren, Joel Berglund, and Jussi Bjöling, three of the present generation of opera stars, are among the singers known to the musical public of the United States.

The opera with its chorus, ballet and orchestra tours to neighboring towns and Gothenburg in order to give the rest of the country the opportunity of enjoying art. They also broadcast some of them.

From a report on the opera and concert season in 1941 we read: "Stockholm will enjoy a rich and varied musical season this winter, despite the war. Both the Royal Opera, under the direction of the veteran Harald Andre, and the Concert Society have arranged a series of interesting performances and recitals. One of the most eagerly awaited programs is "Tchowantchina" by Mussorgsky. Many Swedish operas will also be given, both classic and modern composers represented. A premiere of special interest will be that of "Brigitta" by Natanael Berg. Of equal importance with the Opera to Stockholm lovers of true music is the Concert Society, rated by connoisseurs as one of the world's foremost. On its invitation Paderewski, Kreisler, and Rachmaninoff have appeared as soloists, and Toscanini, Busch, Nikisch and other foreign masters have directed its superb orchestra. It has always offered programs of taste and merit. In the days between the World Wars its presentations were on a par with those of New York's Carnegie Hall—if not in quantity and variety, at least artistically. Now, of course, its choice is more limited. But despite conditions abroad it still manages to give its patrons an unusually substantial and diversified season."

Sweden's population in 1944 was 6,458,221. Of these 615,975 live in the city of Stockholm. These comparatively few people support in Stockholm alone, a Royal Opera and a Dramatic Theater which are in activity throughout the season. Stockholm has two orchestras, one just as large and the other larger than the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. The former—the Royal Opera Orchestra and the latter, called Konsertforeningen, has a home all its own called Konserthuset—a magnificent building with a marvelous auditorium. This orchestra gives two concerts weekly. In this building there is also a smaller auditorium built exclusively for chamber music, at which celebrated quartette organizations appear. The Stockholm Symphony Orchestra has been pronounced, by no less an authority than Toscanini, as the third best orchestra in the world.

Matters are very similar in Gothenburg, the second city of Sweden. However, this city lacks two items which give the music life in the capital its cache: an opera and a state conservatory. Thus the orchestral con-

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A Study

Of the Pennsylvania Germans in America with Special Reference to the Hymns of the Moravians, Mennonites, Amish, and the Seventh Day Baptists

NADEEN BURKEHOLDER, *Phi Delta*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

△ THE term "Pennsylvania-Dutch" is a misnomer. These early settlers of Pennsylvania who came to America seeking religious freedom were not of Dutch ancestry, but came from German-speaking peoples in Europe, and were called "Deutsch;" hence the name "Dutch." In 1681 King Charles II granted a tract of land to William Penn. Penn's wood became Penn's land, or Pennsylvania. Many Germans accepted Penn's invitation to populate his land, and they came in many groups; the peak year was 1749.

The Pennsylvania Germans may be said to have a Mayflower, as well as the Puritans. In 1683 the good ship Concord landed at Philadelphia having on board a small number of German and Dutch Mennonites from Crefeld and Kriegsheim. Many Mennonites led by Pastorius came from Switzerland and settled in Germantown. The Moravians of Bohemia made Bethlehem the center of their activities under the direction of Count Zinzendorf. The Seventh-Day Baptists, a branch of the Seventh-Day Dunkers or Anabaptists, located at Ephrata in cloisters in 1720. The Germans and German-Swiss were mainly Lutherans and German-Reformed; others were Amish, Dunkers, and Schwenkfelders. Pennsylvania was open to all; gradually these people were molded into one group.

The long journey from the Palatine to Philadelphia required half a year. Some came as redemptioners, and worked out their passage after they arrived. These early settlers were farmers who occupied the best land, for their ideal was self-sufficiency. By the time of the Revolution, Pennsylvania was known as the granary of the colonies.

Pennsylvania-Germans were opposed to holding public office, they did not speak English, and they held debates in their own tongue. But once involved in the conflict for American liberty, the Pennsylvanians of German ancestry entered into the fray, for it was their country they were defending. The wounded at Brandywine were hospitalized at the Ephrata Cloister. The Germans of Pennsylvania were the first to answer Washington's call to Cambridge, and the last to leave his side at Mt. Vernon.

These immigrants were very pious and religious. The Bible was their guide; religion was not optional, but central—the will of God. Faith was the foundation of their lives. They felt that education built a bridge that led away from the farm. Because of their vocation they were conservative,

and clung tenaciously to their dialect and folkways. As a unified group they were able to maintain their traditions.

Public schools were established in Pennsylvania between 1834 and 1839. Newspapers, almanacs, the Luther and King James versions of the Bible, the catechism, and the hymn books were the real text books of the Pennsylvania-Germans in the nineteenth century. In 1739 Christopher Sauer published the first successful German newspaper. These early newspapers fought the school laws of the state which provided for the education of the children.

American dialect appeared, but literary "High German" was the language of the Bibles, hymn books, prayer books, churches, schools, and newspapers. Dialect German was used in the home, in business, and in social life. English gradually became a third medium of expression. "High German" grew to be virtually a foreign language; however the dialect survives, and that is the reason for dialect literature.[1]

EARLY MUSIC IN PENNSYLVANIA

The early settlers of Pennsylvania enjoyed a musical life far in advance of anything in contemporary New England.[2] They brought their schools, music, and other cultural pursuits with them. Many of the pioneers were graduates of European universities, and among them were hymn writers, poets, and artists. They were accustomed to regarding vocal and instrumental music as fitting expressions of religious feeling. Music for them was a chief source of recreation. Good singing in church was required and insisted upon. Their early music was a prelude to a later period.

Colonial. In 1694 a German band of pietists or mystics took up their dwelling beside the Wissahickon River, eight miles from Philadelphia. Here they sang hymns and accompanied their singing with their own instruments: organ, hautboy, trumpets, and kettledrums. Kelpius, their leader, composed a book of hymns consisting of seventy pages. He wrote abroad in 1768 for two clavichords "with additional strings."

In 1700 the Wissahickon hermits were invited to act as choristers and to furnish instrumental music at the dedication of the new Swedish Church, Gloria Dei, near Philadelphia. This was the first North American church equipped with an organ. Falckner, the newly ordained minister of Gloria Dei, was a musician and hymnologist. He wrote to Schleswig, Germany, begging the church authorities to send him an organ. He composed several fine hymns.

John Conrad Beissel, known as the founder of the Sabbatarians in Pennsylvania, came from Germany in 1720. He became affiliated in 1730 with the Seventh-Day Baptists at Ephrata. Here they sang chorales in four to seven parts. In the first edition of the Ephrata hymn collection published in 1730 by Benjamin Franklin over 1,000 of these hymns were attributed to Beissel.

The Schwenkfelders, consisting of forty families, came to Philadelphia in 1734, bringing their own hymn book from Silesia. The Quakers opposed musical activity of any sort.

[1]Ralph Wood, *The Pennsylvania Germans,* (Princeton University Press at Princeton, New Jersey, 1942) pp. 14-17, 167-168.

[2]John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music,* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930), pp. 19-20.

Christopher Sauer is an outstanding figure in colonial life. In 1739 he printed the hymn book of the Seventh-Day Baptists at Ephrata: *Zionitischer Weyrauchshügel,* the first book printed with German type in the United States. Sauer printed the famous Mennonite *Ausbund* in 1742.

The German Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church also entrusted the printing of their hymn books to Sauer: *Kern alter und neuer Lieder* (1752) for the German Reformed Church; *Marburger Gesangbuch* (1757) for the Lutherans. In each case Sauer's publication was the first American edition.

The Moravians settled Bethlehem along the Lehigh River in 1741. Sauer printed the first American Moravian hymn book in 1742: *Hirtenlieder von Bethlehem.* In 1755 he printed the *Kinder-Buchlein,* a children's hymn book for Moravian congregations. The Moravians brought with them the best of musical traditions and their story is one of constant musical activity that reached the highest point of expression in the famous Bethlehem Bach Choir.

Revolutionary. The English influence in music was apparent in Pennsylvania from 1780 to 1840. Francis Hopkinson (1737-1791) was the center of musical life in Philadelphia. He received the Bachelor's Degree in 1757 in the first class from the College of Philadelphia. He was a talented harpsichordist, played the organ, taught singing, and improved the method of quilling the harpsichord. Hopkinson played the best music of the day: Handel, Pergolesi, Scarlatti, Corelli. Vivaldi, Arne, and Purcell. His compositions consist of songs, an opera, a collection of hymn tunes, and a harpsichord suite dedicated to President Washington. Francis Hopkinson has been called our first composer.[3]

James Lyon (1735-1794), a Presbyterian minister, was chiefly a psalmist. He was a candidate for a master's degree at the College of Philadelphia. He has a collection of hymns to his credit. The glory of Hopkinson and Lyon was that of the pioneer.

Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809), born of Austrian parents, was a friend of K. P. E. Bach. When he came to this country he played Haydn's music in his concerts. He improved the calibre of music among his contemporaries, and was particularly interested in concert life in Philadelphia where he was instrumental in promoting the new theatre of 1793.

1775-1800. Andrew Adgate, choral conductor, founded the Uranian Academy in 1787 to promote sacred music, choral singing, and psalmody.

Benjamin Carr, called the father of Philadelphia music, was an early conductor of the Musical Fund Society.

From 1790 on, musical productions were given on a professional scale; benefit concerts were numerous at the close of the century in which the symphonies of Haydn were performed. By 1792 concerts leaned toward chamber music. In 1786 there was a grand concert with a chorus of 230 and an orchestra of 50. Oratorios became popular, and the French influence and operatic style were apparent.

1800-1860. This period shows three main developments in Philadelphia musically: the founding and influence of the Musical Fund Society, the establishment of the opera seria which led to the Philadelphia Academy of Music, and the manufacture of instruments, chiefly the piano.

The Bohemian, Anthony Philipp Heinrich, an odd figure in American musical history, came to Philadelphia in 1816. There he found an art and literary center, famous for sculpturing, publishing, and printing. He took up the study of violin there and directed music at the Southwark Theatre. After wandering to Kentucky he returned to Philadelphia in 1821 where his opera in contemporary English style was produced and a concert of his works was given.

The Musical Fund Society presented Haydn's *Creation* in 1822, and Mozart's *Magic Flute* in 1844. Opera, dancing, and songs became popular. All types of musical institutions were founded, including the Männerchor of Philadelphia in 1835.

[3]*Ibid.,* pp. 35-38.

PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN HYMNODY

Hymnody vs. Psalmody. The terms "hymnody" and "psalmody" are frequently used interchangeably. According to Foote, hymnody is "praise to God with songs." This includes psalmody, consisting of more or less faithful metrical versions of the Psalms, as well as hymns in the more restricted sense of lyrical verse intended to be sung in public worship and recognized as the original composition of the writer. Groves defines tune books as metrical versions of the Psalms, and the melodies were known as "Psalm-Tunes." Psalmody meant the total body of tunes for the practice or custom of singing, and also in time, for the books that served as manuals.

THE MORAVIANS

European Origins

The Moravians, the first of whom had emigrated to Savannah, Georgia, in 1735, moved to Philadelphia in 1740 and thence to their wilderness settlement at Bethlehem in 1741. They came from Bohemia or Moravia to America upon a strong missionary motive to evangelize the Indians and Negroes. On the voyage to America they were joined by the Wesleys who were much impressed by the chorales of the Germans.

In Europe these Moravians were members of the *Unitas Fratrum* (United Brethren), followers of John Huss of Bohemia in the fifteenth century. Huss encouraged lay singing in the church, translated Latin hymns into Bohemian, wrote six original hymns, sang as a choir boy, and did singing in the flames.[4]

Their hymnal in 1501 (consisting of eighty-nine hymns), was the first hymn book to be published by a Protestant sect.

The first hymn book of the *Unitas Fratrum* in German was published in 1561. It had 744 hymns, including sixty of the 1501 edition, with the Bohemian hymns freely translated.

Beginning in 1620 the Brethren were bitterly persecuted by the Austrians who conquered Bohemia. In 1722 a small group escaped to the castle of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony. Here the colony called Herrnhut (Lodge of the Lord) was founded. The Count who assumed leadership of the movement has a parallel in the Wesleys of Methodist tradition. He was a prolific hymn writer: *Jesus Still Lead On* and *O Thou to Whose All Searching Light* are sung by Moravian congregations today.

[4]Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; Harvard University Press, 1940) p. 132.

American Beginnings

In America, Christopher Sauer printed the first American Moravian hymn book in 1742, *Hirtenlieder von Bethlehem.* No music was printed, but there was a register of melodies that might be found in the manuscript tune book that was kept at Herrnhut.

Count Zinzendorf came to visit the Colony at Bethlehem in 1741 and gave the settlement its name. On this first Christmas Eve in the New World he sang the Christmas hymn, *Nicht Jerusalem, Sondern Bethlehem.* (Example I.)

Nicht Jerusalem, Sondern Bethlehem—Zinzendorf

Nicht Jerusalem, Sondern Bethlehem Hat bescheret
Werthes Bethlehem, Du bist ange nehm, Aus dir kommet
Was un nachtret; Nicht Jerusalem.
Was dir frommet, Werthes Bethlehem!
"Not Jerusalem—lowly Bethlehem
'Twas that gave us Christ to save us;
Not Jerusalem.
Favored Bethlehem! Honored is that name;
Thence came Jesus to release us;
Favored Bethlehem!"
"Jesu, rufe mich;" words and music by Adam Drese, 1698.
Music and English words quoted from *The Liturgy and the Offices of Worship and Hymns of the American Province of the Unitas Fratrum* (Winston Salem: 1908). Hymn 511, Tune 46A; German words from Levering. Scott *Thesis,* p. 11.

The Moravians established a communal system of living at Bethlehem. They were plain clothes people, but seemed to take pride in their appearance. They were opposed to war, and practiced marriage by lot. The community was divided for all occasions into "choirs" according to age and sex. The custom of "love feasts" came from Herrnhut, and is now observed at Bethlehem between the singing of chorales: refreshments of kuschen and coffee. The Putz is an old custom of the Christmas season and is similar to those of Europe and South America. The Moravians still hold their unique Easter ceremonies and sunrise services at their "God's Acre."

They brought their hymn books and instruments with them to their new home: violins, viola da braccio, viola de gamba, flutes, French horns, trumpet, trombone, kettledrums, clavichord, mandolin, bassoon, clarinet, serpent, hautboy, giraffen flügel.[5]

Musical Customs

For this people, music was a heritage and a bond, a solace in the wilderness. It served as an enrichment of worship and a recreation. They often had as their guests such men as General Washington whom they entertained with music. The *Unitas Fratrum* had a powerful missionary motive; the Brethren were probably the greatest missionaries of all time. They translated their hymns into the language of the Indians, whom they sought to convert. In 1745 they had a love feast at which *In Dulci Jubilo* was sung in thirteen different languages to instrumental accompaniment. *Reislieder* were traveller's hymns for the missionaries to sing on their journeys as they went to teach the Indians.

Singing was an accompaniment to work as well as worship. There was music for every occasion: harvests and children's festivals. Music played a part in the actual toil of the settlers. Such musical instruments as might be easily transported—flutes, horns, drums, and cymbals—were always carried during the annual processions to the harvest fields of nearby settlements.

The Moravians preserved their European traditions in their new home. There is the legend of the musical watch: Alternating "prayer bands" kept watch in the chapel all night, on Sunday mornings the last group waking the community by singing hymns in the halls of the dormitories. The regular night watchman called the hours by singing a different couplet for each hour from eight to six. The first went:

> *"Past eight o'clock! Oh, Bethlehem, do thou ponder*
> *Eight souls in Noah's ark were living yonder."*

and the last:

> *"The clock is six and I go off my station;*
> *Now Brethren, watch yourselves for your salvation."*[6]

Light entertainment was not lacking in the lives of the Brethren. In 1744 there was the custom of young men serenading the village each Saturday evening. Later instrumental hymn serenades were also given.

Development of Hymnody

The Moravians took a definite step forward in the development of hymnology in the years 1753, 1754, and 1755 when they printed in London the first chronologically arranged collection of German hymns of all periods. The first volume contained 2,168 hymns; the second volume had 1,096 hymns.

In 1778 Christian Gregor edited his *Gesangbuch zum Gebrach der evangelischen Brüder-gemeinen,* containing 1,750 hymns. This hymn book of the *Unitas Fratrum* for the American Province was reprinted several times unaltered. The well-known *Liturgy and Offices of Worship and Hymns of the American Province of the Unitas Fratrum of the Moravian Church (Unitas Fratrum)* was edited in 1920.

Music of the Hymns

In examining the music of the Brethren's hymns we find that the tunes were partly Gregorian which Huss used; and they were partly borrowed from foreign nations, especially the Germans. Popular airs were used by hymnologists to draw people to the word of God. These tunes follow a path parallel to the Lutheran chorale. In 1531 Weisse printed a tune in full at the head of each hymn. The same tunes were used with these hymns in the 1615 Bohemian edition.

Zahn who harmonized these tunes has added a plodding straightforward harmonization which served merely as a foundation for unison singing of

[5]Ruth Holmes Scott, *Music Among the Moravians, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1816.* (Thesis for Master of Music, Department of Musicology, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, July, 1938) p. 18.

[6]*Ibid.,* p. 33.

the congregation and the florid improvisation of the organist during and between the lines.[7]

Two well-known tunes occur repeatedly in both the Brethren's and Lutheran hymnals: *Den Vater dort oben* and *O wie sehr lieblich.*

The Old Brethren's melodies listed below are found among the chorales harmonized and put to various uses by Bach:

1. Christus der uns selig macht (Weisse's hymnal, 1531), used in the *St. John Passion* and as a Chorale Prelude for organ.
2. Christus ist erstanden (Weisse, 1531).
3. Danket dem herrn, denn er ist sehr freudlich (Horn's Hymnal, 1544).
4. Der Vater dort oben (Weisse, 1531).
5. Erwird schier der letzte Tag (Weisse, 1531).
6. Gottes sohn ist kommen (Weisse, 1531, with text *Meuschenkind merk eben),* used three times as a Chorale Prelude.
7. Weltlich Ehr' und zeitlich Gut (a melody which appeared in 1555 as the discant of a tune of Weisse's, 1531).[8]

The first hymnals of the Renewed Church had no tunes. In 1755 Grimm of Herrnhut collected chorale melodies which became the foundation of all future Moravian tune books. In 1784 Christian Gregor edited the German collection of 1755 and published it to accompany the *Gesangbuch* of 1778. This *Choral-Buch* of Gregor is one of the finest collections of German chorales, for it contains the standard melodies of the classic or Lutheran period, including the best of those which originated in the ancient *Unitas Fratum,* and important contributions of eighteenth century composers (Moravian and others) as well.

In his hymnal of 1778, Gregor grouped the hymns in classes according to similarity of metrical structure, with each class numbered. He arranged the tunes the same way. This arrangement has been followed in every succeeding Moravian tune-book. The figured basses with which Gregor provided the melodies in his collection established a harmonic rule for each chorale which has been followed with faithful exactness in all later tune books of the church.[9]

In 1826 Rev. Christian Ignatius La Trobe (1758-1856), a prominent Moravian clergyman of the English branch of the Church, published an English edition of the Gregor *Choral-Buch.* To Gregor's chorale melodies, however, are added a few tunes peculiar to English hymns. A "Precentor" started the hymn. The organist improvised during and between the lines of the stanza. The organist was expected to know all the tunes and to be able to play them "in any key extempore."[10]

Peter La Trobe, a son, republished the above *Tune-Book* in 1854. All of Gregor's basses were printed in four-part harmony.

In 1836 an American edition of the 1826 *Tune-Book* was brought out by Rev. Peter Wolle. Tunes and hymns were first introduced into the same book in the *Offices of Worship and Hymns* of 1891. The 1908 Liturgy and *Offices of Worship and Hymns* contains 1,508 hymns; 196

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 51-55.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 56.
[9] *Ibid.,* pp. 57, 58, and 61.
[10] *Ibid.,* pp. 61-63.

chorales are included, 58 of which are used by Bach. There are only nine old Bohemian Brethren's melodies.[11]

One of the representative chorales of the Moravian Church is *In dulci jubilo* from Gregor's *Choral-Buch.* It was used in the Brethren's hymnal of 1544.

Danket dem Herrn from Gregor first used Latin words to the melody in 1537. Later the Bohemian Brethren used it in 1544 with German text.

"Meuschenkind merk eben" was an ancient Latin tune adapted by Weisse in his hymnal of 1531, and used in the 1544 hymnal by Horn with the text *Gottes sohn ist Kommen.* This chorale is widely known; it appeared with slight variations in all Lutheran and Brethren's chorale books; Bach used it; in shortened form it is called *Ravenshaw,* and is found in the modern hymnals of many churches (*Moravian Offices of Worship and Hymns,* p. 225).

The beautiful *Passion Chorale* occupies an important place in the Liturgy of the Moravian Church.[12]

The *Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church* of 1920 is a new hymnal, modren in every way: "standard nineteenth and twentieth century English and American hymns supplanting many of the old Moravian texts; 'standards' tunes familiar in the hymnals of other denominations to some extent replacing the old chorales; and the whole format following that of up-to-date hymnbooks generally, with each hymn assigned its particular tune and printed on the page with the music. In the Central Church in Bethlehem, the organist clings to the chorale tradition; he plays the stately, noble chorales familiar to the Moravians from the days of Christian Gregor and before. Moravian congregations have formed the habit of following the choir in harmonizing the melody, with the result that a great four-part chorus fills the church, sonorous and splendid."[13]

Manner of Performance

In the church of the Brethren in earlier days (1768-1795) trained choirs of men and women sang separately in the Bethlehem church. The women sang from the north end, and the men from a gallery near the organ. Psalms were sung, some of them so arranged that each choir sang alone. These hymns were arranged for antiphonal singing, while in others, the two choirs sang together, though separated by over seventy feet.

The Church of Bethlehem had at least six skilled organists, each of whom played, in turn, once in six weeks. Each was required to know from memory about 400 hymn tunes, and to know them so thoroughly that he could play any one, in any key, as the minister might start it.

It was the custom for the minister in charge of the church to start all the congregation singing. He did so without any preliminary announcement of words or melody. The organist and the congregation would join in as soon as the hymn had been recognized. The organists were not considered "professionals," for they played without pay.[14]

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 64-66.
[12] *Ibid.,* pp. 66-69.
[13] *Ibid.,* pp. 69-70.
[14] Hazel Gertrude Kinsella, *History Sings* (Lincoln: University Publising Company, 1940) pp. 75 and 76.

Trombone Choir

The tradition of the trombone choir which plays from the tower of the Bethlehem Church is an old one. The chorales are played by the trombones for all important occasions: Christmas, Easter, etc. The death of a member of the community is still announced to the public in many Moravian congregations by the playing of the melody of the *Passion Chorale* by one or more trombonists and by the singing of the funeral hymn *From Our Band a Pilgrim Gone,* from the Church towers. This is followed by an "identifying air," a song of the group to which the member belonged in life.

Beginnings of the Bethlehem Bach Choir

The Moravians have a musical tradition which has not been paralleled in this country. In 1742 Zinzendorf conducted a Singstude of eighty members in which he combined music and devotion. They used musical instruments steadily. On Christmas Day in 1743 the violin, viola da braccio, viola de gamba, flutes and French horn were played.

The Collegium Musicum was founded as early as 1744. By 1748 there were fourteen members in the orchestra. The first spinet arrived from London; music of a lighter character became popular. There were serenades, as well as ballustrade and instrumental concerts.

An organ was purchased for the Moravian Church in Bethlehem in 1746. In 1754 the trombones were brought from Europe to Bethlehem.

Children were given thorough musical training. In 1759 there was an orchestra of boys. The Moravian Boarding School for Girls became the Moravian Seminary. A girl of twelve was given instruction in voice, spinet, organ and piano. Four French horns called the people to chapel. There were serenades with a guitar, and the school owned seven pianos and clavichords.

Music imported from Holland at this time included Haydn *Sonatas.*

In 1780 an orchestra, employing all the instruments then in common use in European orchestras, was organized in Bethlehem. From this group were chosen the four best players of stringed instruments to form a string quartette. In 1790 Mozart symphonies were frequently performed. In 1800 a bassoon was brought to Bethlehem. A contrabass was added to the group in 1806 at a cost of sixty-eight dollars. A new Moravian Church was erected, and this year marked the beginning of choral music by mixed voices.

In 1810 the first American performance of Haydn's *Creation* was given with fifteen in the orchestra. David M. Michael was the leader, and John F. Peter made the score.

Between the years 1807 and 1809, 241 concerts were given with neither tickets nor admission charged.

The year 1820 saw the founding of the Philharmonic Society. Haydn's *Creation* was performed again in 1823, and his *The Seasons* in 1834.

In 1840 Roepper had been the conductor of the Philharmonic Society for thirteen years. The Bethlehem Choral Union was begun in 1882 with Dr. J. Fred Wolle as director. From 1906 to 1911 T. Edgar Shields was the conductor. In 1911 Dr. Wolle became the director, and Mr. Shields, the organist. From 1898 to 1907 there was the Bethlehem Choral Society of 125 voices under the leadership of David G. Samuels. In 1890

came the Maennerchor; in 1911, the Bass Clef Club. The Lehigh Valley Orchestra was begun in 1905 with a tradition of many famous soloists.

The Choir

The Bach Choir of Bethlehem is the result of the natural sequence of development of music among the *Unitas Fratrum.* The Moravians had musical aptitude. The music of their hymns was that upon which Bach had built his chorales. Dr. Wolle studied in Munich in 1884 and upon his return he determined to inaugurate Bach Choral singing in Bethlehem. In 1888 was the first complete rendition in America of Bach's *St. John Passion* by the Bethlehem Choral Union. In 1892 came the *St. Matthew Passion.* When Dr. Wolle presented the *B Minor Mass* to the group they thought it too difficult, and the Choral Union passed out of existence. The Bethlehem Oratorio Society dates from 1892. The Moravian Church choir gave Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* in 1894. The arrangement for the first Bach Festival was made by Mrs. Doster in 1900.

The Bach Choir is unique in its presentation. Dr. Wolle was an enthusiastic leader. He used a new method of attack in preparing difficult passages; he began at the close of the chorus or passage and worked backward.

On March 27, 1900, the *B Minor Mass* was given in the Moravian Church with eighty singers, thirty players, the trombone choir, and Dr. Wolle at the organ.

In 1901 there was a three-day festival presenting the *Christmas Oratorio, St. Matthew Passion,* and the *B Minor Mass.* In these festivals the chorales are sung by the congregation as well as the choir. The fourth festival was held in 1904, with the Putz as a special feature. From 1905 to 1911 Dr. Wolle acted as head of the Music Department at the University of California. But in 1912 he returned, and the seventh festival used the orchestra from Philadelphia.

Dr. Wolle was criticized by Bach authorities because of his use of a broad ritardando on cadences. His interpretation of the choruses in which he brought out a single part in relief against the mass of the chorus was phenomenal.

Upon the death of Dr. Wolle in 1933 the Festival was directed by Bruce Anderson Carey who preserved its traditions with scholarship and enthusiasm. When Dr. Carey resigned in 1938, Ifor Jones became the conductor. He has proved to be an indefatigable worker in his leadership of the choir.

SUMMARY

The Moravian hymns have maintained their original style and flavor better than most of those of the present day. Their characteristic features based on innate musical culture have persisted. Their evolution from the notation of a single melody in shaped notes, through the figured bass, four-part harmony, down to the modern version with tunes and words perfectly matched and edited is the story of the lives of this devout people. They have combined the hymns springing from the early Gregorian, the popular folk element, and the German styles, with the newer types of hymns from the English and American hymn writers. Their hymns arose from the needs of their daily life; they express sincere, devout, and missionary motives; their chorales served for all occasions. The Brethren

have clung to their traditions, and in the midst of conflict, turmoil, and worldliness they possess this treasure of hymns to reassure them of the steadfastness of their faith.

THE MENNONITES

Emigration to America

The Mennonites came to Pennsylvania from Switzerland. Their official and original leader was Menno Simons, born in Friesland in 1492. These people suffered severe persecution because of the steadfastness of their convictions. Led by Francis Daniel Pastorius, they settled at Germantown. Before them stretched a wilderness, pathless and unexplored; behind them rolled an ocean, and beyond that was a horizon lurid with the flames of persecution. In taking counsel of their faith and penetrating the wilds of Pennsylvania they set upon an adventure which had its fruition in the founding of this agricultural empire of Pennsylvania, the rearing of men and women, and the cultivation of their minds and hearts as assiduously as the wonderful soil.[15]

Traditions and Beliefs

These Mennonites avoided pleasures and vanities, and wore simple garb. They could not bear the sword nor swear or hold civil office. They believed in the non-immersion of infants, washing of feet, saluting with a kiss; and did not marry out of their faith. Their first meeting house was erected at Germantown in 1708. Congregational singing was used in their churches, since there was no provision for instruments or choir.

Lancaster County has become known as the garden spot of Pennsylvania. These European farmers practiced crop rotation and irrigated the meadows. They introduced the bank barn or Swiss barn, and also the heating stove into the colonies. They manifested a great love or passion for flowers.

The Mennonites clung to their traditional hymnody; they did not compose many original hymns or tunes in this country.

The Ausbund

The *Ausbund* is regarded by the Mennonite historians as the oldest hymn book still in use in America. The first American edition was printed in America by Christopher Sauer in 1742. The hymns were composed by a group of Swiss Brethren about 1540 when they were in prison at Passau on the Danube. In colonial times it was the standard hymnbook of all the Swiss or South German Mennonites and is still used today by the Amish. The book has been printed seventeen times in America, the last edition being in 1922.

There was no music in the *Ausbund*, but melodies were indicated as usual in German hymnbooks which do not give the music. The melodies indicated form a curious medley of German religious chorales and German songs far from religious. The verses are in Swiss-German and describe the sufferings of the early martyrs.

Some of the hymns are over 400 years old. The book came into its present form in 1565. By 1560 two books of more than fifty hymns each

[15]Address by Albert N. Burkholder, *The Burkholder Family Reunion*, (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1928). p. 11.

were in use among the Brethren. The largest collection became No. 3 to No. 80 of the present *Ausbund*. The second collection of fifty-three hymns printed about 1564 are No. 81 to No. 130 of the *Ausbund*. Numbers 131 to 140 are a later addition. No. 132 celebrates the death of Hans Landis who suffered martyrdom at Zurich on St. Michael's Day in 1614. The hymns of the *Ausbund* antedating the Swiss Brethren movement seem to connect the Brethren with earlier Protestant thinking. Hymn 38 is ascribed to John Huss who was burned at the stake at Constance in 1415. Inclusion of the fortieth hymn, composed by John Koch and Leonard Meister who were tried for heresy at Augsburg in 1524, the year before the Brethren founded their church, also indicates that there were Protestant hymns before the organization of the Swiss Brethren, and that the Brethren recognized a spiritual kinship with the writers of those hymns.

The present form of the *Ausbund* still carries the marks of its composite origin. The eightieth hymn ends at the bottom of page 434. The top of page 435 announces that "here follow several other very beautiful Christian songs as they by the grace of God were composed and sung by the Swiss Brethren in the dungeon of the castle at Passau." Many of the hymns of the first part of the book are signed by the authors. Notes printed at the beginning of other hymns in the first part give the name of the author. But in the second part the headnotes print only the initials of the writers. This may be because the Swiss Brethren of that period were sufficiently familiar with the authors to recognize their initials.[16]

For years scholars were puzzled about the origin of the hymns of the second part of the *Ausbund*. They were actually composed in prison in Passau. The *Ausbund* contains some of the oldest Anabaptist hymns. It is the only Protestant hymnal of the sixteenth century which is still in use. The oldest edition of the complete *Ausbund* in the possession of Dr. Wolkan of Vienna was that of 1583.

The *Ausbund* is not merely a miscellany of hymns but is arranged according to a logical pattern. Many were sung to traditional tunes both religious and secular.

Numbers 41, 59, and 87 have the tune: *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott;* Terry attributes the chorale to Martin Luther (1529). Number 42 has *Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn.*

Numbers 45 to 80 deal with doctrinal subjects such as the communion and how it should be observed, infant baptism, the future glory of the Church, Christian charity, the church and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. There is a hymn of the seasons, and several hymns of mourning.

The tune for Number 61 is used by Bach: *Aus tiefer Noth Schrei ich zu dir.* The words attributed by Terry to Luther begin the same way for two lines: "From trouble deep I cry to Thee; Lord God, hear Thou my crying." This tune is given for Numbers 75, 86, and 127.

The second part of the *Ausbund* beginning with No. 80 deals with songs devotional in character. No. 82 has the tune: *War Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit.* This same melody is set to the eighty-fifth hymn, as well as the one hundred twelfth and the one hundred fourteenth.

[16]John Umble, *The Old Order Amish, Their Hymns and Hymn-Tunes.* (Journal of American Folk Lore, vol. 52, Jan.-March, 1939. No. 203. New York: J. J. Augustine, Inc.) pp. 82-95.

Numbers 89, 100, and 109 are set to the tune *Ein Blumlein auf der Heyden.* Numbers 92 and 102 and 109 use *O sohn David.* Numbers 94, 99, 102, 106, 108, and 110 are set to *Nun danket Gott von Herzen.* Number 98 uses *O Herre Gott dein gottlich Wort.*

Number 116 is set to: *Es ist das Heil unskommen her.* Number 125 has seventy-one four-line stanzas. Number 126 is the thirty-fourth Psalm set to *Wach auss in Gottes Namen.*[17]

Der Psalmen Davids

Der Psalmen Davids in use for many years by Mennonites is a translation of the *French Psalter* by Ambrosius Lobwasser. This edition was first published in 1573 in German, and continued in circulation for two centuries. It had many interlacings with Lutheran books, receiving from them and giving in return. This explains the use by German musicians of French origin.[18]

Der Psalmen Davids was used by the Mennonites for Psalm singing. The four parts are separate and each has its own clef. The rhythm is discarded, the notes are held in equal length, with a pause at the end of each line. The Chorale is in the Tenor, the seventeenth century clefs are used for Alto and Tenor voices, and accidentals are used in this German edition. There are tiny notes at the end of the line to indicate the next note to be sung on the next line. Only the first stanza is written under the notes. There are modulations to the dominant and supertonic harmonies, and the keys commonly used are C Major, F Major, d minor, and g minor.

Psalm 36 by Marot is set to a Strassburg tune of 1539. In French for over twenty years it was associated only with Psalm 36 by Marot, but soon after 1560 its use was extended to Psalm 68 with certain militant stanzas through which it became a favorite Huguenot war song during the civil conflicts preceding 1572. In recent times, it has been dubbed the "Huguenot Marseillaise." Bach took this Alsatian tune for his Chorus of the *St. Matthew Passion* (1729). He also used it for one of his *Choralvorspiele.* There are sixteen and one-half stanzas. The ratio of short notes is very high and there is imitation in the melody. Example II shows the harmonization transcribed into modern notation. It is sung now to the English words: "Ye Watchers and Ye Holy Ones."

[17]Ibid., pp. 82-95.

[18]Waldo Selden Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter* (Number three of the Columbia University Studies in Musicology. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939). pp. 21-22.

Psalm 134 has a first line from a secular chanson. It was taken into all the British Psalters, always for Psalm 100, whence the traditional name "Old 100th"[19]

[19]Pratt: *op. cit.,* pp. 116 and 192.

The *Nunc Dimittis* of the *French Psalter* was not included in the edition of *der Psalmen Davids* examined, but it appears fully harmonized in the *Mennonite Hymnary* of 1940, No. 34.

Lobwasser has added more songs to the "tried and true" melodies beginning on page 538. Some of them use the four-part harmonization with the name of the tune indicated, while others have only the text. Many of these tunes were harmonized by Bach.

No. II, p. 540, *Wehnact-Gesang* uses the melody: *Ein Kind gebohrn zu Bethlehem.* This is similar to the old Latin hymn: *Puer Natus in Bethlehem.*

One of the *Passions-Gesang,* p. 548, indicates the melody: *O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde gross* which Bach uses.

No. IV, p. 546, *Weyhnact-Gesang,* has the melody: *Gelobert seyst du, Jesu Christ.* Terry thinks this tune was originally a Latin plainsong.

No. I, p. 556, of the *Ofter-Gesang* has the tune: *Christ lag in Todesbanden.* Bach has set this chorale many times.

No. I of the *Bsingst-Gesang,* p. 566, uses the melody: *Komm, Gott Schöpffer, Heiliger Geist!* Terry thinks this was a Latin hymn.

Der Psalmen Davids is an exact reproduction of the tunes of the *French Psalter of 1562,* as transcribed by Pratt. The volume is carefully edited and has been the source of much spiritual joy to the Mennonites of many generations.

Gesanbuch mit Noten

The *Gesangbuch Mit Noten* dates from 1890. The story of the compilation of the hymnal is interesting: There is no record of a Mennonite Church hymn book having been purchased by the congregation here before 1886 (Berne, Indiana). Up to that time they had used their own books that they had brought with them from the "old country" (Switzerland). Now the Church purchased new ones and they were the second revised edition which appeared in 1885. This book was called *Gesangbuch zun Gottesdienstlichen und hauslichen Gebrauch in Mennoniten Gemeinden.* It is without notes and was used before the *Gesanbuch mit Noten.* When the second edition was exhausted the General Conference in 1887, at West Swamp, Pennsylvania, resolved that the Board of Publication should publish a new hymnal with notes. Rev. N. B. Grubb, Rev. C. H. A. von der Swissen of Pennsylvania, Rev. S. F. Sprunger, Rev. I. A. Sommer, and Joel Welty, Manager of the Berne Book Concern were appointed to do the work. After much correspondence and preparatory work, especially by the Brethren in Berne, the Board of Publications met in Berne in the Spring of 1888. They invited Frank Welty, an accomplished musician to be their player, and D. C. Neuenschwander, director of the church choir, to be the singer. It was no small task that was assigned to these men. Stacks of letters were received by them, an unbelievable number, that said: "If such and such a song is not included we will not accept the books!" The men worked industriously for six weeks. The work which continued from morning until night was tiring and very exacting, and they needed recreation, so they used to take time off for hikes or wrestling.

Following the tussles and hikes a portion of scripture was read and a short prayer offered, then the work of compiling was again resumed. But they did not finish the work during the first session. Later, the Berne Brethren asked that Rev. David Goerz, a musician and singer of Holstead, Kansas, as representing the Brethren from Russia and Prussia, take the place of the Brethren from Pennsylvania at the next session. Rev. Goerz then came to Berne and they met for four weeks. Later still, a third session of three weeks was necessary before the work was completed. Mr. and Mrs. Theophilus Schildknecht, a newly married couple, had come to Berne from Switzerland in January, 1889. Both were school teachers and well-trained in vocal and instrumental music, so Mr. Schildknecht also assisted in the work. He was a composer, and he composed or rearranged the music for hymns Numbers 9, 402, 574 and 594.[20]

Outstanding favorites from the Gesangbuch through the years are No. 195, *Ich weis einen Strom,* which also appears in the new *Mennonite Hymnary,* No. 232, in English; No. 370, *Befiehl du deine Wege;* and No. 305, *Ich bete an die Macht der Liebe,* which is found in the *Mennonite Hymnary,* No. 517, in English and No. 211 in the *Evangeliums-Lieder* in a much more florid arrangement.

Mennonite Hymnary

The *Mennonite Hymnary* is an up-to-date modern hymnal, writing out all repeats, using "Amen" at the close of hymns, and having the text in English. There is an occasional German version printed. It is finely edited, giving authors, or translators and composers of sources of tunes.

Book I consists of standard hymns selected from ancient and modern sources. Hymns for children comprise Book II. Book III is made up of Gospel Songs. Book IV is a collection of chorales, many having come from the *Gesangbuch mit Noten.* The Metrical Psalms found in Book V resemble chorales, originating among the French, Scotch and English people of Reformation and post-Reformation days. The *Nunc Dimittis* of the *French Psalter* is included as No. 34 with English text.

In early years the Mennonites had a singer's table, and those with good voices were seated at this table. The song leader sang "fa-la-ut-la-fa" to give the pitch and then others joined in. Now they use organ and piano accompaniments. The male choir sings unaccompanied.

Other Mennonite hymnals are *Perle, Frohe Botschaft, Die Kleine Geistliche Harfe,* and *Der Kinder Zions.*

SUMMARY

In the midst of conflicting modern ideas of the style of hymnody and harmonic technique the Mennonites are one of the few religious groups in America who have kept the "original" in customs, beliefs, and traditions of hymn singing. Their hymns have the warmth and ardor of the personal experiences of the martyrs who died in prison or in flames. These songs remain the same and are used for congregational singing today. There are hymns for all occasions: communion, devotion, mourning, doctrine, and the seasons. They, too, began with Latin and secular as well as religious, single melodies. They were harmonized with simple chords, but the bass singer had to be alert to do his interesting melodic line

[20]Letters from Mary Ann Sprunger, Berne, Indiana.

well. The evolution of their hymns shows the influence of modern tendencies to keep the bass stationary, and to make the harmony less substantial and interesting. The Mennonites have a wealth of fine hymns hundreds of years old to inspire them to sincere devotion and real worship.

THE AMISH

Origins

The ancestors of the Amish were Mennonites, the followers of Menno Simons. In 1620 his following divided, and Jacob Ammon rallied a group of Swiss who would hold to the old religious forms and moral codes when others were deserting them. His followers increased and spread to the near by German Palatinate. Here they met persecutions, and when William Penn offered them a haven in his American woodland, they crossed the Atlantic.

The Amish afford an excellent opportunity for the study of a certain type of sixteenth century German peasant life. They have maintained their folkways, religious ideology, langage, racial isolation and solidarity. They were persecuted for non-conforming to an established order; they tried to promote domestic and communal solidarity.

Beliefs and Customs

Their creed embraces beliefs in baptism, freedom of conscience, and the separation of Church and State. They refuse to bear arms. What lies beyond their peasant "outlook" belongs to the "world."[21] They encourage thrift and the wholesome simplicity of living. Since they cannot marry outside the order, no alien blood is introduced.

They meet in houses because European Governments forbade them to build meeting houses. Their clothes are cut from patterns that were old when their forefathers came to America. They wear plain clothes fastened by hooks and eyes, but at home the women don bright colors: blue is a favorite, also green, pink and plum. The women wear a head covering and the men shave their upper lip.

The language of homes and communities is Pennsylvania-German. Their religious services combine High-German and "Pennsylfawny-Deutsch." They shun all publicity, yet at home they are hospitable, kindly, and fun-loving. Schools are maintained for their own children to the ninth grade. If a boy goes to college he breaks with his religion and family. They shun modern conveniences: electricity and telephones are forbidden in homes, yet there are telephone booths along their highways. The Amish will ride in automobiles if invited and not asked to share the cost. They ride in buggies drawn by horses; the topless buggy signify the unwed. Leaf tobacco is their main crop; wherever they go the land flourishes. They experience great joy in working; but their chief recreation is in singing schools, or festivals at which they dance.

The church is a continuing source of guidance to the Amish; theirs is a religion designed to get results. They interpret the Bible literally. Those without a church building are called House Amish, the steadfast keepers of the old faith, and their Order is increasing.

There is a group called Church Amish, Gay Amish, Amish Mennonites,

[21]Umble, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83.

or Progressive Amish, who have simple meeting houses and even own automobiles—plain cars with their chromium trim hidden under black paint; but they are dissenters.[22]

Church Service

Outsiders come to religious services of the House Amish by invitation only. The service is led by a lay minister in High German: three hymns, a forty-five minute address, a long period of silent prayer, a chapter reading, an hour-long sermon, benediction, and a hymn. The service is rather informal: the men are in one room and the women in another. This service is followed by luncheon on the church table.[23]

Musical instruments are forbidden. The songs in the finest German from the *Ausbund* are a kind of folk chant. They are lined-out and repeated by the congregation. Their training in folk singing from infancy makes for an astonishing degree of accuracy in tone and a charming degree of flexibility in interpretation.

Hymns

Numbers 80 to 140 in the *Ausbund* are used by the present Amish. Mr. Alan Lomax went to Goshen, Indiana, in 1938 and made recordings of Amish singing. Their tunes are reminiscent of the Gregorian chant; others if speeded up resemble German folk tunes. The tunes have been printed in the Amish hymnals, yet the Amish of the present day do not know one written note from another. The tunes have been handed down in ballad fashion for twelve to fourteen generations. The tunes are slightly changed, but even in different sections they sing the tunes in the same way. The *Lobgesang,* No. 131, p. 770 in the *Ausbund,* is the second hymn sung in every Amish church service in America. It uses the tune *Aus tieffer Noth schrei ich zu dir.* Outsiders even if they know the tunes cannot sing them. There is much freedom in the interpretation of the melody. There are passing tones and embellishments in some of the voices, but not in all. This practice is a carry-over from the ancient method of singing plain song chants.[24]

SUMMARY

The Old Order Amish have preserved a sixteenth century German peasant tradition in our complex American society: dress, manners, folkways, language, forms of religious worship, and hymns. They represent the better type of Christian peasant farmer of the German Palatinate, of Alsace-Lorraine, and of Colonial Pennsylvania. They have not created any new music, but still use the sixteenth century German hymnal containing hymns composed by their martyred forefathers in the best sixteenth century German folk-poetry tradition. They still sing these hymns to the same tunes to which their Swiss Brethren forefathers sang them over four centuries ago.

[22]Pauline L. Whitaker: *Musical History of Lancaster County* (Papers Read Before the Lancaster County Historical Society, Vol. XLVI, nos. 4 and 5, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1942), p. 129.

[23]Umhle, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

[24]*Ibid.* pp. 91-94.

THE SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS

American Settlement

The Seventh-Day Baptists established their community at Ephrata in 1720 on the Cocalico, sixty miles from Philadelphia. This new enterprise was a successor to the Wissahickon settlement. They were religious ascetics, observed Saturday as the Sabbath, practiced the three-fold immersion of adults, renounced comfort, wore plain dress, and maintained a strict diet. Ephrata was a celibate, conventual community of both men and women, like the Shaker communities in New England a century later. Their dress was similar to Catholic monks and nuns. The dwellings of the Solitary were the Cloisters at Ephrata, and the Nunnery at Snow Hill.

Manner of Singing

Ephrata was apparently a show place to which travelers flocked. The female choir sang with closed lips, seated in a gallery. This method was not unusual, but the effect of a murmuring sound, caused travelers to apply to it the term "Aeolian." They sang hymns and part songs in falsetto producing a weird effect described as beautiful. The tones had the softness of instrumental music and were sung with great devotion.

Beissel

John Conrad Beissel, whose activities began at Ephrata about 1730, was one of the first to attempt to compose sacred music in America. He was born at Eherbach in the Palatinate in 1690. He came under the influence of the Pietists and Baptist Brethren, but escaped the intolerance of the Palatinate and fled to America when thirty years of age. He was a weaver at Germantown, and later at Conestoga. Beissel followed the example of Kelpius and sought the solitary life.

Beissel has been called the Prior of Ephrata. He studied with Ludwig Blum, a singing teacher in the community. He developed his own theory of music and later replaced the singing teacher. His writing was full of mysticism, metaphors, dark scriptures, and erotic symbolism. His theory of melody was to create easy, simple music. There were masters and servants in each tune: the Tonic was the master, accented; the servants were a fluctuation from the Tonic. He composed in four and five-part harmony, following the rhythm of the words. His tunes were based on the best German chorales of the best writers; his harmony was crude, but not more so than many systems of that period. There were no anthems in Beissel's books, but "dialogue" hymns were quite common. He wrote comments as a Preface to *Turtle-Taube,* and set the hymns of the Weyrauchshügel to music. The Brethren and Sisters prepared a music memorial book and offered it to Beissel as a token of gratitude for his artistic endeavors and accomplishments.[25]

Fractur

The Seventh-Day Baptists established a school of writing of illuminated manuscripts (fractur) in the Cloisters of the Brotherhood at Ephrata about 1745. The best examples of the Pennsylvania-German fractur were

[25]Hans Theodore David: "Hymns and Music of the Pennsylvania Seventh-Day Baptists," *American-German Review* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc.), June, 1943.

made at the Ephrata Cloisters. They employed the mystic symbolism of the Cross, Lamb, Dove, Lily, Rose and Tulip. The Lily was a symbol: those who seek shall find. The Lily, Rose, and Turtle-dove are drawings of scriptural phrases that tell of the mystical search. The early Pennsylvania-German art was religious art which was rooted in the Christian mystical tradition.[26]

Hymns

Benjamin Franklin published the first edition of the Ephrata hymns in 1730, *Gottliche Liebes und Lobesgethöne.* It contains sixty-two hymns by Beissel and his confreres, but no music. The *Vorspiel der neuen Welt* contains only hymns published in 1732 by Franklin. Copies are owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvània, and the State Library at Harrisburg. *Jacobs Kampf und Ritter-Platz* was issued in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin. This contains no music, but old German melodies are indicated. In 1734 came the manuscript hymn book *Paradisische nachts troppfen—die sich* with no music. Christopher Sauer in 1739 printed the famous book of the Seventh-Day Baptists: *Zionitischer Weyrauchhügel* (The Zionistic Hill of Incense, to all solitary and cooing Turtledoves in the wilderness as a spiritual harp-play in these divers times of God's visitation). This was the first book printed with German type in America. It contained no music, and was full of imagery. One of Beissel's contributions to this book was the cause of a serious quarrel between the post and printer, but business relations with the Cloister remained cordial. Well-known Ephrata monks like Peter Miller, Israel Eckerlin, and Johannes Hildebrand appear among the authors of the Sauer press. In 1745 there was a choral manuscript book made by Susanna Gorgas for use with the printed hymnal, *Weyrauchshügel* of 1739. (Presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Rev. Peter Wolle of Lititz.) A choral book of Sister Anastasia is in the Library of the Moravian congregation at Lititz. Beissel's own copy of this Choral book, presented by him to the Snow Hill Community, is now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There are two choral books without dates or names, but very definitely of this period in the Pennsylvania State Library at Harrisburg.

In 1747 a collection of hymns was published: *Das Gesang der Einsamen und Verlassen Turtle-Taube, nemlich der Christliche Kirche* (The Song of the Lonely and Deserted Turtle-Dove, namely the Christian Church). The hymns were looked upon as roses. Beissel added instructions on the use of the voice, and a crude dissertation on harmony. This is a great hymnal, and is considered the beginning of German literature in America. All of the hymns were of local origin, many of them Beissel's, and they served for congregational singing. There were 371 hymns, of which 275 were contributed by Beissel. Sister Anastasia was the artist of the manuscript. This book remained hidden until 1927, and is now in the Library of Congress, named *Ephrata Codex.*

The *Paradisisches-Wunder-Spiel* (Miracle play) was completed in 1754. The first line of each hymn and staff are printed; the notes and illuminations in color were added with quill and brush. This book contains 212 pages, each fourteen inches in length. There is provision for four to six

[26]John Joseph Stoudt: *Consider the Lilies, How they Grow,* Pennsylvania German Folk Lore Society (Allentown, Pennsylvania; Schlechter's) Vol. 2, 1937.

parts. There are forty-nine pieces, some hymns, some adaptations from Revelations, and songs complete the volume. This copy was brought from Bavaria to the Library of Congress in 1931. To accompany this book are two partly printed chorale books, with the hymns printed, and the music and illustrations added by hand. One copy is in the Library of Congress, and one is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

A second edition of the *Paradisisches-Wunder-Spiel* of 1766 had 725 hymns of which seventy-two are by Beissel; one had 215 stanzas.

Musical production ceased at Ephrata about this time. The community, even in its earliest stages, possessed copies of the most important chorale books. Some of these Ephrata books, while not actually containing music, name the melodies to be used to the tunes, and these melodies are to be found in well-known German books which the immigrants brought with them. It is certain that Beissel and his confreres had and used such important choral books as the *Darnstadt Gesang Buch* of 1698, the works of Störl, Freylinghausen, and other books of German chorales.[27]

SUMMARY

The Seventh-Day Baptists were remarkable for the excellence of their singing, for the number and variety of hymns written by the members, and for the beauty of the hand-written and illuminated hymn books and manuscripts copied by the women. The music of Ephrata cannot be classed as true music by the elevated standards that existed in the eighteenth century. It was too unusual and too arbitrary to be taken up by outside people and it sank into oblivion.

CONCLUSION

Pennsylvania-German hymnody is an excellent illustration of the foundation, growth and development of good music maintained by the best standards. The early settlers in Pennsylvania were music lovers, and it has been possible for them to remain a unified group, not only because of being closely knit by traditions of race, language, religion, and blood, but also because of their heritage of fine music. They composed hymns which were sincere, full of fervor, and inspired by common experiences. These hymns were made to serve the people; consequently they were vital to their daily lives, and were sung on all occasions with tremendous feeling. They are an example of the enduring qualities of man-made music, as well as psalmody. They were a solace, and provided an outlet for expression, inspiring worship by their solidity and strength. This hymnody was the foundation and reassurance of their faith in days of persecution, trial, immigration, settlement, pioneering, and so today is a treasure to be guarded. Pennsylvania-German hymnody is an unusual instance of growth and development.

Modernizing tendencies have had their effects upon the hymnals of these peoples. The original flavor has been modified, tempos and harmonic settings have been altered, and translations into English have come into vogue. The plain song and folk song elements have become less obvious and more difficult to trace, and the parts have been simplified

(Continued on Page 79)

[27] *Ibid.*

A Survey Of Music In England From 1625 to 1683

June Tienken Magoon, *Gamma*

PREFACE

△ The seventeenth century in the history of music in England has long been considered a period of deadly stagnation. Music historians have written that from the end of the Madrigal Era to the time of Henry Purcell, the years were musically barren and unproductive. This is perhaps only natural in the light of the misconceptions of the Puritan attitude toward music.

It is therefore the purpose of this thesis to give, from the material available, a survey of music in England from the beginning of the reign of Charles I in 1625 to the first publication of Henry Purcell's music in 1683. From this survey, it is to be hoped that a more thorough understanding of the period may be gained, and that it may give a clearer explanation of the fact that the decline of English music was natural in the light of prevailing conditions of the time.

DECLINE OF A MUSICAL STYLE

To undertsand the position of England in the field of music in the seventeenth century, one must realize that at the end of the sixteenth century English music had reached a height which, since then, has been equalled in only a few instances. From the time of John Dunstable (1452), England had enjoyed a prestige in music which culminated during the reign of Queen Elizabeth in the great Madrigal School. Musical activities at this time were centered around the home and the Court. It was the mark of a gentleman or lady to be able to take part in the singing of Madrigals or to play a virginal or a lute. Educational standards were high, and music was one of the *requirements* for a liberal education. Because England was enjoying a proud position of world power economically and politically, the English people had the money and time to cultivate the arts and musically England was at the peak of her glory.

With the begining of the reign of James 1, the same was true, but the musical taste of the people was changing. Many of the older, well-known madrigal composers were still alive, but were turning their attention to other forms of composition. By 1620, or at least by the reign of Charles 1, the madrigal was virtually dead. Few madrigals were published during the reign of James I, and those which appeared after 1620 were written with instrumental accompaniment and so were not madrigals according to the true definition of the term.

Aside from the lack of publications, postive evidence of the decline of the madrigal is somewhat difficult to find. However, Pepys, for example,

who is known for his amateur musical ability, criticized polyphonic singing for the loss of words.[1] This seems to have been a general criticism during the seventeenth century for polyphonic singing. At the turn of the century there was a close alliance of poets and composers. Prominent poets such as Suckling, Lovelace, Herrick, Waller and Carew were having their verses set to music. It was only natural that they would favor solo songs so that the words could be clearly understood. Thomas Campion, the poet and composer, was one of the first to write solo songs, and in the Preface to his *Two Books of Airs* (c. 1613), he wrote, "I have chiefly aimed to couple my words and notes lovingly together . . ."[2] John Milton, who must have known the music of the great madrigalists, praised the minor composer, Henry Lawes, in his poem to him as being the one who

> First taught our English music how to span
> Words with just note and accent . . .[3]

Milton must have regarded the madrigals as a poor setting of words to have so lauded Henry Lawes.

The change in interest from the madrigal to the solo song was not peculiar to England. In Italy this change had come about in the 1580's when the Florentine group of composers, poets, singers, and instrumentalists called the Camarata began to discuss new means of combining music and poetry. This group turned to the old Greek drama for an example, and the result of their study was the development of *Nuove Musiche* or music based upon the principle of an accompanied solo voice in declamatory style.

The interest in a natural expression and the inquiry into new devices and techniques was the basis of seventeenth century thought and philosophy. It was a time of emergence from the Dark Ages and insofar as thought, achievements and discoveries are concerned, was probably the greatest in history. It was a period of rationalism and scientific inquiry from which music and the other arts did not escape. Even the abstract term "beauty" was defined in scientific terms, and according to the rationalists, nothing was beautiful that was not clear and distinct. Also anything worthy of consideration at all had to have a mathematical relationship. One can see that polyphonic music was not acceptable to these thinkers, while music based on harmonic relationships was. Thus, the vocal solo song with harmonic accompaniment was replacing the polyphonic madrigal, while in instrumental music, forms based on balanced sectional music with clearly defined tonic-dominant relationships, such as dance forms, were acceptable.

It was therefore the new philosophy which brought a change in thought and treatment of the arts and sciences in the seventeenth century and the end of polyphony as best exemplified in the madrigal. But although music in *all* countries declined for this period of transition, English music fell into a state of mediocrity from which it has recovered in only a few composers.

[1]Samuel Pepys, *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys. F.R.S.*, Ed. by Rev. F. Smith (Boston: C. T. Brainard Co., n.d.), Sept. 15, 1667.
[2]Miles Merwin Kastendieck, *England's Musical Poet Thomas Campion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 164.
[3]John Milton, "To Henry Lawes," *The Mask of Comus*, (Bloomsbury: Nonesuch Press, 1937).

Although one can readily see that with the change in thought about the turn of the century, the decline of music was natural, there are unquestionably certain reasons why England's decline was greater than any country on the continent. Many musical historians have given no reason for it. Others[4] have attributed it to the religious and political unrest of the times. It is true, that the peace and prosperity enjoyed during the time of Elizabeth slowly disappeared under James I and Charles I until Civil War broke out. This situation however, might not have affected musical traditions had not composers and musicians been so closely connected with the court and church. But as they were, they were caught in the maelstrom and disorder which arose.

Many other historians blamed the Puritans for the decline of English music, believing that they suppressed all forms of music. It has however, been most adequately proved by Percy Scholes[5] that the only opposition of the Puritans, was the objection to elaborate church music—not secular music, for that flourished under their domination. Consequently the Puritans can be blamed for the decline only in the respect that they were involved in the political and religious turmoil of the times.

Henry Davey[6] believed the change in social conditions in England brought about by the Industrial Revolution was responsible for the decline of English music. The Industrial Revolution brought the center of activities from the country to London which he claims was populated by a too constantly changing group of people to be an artistic center. This was undoubtedly a contributing factor, for with the decline in position of the nobles, English composers were required to seek employment elsewhere and they naturally went to London. The middle classes in London could afford to buy what they wanted, whether it was foreign or domestic, and as foreign music was a novelty as well as superior to the English, the public gradually turned its interest to music and musicians from the continent.

A final reason for the decline of English music, and perhaps the most important, is the fact that in England there were no composers capable of carrying on the music in the new style comparable to the Italians. With the exception of Purcell there was not one composer after Gibbons whose music is either skillful or artistic. Consequently, while all of the above conditions undoubtedly contributed to the decline of English music, the ultimate domination of it by the Italians would not have been so complete had there been any English composers after Purcell who were at all comparable to the Italians.

[4]See Frederick L. Ritter, *Music in England* (New York: C. Scribner and Son, 1883), p. 61, and Sir John Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1776), p. 585.

[5]Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans in Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 96 ff.

[6]Henry Davey, *History of English Music* (Second Edition. London: Curwin and Sons, 1921), p. 52.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES I (1625-1649)

Publishers and Publications

Although Charles I was a patron of music and maintained the Chapel Royal, the period of his reign was one of little musical activity. One of the best evidence of this is the small amount of music published. The list of publications includes John Hilton's *Ayers or Fa Las,* a collection of 26 pieces in madrigal styles. These were more interesting for their rhythmic accents than their melodic line. This collection was published in 1627; *Court Ayres with their Ditties Englished* by Jean Baptiste Boesset appeared in 1629; Pearson's *Mottets or Grave Chamber Music* in 1630; Walter Porter's *Madrigals and Ayres* in 1632. These contain sinfonias and ritornellos and so are not madrigals in the true sense. *Parthenia* was reprinted in 1635; East's pieces for viols in 1638; an English reprint of *Siren Coelestis* in the same year; Porter's *Ayres and Madrigals for two, three, four, and five voices with thorough bass for organ and theorbo lute, the Italian way appeared 1639.* This may have been a reprint of the 1632 collection; Child's *Music to the Psalms of David . . . composed in the Italian way* was also published in 1639; John Barnard's *Selected Church Music* was the most important publication of the period in that it contained the music of only deceased composers. In addition to the above there was William and Henry Lawes *Choice Psalms* in 1648.

This list shows that there was little demand for published music during the period, that the polyphonic style was no longer in favor, and composers were tending to write after the "Italian manner."

Sacred Music

Aside from the publications of sacred music mentioned above, there is little known about the religious music of this period. There is evidence that instruments were used with the voices and there was a tendency toward secular declamatory devices similar to the ayres, but as the declamatory style was not yet developed to any degree of perfection, the music was uninteresting and inartistic.

There is a manuscript in the Bodleian Library entitled *The Chapel Royal Anthem Book of 1635* which is said to be a collection of the words of the full and single anthems used in the chapel in and after 1635. It is interesting in that it gives the dates before which the anthems included were written, and also the names of seventeenth century composers whose works were thought worthy of being sung in the chapel. It contains 65 full anthems by older Tudor church composers and 152 single verse anthems by newer composers. However, until more information on the manuscript is available, it may be said that the church music of the period was leaning toward the secular declamatory style and the verse anthem of the Restoration.

Secular Music

The types of secular music which received the most attention during this period, were the instrumental "Fancy," the solo ayre and dialogue, and music for the masques.

The Fancy was the most popular form of instrumental composition in England from the time of Gibbons to the reign of Charles II. It was primarily contrapuntal, for, being abandoned in vocal music, polyphony was more than ever cultivated in instrumental music. The fancy was written for a group of instruments—usually viols. It followed no definite

form, and possibly was derived from the variation form known as the *In Nomine,* although it was similar to the ricercare used in Italy at the time.

The most famous composer of the Fancy was John Jenkins (1598-1678) whose music was abundant, but like all the instrumental music of the time was rambling, aimless, dull, and amounted to little musically. Being polyphonic, composers clung to the Fancy until the time of Charles II. This monarch would tolerate no music to which he could not keep time, so the Fancy came into discard. But like the madrigal, the form would undoubtedly have fallen into disuse regardless of the taste of the king, for dance forms were already replacing it.

The ayre of the period is of little interest musically. The style used has often been called the *aria parlante* and it was primarily a literary style. The music was subordinate to the words and the result was an oratorical rather than a musical declamation.

The field of dramatic music was more productive than the other branches of secular music. The masque, a form used for courtly entertainment during the first half of the seventeenth century, was the important medium for composers during that time. As a musical *trend* it was important since it was the early form of dramatic music in England which finally culminated in the operas of Purcell. Music was employed in the masque to announce characters, intensify the climax, for dances, choruses and songs. The music was light and with considerable variation. Among the composers called upon to write for the masque were Ferraboxco, Robert Johnson, Nicholas Lanier, Simon Ives, William and Henry Lawes, and others. Henry Lawes was the most famous of these composers, and is best known for his collaboration with John Milton on the masque *Comus.* Five of the songs from this masque are extant.[7] The music in the songs is very simple, recitative with unfigured bass. In the music to *Comus* and that to the masque *The Triumphs of the Prince D'Amour* Henry Lawes collaborated with his brother William. For this work he was acclaimed by his contemporaries as one of the greatest composers of the time.[8]

The fact that Lawes was acclaimed the greatest composer of his time indicates *first* that the musical taste of the times was considerably lower than during the Elizabethan period, for there is nothing about Lawes' music which is at all skillful or artistic and *secondly,* that it was Lawes *union* of words and music for which he was praised, and not for the music itself. Musically his settings of verses were in no way superior to that of his contemporaries, but because the music did not detract from the poetry, he was esteemed the greatest composer of the time.

Thus the reign of Charles I may be summarized as one of the most barren in the history of English music. Aside from the Barnard collection of sacred music, the publications are of little importance. The music of the composers reputed to be the best of the time, namely Jenkins and Henry Lawes, is interesting but musically amounts to very little.

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[7]These songs were published in 1902 by the Mermaid Society, and in 1927 in the volume *The Mask of Comus* (Bloomsbury: The Nonesuch Press, 1937).

[8]Lawes was praised by Milton in his poem to him, by Herrick in the poem, "To Mr. Henry Lawes, The Excellent Composer of his Lyrics," by Waller in his poem, "To Mr. Henry Lawes, who had then newly set a Song of mine in the Year, 1635," and Milton also praised him in several passages in *Comus.*

THE INTERREGNUM (1648-1660)

With the close of the Civil War and the triumph of the Puritans, many changes were brought about which had a marked effect on the music of England. The most significant of these was the closing of the churches and the disbanding of the Chapel Royal. Church musicians were forced to turn their attention to secular fields and during this time secular musical activities flourished.

One of the best evidences of the widespread musical activity is seen in the amount of music published. For the first time music publishing became a private enterprise, not a grant of the crown, and John Playford, the only publisher of the period, carried on a very successful business.[9] The majority of Playford's publications were miscellanies or collections of music by various composers, most of which included catches or rounds, instructions for playing the viol, or collections of ayres and dialogues. Among the most famous of these are, *The Musical Banquet* (1651), *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652), *Appolo's Banquet* (1657), *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1652) and others including a few collections of music by just *one composer* such as Matthews Locke's *Little Consort* (1656) and Henry Lawes *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653).

It would seem natural that in this notably religious period, their would have been a great number of religious works published, but such was not the case for aside from a reprint of Child's *Psalms* in 1650, Lawes' *Psalms* in 1657, reprints of the Sternhold-Hopkins Psalm books, and a new publication by Henry Lawes entitled *Hymns and Dialogues,* there were *no* other publications of sacred music.

Sacred Music

The only sacred music allowed during the Interregnum was the singing of Psalms, for in Psalm singing there was none of the elaborate organ accompaniment or floridity of vocal line to which churchmen had objected for so long. The Psalm book most commonly in use was a version originated by Thomas Sternhold, called the Sternhold-Hopkins version. It was set in metrical arrangement in which the Psalms were sung in unison without accompaniment.

There is evidence of no new composition of sacred music during the twelve years of the Puritan domination except the Lawes publication mentioned above. One might have expected that in this period of religious fervor, the attention of composers would have been focused on sacred music, but the reaction was completely the opposite and the compositions were *entirely* secular.

Secular Music

The bulk of secular music was little different from that of the reign of Charles I. The solo ayre and dialogue and the Fancy continued to be popular. However there is evidence of increasing interest in dance forms including the Pavan, Courante, and Saraband, as seen in Matthew Locke's *Little Consort* or suites for strings, and in Benjamin Rogers' *Nine Muses.* All of the dances have a certain charm in the rhythm and simplicity, but all indicate a lack of sureness in the medium being employed, which was true of all music in England until the end of the century.

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[9]A complete list of Playford's publications may be found in ***British Music Publishers, Printers, and Engravers*** by Frank Kidson, (London: W. E. Hill and Sons, 1900), p. 96, or Appendix B of my thesis.

Dramatic Music

Music for the theatre was another musical activity which occupied composers during Cromwell's time. It was only through the use of music that English theatres, which had been closed in 1648, were allowed to reopen. Plays along with elaborate church music were one thing to which the Puritans had strong objections so the theatres were closed until 1656 when they were reopened for the presentation of musical productions.

Sir William Davenant, an author of masques and plays conceived the idea of stage presentations with music, disguised as "Moral Representations." His first production was *The First Day's Entertainment* presented at Rutland House in 1656. It was little more than a lecture recital in costume, but in the Preface to the work it is called "an opera," and the Puritans accepted it as such. Six months after this production Davenant presented the *Siege of Rhodes* which is said to be the first English opera, and the first heroic play. The music was by Captain Henry Cooke, Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Coleman and Hudson.

Other presentations including *The History of Sir Francis Drake* (1659) *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (1658) soon followed. The music for all of these including that for the *Siege of Rhodes* has been lost, but it undoubtedly followed the Italian "stilo recitativo" and was similar to that of Lawes' songs for *Comus.*

Summary

It may be seen that although musical activities of a secular nature continued during this period, and music was highly cultivated by the people as a whole, there were no great artistic achievements in the field of musical composition, and England in no way regained her high position in the field of musical composition but from the standpoint of *interest in music* and its cultivation, this was one of the most brilliant periods in the history of English music.

THE RESTORATION (1660-1683)

By 1660, when Charles II returned to power, the secularization of English music was practically complete. Charles, who had spent his exile in France, was to influence the music of England even further. It will be remembered that in the early seventeenth century, there had been a definite reaction against the conventions of the Elizabethan period. During the Puritan domination this reaction was for a time allayed, but with the return of Charles, whose main concern was the pursuit of pleasure and the enjoyment of life, there was a complete rebellion against social and moral conventions, and the extremes of personal conduct followed. Music became a means of amusement and entertainment at the court, and Charles' interest in French music and his belief in its superiority over the English was to result in the complete domination of England by foreign music and musicians.

Publications

Playford's publishing business continued to flourish during the reign of Charles II, and for the most part, the publications were similar to those printed during the Interregnum. There were new editions of Hilton's *Catch that Catch Can* of which the 1667 edition contained eight Italian and Latin songs. Among the new "miscellanies" were *Choice Ayres and*

Songs in five books published from 1669 to 1684 and *Musick's Handmaid* which was a collection of lessons for the virginal or harpsichord that appeared first in 1666. The most famous secular publication was *Sonnatas of III parts for two Violins and a Basse, or the Organ and Harpsichord* by Henry Purcell. Among the sacred works published were *Psalms and Hymns in Solemn Music of four parts,* in 1671, and 1673, Richard Deering's *Cantica Sacra* in 1672 and 1674, and *A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* set to new tunes by Henry Lawes in 1676.

Sacred Music

The return of Charles II also brought about the re-establishment of the Church of England and the resumption of religious services there. However, there were several problems which arose as a result. First of all the re-establishment of a uniform service was difficult as laymen and clergy alike had forgotten the order of service, and guide books and manuals had to be printed. Secondly, organs had to be replaced or built. Thirdly, the Chapel Royal had to be reorganized. Many of the older musicians such as Christopher Gibbons, Matthew Locke and Captain Cooke returned, but there were no trained choir boys and the Anglican choral tradition was practically lost. As a result instruments were used to supply the parts. Fortunately the Master of the Children, Captain Henry Cooke, was very capable, and within a year the boys were able to carry on the service without the help of instruments, and regular services were resumed.

No one really wanted a return to the church music of Tallis and Byrd—particularly Charles who had definite ideas on what he wanted in church music. He would tolerate no music to which he could not keep time, so instrumental interludes were inserted between the verses of the anthems. Pelham Humphrey, a Chapel Royal musician was even sent to the continent to study with Lully and master the French style which Charles demanded. Others in the chapel developed this French rhythmic style for the instrumental interludes, which by the end of the century became so long as to practically obliterate the vocal portion of the anthem. The use of these dancelike instrumental parts made the anthems very sectional, and although the verse part was very declamatory, after the style of French opera during the early years of the Restoration, a more tuneful style, more to the taste of the king, was soon developed.

The Restoration church music possessed an artistic and musical style, which, had the composers not been dominated by the dictates of the king, would undoubtedly have developed to some degree of perfection, but as sacred music was regarded on no higher level than secular, it did not long survive when new developments in musical styles were introduced in the eighteenth century.

Secular Music

Charles II had as definite ideas of secular music as he had of sacred. In imitation of Louis XIV, he organized a group of twenty-four violins to play for him during meals, in the court, chapel, and theatre. The instrumental music which was performed had to be light dance tunes, after the style of the French. The ayres and dialogues too, were in the French manner. After 1664, however, Italian influences replaced the French. Under the encouragement of Charles, many Italian musicians came to England. There had been a preference for Italian music throughout the century, but with the arrival of these superior musicians, the influence and domination became greater.

One may see in Pepys' Diary, a reluctance or even antagonism toward the Italians in the entries of 1664 to 1667, but like the majority of Englishmen, he saw their superiority and by 1668, acknowledged it.[10] Although the complete defeat of English music did not come for several years, Pepys' attitude indicates the *general* trend and the opinion of one patriotic music patron during the Restoration.

The French dance form continued in favor until the 1670's, but Italian style of composition was gaining in favor, and in 1683 in the Preface to his Sonatas, Purcell expressed his preference for the Italian masters and declared it was time the English turned from the levity of the French to the more serious music of the Italians. With English composers admitting the superiority of the Italian style over their own or the French, it is no wonder that the domination of English music by the Italians became complete after the death of Purcell.

Dramatic Music

At the return of Charles II, the theatres reopened legitimately, so music was no longer needed as a disguise. The use of music in the theatre continued, however. It was performed before the curtain rose, and in some instances masques, similar to the French Ballet were used. Again Charles II with his love of music exercised his influence and demanded more music, and operas of a sort came into being.

The first so-called Restoration opera—none of these dramatic plays were really operas in the Italian sense—was an enlarged version of Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes,* presented in 1661. Davenant followed these with revivals of several Shakespearian plays, altered to make them more acceptable to the Restoration audience. The first of these was *Macbeth,* presented in 1663, the music of which is thought to have been composed by Matthew Locke. The music was unskillful, but effective as stage music. This was followed by the *Tempest* in 1667 and again in 1674. These productions employed a considerable amount of music. In 1674-5, Shadwell's so-called "dramatic-opera" *Psyche,* based on Moliere's French comedie ballet of the same name, was produced. It, like the other productions, was primarily a play, but it has been called the "first systematized attempt at a musical and dramatic scheme . . ." in England.[11] Locke, in the preface, called this an opera, but said he expected he would be criticized for it as it was not entirely sung as Italian operas were, but that he was doing this in the English manner with both spoken and sung dialogue.[12]

In 1680, Lee's tragedy, *Theodosius,* with music by Purcell was presented. This was Purcell's first contribution to music for the stage, and in it more attention was given to the music than had previously been the custom. It was not until 1689, however, that the first real English opera, Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas,* was presented.

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[10]Pepys, *p. cit.,* March 21, 1668, which reads, "To the Queen's Chapel, and there did hear the Italians sing: and indeed their musick did appear most admirable to me, beyond anything of ours."

[11]Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p. 120.

[12]Cummings, W. H., "Matthew Locke, composer for Church and Theatre," *Internationalen Musickgesellschaft,* (1911-12), XIII, p. 126.

While the music to plays forms an important part of the music composed during this period, it was always the *servant* of the play. Only after the death of Charles II was there any *real* opera in England. It would appear that the traditions of drama were too well rooted to allow music to take a place of equal importance, for in all the stage performances presented before *Dido and Aeneas*, *music* was incidental to the *drama*.

Summary

Music of the reign of Charles II may be said to have been governed by two factors—the tastes of Charles and the influence of foreign music and musicians. Sacred music was completely dominated by the taste of the king, and was little more than a secular setting of a sacred text. Secular music was at first light, rhythmic, and dancelike, after the French, but it was later superseded by the Italian style, as is best illustrated by Purcell's Sonatas. Only the "catch," sung in taverns, was a truly English form, but during the Restoration this was so vulgar of text that all sense of artistry was lost.

It was therefore during this time that the final decline of English music came about. Purcell, although writing in the Italian manner, was still a highlight in English music, but having no followers, the foreign domination of English music became complete at his death.

CONCLUSION

It will be remembered that several principal reasons for the decline of English music were given at the beginning of this Thesis—namely, the *general* decline of the polyphonic style of music—which was not peculiar to England—the effects of the religious, political, and social conditions, the intrusion of foreign influences, and the lack of composers at all comparable to those from the continent. By looking back over this survey, the reader will also note that music publishing, sacred and secular music were considered in each period.

Music publishing during the reign of Charles I was of little importance. There were only a few publications, and all of them, with the exception of the Barnard collection, and the reprint of *Parthenia* were music in the transitional vocal style in which composers were attempting to write "in the Italian manner." It is notable too that there were no reprints of madrigals which tends to indicate that there was little demand for music of the preceding period. While music publishing flourished under Playford in the next two periods, it is interesting to note that during the Interregnum, which was a notable religious period, there was only one new publication of *sacred* music. The Puritans cannot be blamed for the decline of English music, but they were partially responsible for the complete *secularization* of it after the Civil War. While publishing continued during the Restoration, the music published is not particularly indicative of any new trends in musical composition.

Sacred music during the reign of Charles I was in a transitional state, due to the greater interest in monodic music, and undoubtedly because of the religious unrest, there was little produced of any importance. During the Interregnum, when it would be expected that sacred music would have predominated, only the Psalms were used, and no new musical developments were made. Because of this lack of composition in the field of sacred music in the period of Puritan domination, and because of the

dominance of Charles II in musical activities, sacred music became completely secular in style during the Restoration. Through the use of declamation, of instrumental passages, and dancelike rhythm, sacred music, of which the anthem was the principal form, acquired characteristics which were soon to be discarded. Although much of the church music by Blow and Humphrey was musically artistic, the secular characteristics were too predominant to make it of any lasting value except as a style typical of the age.

In the composition of secular music, the most noticeable characteristic is the influence of foreign styles. During the reign of Charles I and the Interregnum, there was little music produced, with the exception of the Fancy and "catch," which was purely English in character. The vocal music was all composed in the Italian style of declamation and instrumental accompaniment. The influence of foreign styles was even greater during the reign of Charles II, when the composers, in order to please the King, had to follow the styles most pleasing to the court. French dances and songs of the light, airy type were the popular forms until the influx of the Italian musicians and the acknowledgment of their superiority by both the composers and the public. Aside from the "catch," there was no secular music produced which was purely English in character. Even Purcell's Sonatas were written in imitation of the Italian style which was eventually to dominate English music completely.

In dramatic music, the masque, in form and general character, was completely English, but it offered little opportunity for change or development. During the Interregnum, when the first English opera was presented, English composers had an opportunity to develop a style of their own in this form of composition, but with the Restoration and the return of stage plays, it became apparent that *drama* was too much a part of the life of the people for England to ever enjoy a national opera. Music with plays was enjoyed, but until the time of Purcell, *music* was completely secondary to the *drama*. The first attempts at opera had been directed by a dramatist who employed music only as a means of presenting stage productions, and when that was no longer necessary, there was a complete return to drama *per se*. It is regrettable that there was no English composer after Purcell, capable of competing with the Italians who came to dominate English music; had there been, England might have developed a dramatic music of her own.

It would be difficult to determine how much effect the political conditions of the period which we have reviewed had on music in England. However, the evidence of the other reasons given for this decline, are more apparent.

First of all, with the rise of a wealthy middle class in England, the social conditions were considerably changed. It was no longer only the nobility who patronized the arts. Nor, was it only the nobility who traveled abroad and came to know something of the ways of the people in other countries and the arts they cultivated. As a result, this class which had money to secure what it wanted, could afford to patronize the best, or what it most enjoyed, be it English, French, or Italian. Being typical of the people of all ages, who have found anything foreign superior to the domestic, the English public on the whole was receptive to *foreign* music and musicians.

However, it was not only the change in social conditions which aided the decline of English music. Composers themselves had, throughout the seventeeth century, written music "in the Italian manner." With the return of Charles II and his definite taste for French music, the French style dominated the music of the court. Composers, therefore, in order to remain in favor with the king, found it necessary to adopt this style. In a sense one might say the political and religious conditions which had necessitated the exile of Charles, were the reasons for this invasion of foreign music. Regardless of this, it was the beginning of the complete dominance of English music by the French and later the Italians which more than anything aided the decline of English music.

All of these conditions—political, religious, social, and particularly the intrusion of the foreign music—were undoubtedly effective in aiding in the decline of England in the field of music, but it must be admitted that there were no composers in England from the death of Orlando Gibbons to the time of Henry Purcell, whose work is at all comparable to that of the composers on the continent. If there had been, the decline of English music would never have been so great, nor the domination of it by foreign musicians, so complete.

THE MUSIC OF SWEDEN

(Continued from Page 45)

certs play the most important part in the music of the city. The Symphony Orchestra is the oldest of the more important concert orchestras in Sweden.

An important step for music in the country at large was when in 1912 the government granted support for a symphony orchestra in Helsingborg, one in Gavle, and one in Norrkoping. Malmo has had its Symphonic Orchestra since 1902. Sweden has consequently today six large orchestras capable of performing the biggest compositions, not to speak of smaller organizations in a number of cities. There is also great chamber music activity all over the land as well as many choir organizations of the large type everywhere.

Artists that visit Sweden—if they are of value—can always depend upon a large audience that fully understands well rendered music when they hear it. Anyone who tries to play light ditties or music of an inferior order need never return a second time. That Sweden stands on a high plane in this respect is absolute fact.

In retrospect, it is evident that the outstanding characteristic of postwar music has been the element of instability. That instability has found expression in a number of ways, chief among which is the willingness on the part of composers to go to any extreme in their search for originality. It seems evident that a reaction from the most extreme phase of modernism has begun; no one can say how much of the newly explored territory is valid and will be retained. There is, however, no doubt but that modernism has added new and exceedingly valuable materials to musical art. But from a contemporary perspective it is impossible accurately to draw the line between change and progress.

Music, any kind of honest and sincere music, will continue in the future as it has in the past, to play an increasingly important part in the lives of cultured human beings. The study of the history of music should open vast fields of musical exploration, and bring to the student a wide enough acquaintance with old music to convince him that hardly anything the future might bring could be truly new.

A STUDY OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS

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so that fewer demands on the ability of singers are required. The hymns and Sunday School songs of other Protestant sects have been included in these hymnals, so that a broadening of religious viewpoints is in evidence. Efforts are being made to preserve the essence and nobility of the old chorales, but the trend is away from the "tried and true."

The musical culture of the Pennsylvania-Germans has no parallel in America. The Moravians continued to compose when they arrived although their music was somewhat crude in comparison to the existing examples of madrigal mass or motet. They proved that the use of musical instruments in worship was highly desirable. Theirs is a steady stream of development finding the ultimate form of expression in the Bach Choir. The Mennonites have not made any significant contributions to American hymnody, but have preserved their great wealth of hymns which they brought with them. The Amish still use their sixteenth century hymns with characteristic idioms in the vernacular, while those of the Seventh-Day Baptists have been forgotten.

The influence of the Pennsylvania-German hymnody in America is difficult to trace. Anyone who has come in contact with the services of these sects has been greatly impressed by the beauty and strength of their hymn singing. There has been a diffusion of these hymns into the hymnals of other protestant groups, but for the most part there has been little communication between these people and the outside world: they are self-sufficient. The Bethlehem Bach Choir has done more to make America conscious of the magnificence of the setting of the Bach chorales and the inspiration and splendor of singing than any other organization of this section. It is to be hoped that the people of America will not be deprived too long of the joy of participating in such splendid music.

JAZZ

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composers working in the larger forms. It has been "sweetened" and devitalized to conform to public taste. These hybrid forms are of dubious merit. Jazz in its restricted definition, is the dance expression in the American Negro folk idiom. As such its value is genuine and, as an expression of man's eternal desire for dance, is a lasting one.

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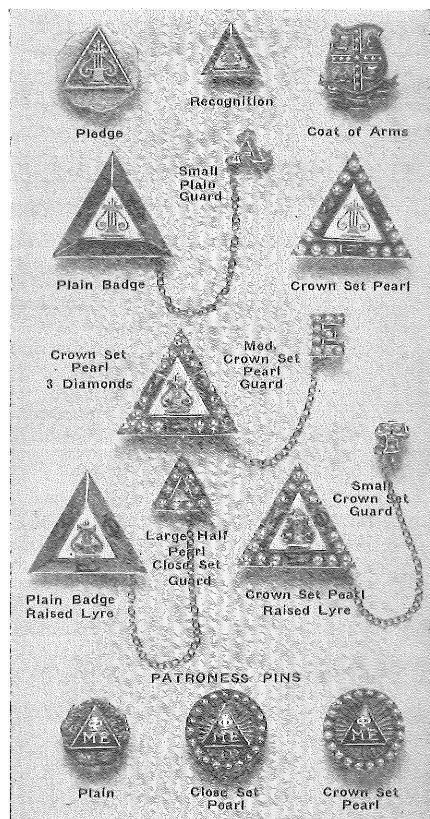

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