Defined, but not Confined:
Transnationalism, Transcendence, and Exclusion
in the Works of Horatio Parker

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"Lord, to the end that my heart may think, that my pen may write and that my mouth may set forth Thy praise, pour both into my heart and pen and mouth Thy grace." – Bernard de Morlaix.[1]

When through the deep waters I call thee to go,
The rivers of woe shall not thee overflow;
For I will be with thee, thy troubles to bless,
And sanctify to thee thy deepest distress.

When through fiery trials thy pathway shall lie,
My grace, all-sufficient, shall be thy supply;
The flame shall not hurt thee: I only design
Thy dross to consume, and thy gold to refine.

– "How Firm a Foundation"

Soli Deo Gloria.

[1] Quoted by Rev. Winfred Douglas in his sermon in memory of Horatio Parker, 1920. Cited in Isabel Semler, *Horatio Parker; a Memoir for His Grandchildren,* (Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 312.

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Abstract

In this thesis, I demonstrate the relationship of transnationalism, transcendence, and exclusion in the life, works, and words of Horatio Parker (1863-1919). Parker was an organist, composer, and the dean of the School of Music at Yale from 1904 until his death. Although his reputation has since waned, during his lifetime he was a sought-after speaker and composer, gaining recognition across the United States and in England. This thesis engages with three categories of Parker's repertoire including orchestral, choral/liturgical, and song, and employs intertextuality as the main method of analysis.

Parker, like many of his contemporaries, rejected Antonin Dvořák's 1893 suggestion to American composers that a national idiom could be founded on African American and Native American musics. In combination with his lectures on the topic, I argue that Parker's symphonic poem *A Northern Ballad* may be read as his response to Dvořák's claim. Using many techniques reminiscent of Dvořák's "New World" Symphony, Parker's work transcends national boundaries rather than defining or being defined by them.

Of greater concern to Parker than the perceived national characteristics of a work was that it should acknowledge music's spiritual significance. Although the belief in music as a transcendent art frequently divorced music from words and from function, as a devout Christian, Parker sought to reunite the inherently "religious" quality of music with religious service, in works such as *Hora Novissima* and *Light's Glittering Morn*. I frame Parker's efforts in the context of the writings of John Sullivan Dwight (1813-1893), Wilhelm Wackenroder (1773-1798), and E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776-1822), all major proponents of musical transcendence.

In general, appeals to transcendence idolized Beethoven and defined beauty by Eurocentric standards, establishing a false hierarchy that resulted in exclusion. The work of Parker, and other American composers, fuelled also by the false hierarchy of racism, continued to propagate exclusion. The final chapter of this thesis thus contributes to efforts to decolonise Parker's settler colonial attitudes and examine how these influenced his musical choices.

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Introduction

Why Transcendence, Transnationalism, and Exclusion, and Who is Parker?

It is perhaps easier for a musicologist to pick a favourite piece of music than for composers to conclusively define a national music style in an ever globalising world. This challenge, faced by American composers in the nineteenth century, is often studied within frameworks of nationalism. Recently, scholarship has broadened to consider a greater web of influences under the term transnationalism,[1] and, still more recently, the attention of the world has turned to addressing how constructions of nationalism often center around narratives of exclusion.[2] This thesis follows much the same structure, with one important addition – the concept of transcendence. In this thesis, I demonstrate the relationship of transnationalism, transcendence, and exclusion in the life, works, and words of Horatio Parker (1863-1919), a composer, musician and, from 1904 until his death, the Dean of the School of Music at Yale. Parker was a contemporary of composers including Claude Debussy and Richard Strauss – and yet while music on the European continent was tending in two very different directions (Debussy's impressionism vs the Wagnerian music drama), Parker's vision for music was staunchly rooted in historical models that he held up as ideals. This thesis explores some of those ideals, placing them in the context of a much wider dialogue with Parker's contemporaries and reveals, to some extent, how they were borne out in the composer's music. Parker was an extremely active and vocal advocate for American music, and yet his expression of American music ran counter to the inclusion of folk music that Antonin Dvořák had suggested.[3] Parker's advocacy of American music was always bounded by his acknowledgment

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[1] Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "Crossroads of Cultures: The Transnational Turn in American Studies – Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, November 12, 2004," *American Quarterly 57*, no. 1 (March, 2005): 17-57.
[2] For more on American national identity and exclusion in music, see Charles Hiroshi Garrett, *Struggling to Define a Nation: American Music and the Twentieth Century,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).
[3] Embedded in the term "folk" is an inherently classist relationship that mirrors arbitrary low/high cultural distinctions and participates in the racialization of minority populations. (See Adrienne Fried Block "Dvořák's Long

that quality, not nationality, was what truly mattered. However, quality, for Parker, was rooted in a transcendent philosophy of music that held to standards defined by European models, and as Chapter Three will demonstrate, that Eurocentric vision resulted in some severe exclusions.

Parker's life spans a critical period in American history – from the middle of the Civil War to the end of the First World War – when American composers were deeply engaged in the process of defining a national style. To this end, in 1892, Mrs. Jeanette Thurbers, the benefactress of the National Conservatory of Music in New York, invited famed Czech composer, Antonin Dvořák, to the United States to assist the efforts of the local composers.[4] Dvořák's suggestion was that an American idiom might be founded on the folk music of African Americans and Native Americans. In addition to his extensive comments in the press, Dvořák submitted several compositional examples – including his ninth symphony, "From the New World." The work was promoted as having been inspired by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's epic poem, *Hiawatha,* and was heavily praised by the *New York Tribune* critic, Henry Krehbiel.[5] Dvořák's efforts have since become the central axis around which narratives of nationalism in American music are developed.[6] In some cases, Dvořák was hailed as the saviour of American music, while others argue that Dvořák's

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American Reach" in John C. Tibbetts, ed., *Dvořák in America, 1892-1895*, (Portland, Or: Amadeus Press, 1993), 159-160.) Although other terms have been suggested (traditional, popular, etc. See Carole Pegg, "Folk Music" in *Grove Music Online*) none sufficiently avoids the hierarchical consequences that arise because of an implied opposition to "art" music. Although I have opted to continue using the term "folk," my second and third chapter contribute to efforts that continue to question these hierarchies.

[4] Richard Taruskin, *Music in The Nineteenth Century,* Volume 3 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 755.

[5] Joseph Horowitz, "Dvořák and the New World: A Concentrated Moment" in Michael Beckerman, ed., *Dvořák and His World, Dvořák And His World,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 95.

[6] Block, "Dvořák's Long American Reach," 157. See also: Alan Howard Levy, *Musical Nationalism: American Composers' Search for Identity*, Contributions in American Studies; No. 66 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983) Adrienne Fried Block, "Boston Talks Back to Dvorák," *Newsletter - Institute for Studies in American Music; Brooklyn* XVIII, no. 2 (Spring 1989). Adrienne Fried Block, "Dvořák, Beach, and American Music," in *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock* edited by edited by Richard Crawford, R. Allen Lott and Carol J. Oja, (Ann Arbor, MI, USA: University of Michigan Press, 1990). Joseph Horowitz. "Dvořák and Boston," *American Music* 19, no. 1, 2001. Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America a History*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007). Michael Beckerman, "The Master's Little Joke: Antonin Dvořák and the Mask of Nation," in Michael Beckerman, ed. *Dvořák And His World,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

attempt to use local sources was perhaps spurious.[7] Musicologist Douglas Shadle gives a much broader context for this conversation, showing that American composers were already extensively involved in the project of defining an American style and had not yet achieved recognition for their work mostly because of the view, propagated by critic John Sullivan Dwight and others, that German orchestral music epitomized transcendent art.[8] The local composers, including George Chadwick and Amy Beach, responded to Dvořák's suggestions disparagingly and continued their efforts as American composers working with a variety of inspirations. As Chapter One describes, Parker's response to Dvořák draws on his own transnational career and is exemplified in his symphonic poem, *A Northern Ballad.*

Transnationalism, in this thesis, operates as the theoretical framework through which Parker's life and music can be understood. Lately there has been a shift, in American studies in particular, to acknowledge a wider range of sources and approaches to this field of study than a purely national focus allows.[9] My own working definition of transnationalism summarises the work of several scholars including Sarah Gerk, Cheryll May and Marian Wardle, and Gundula Kreuzer. Transnationalism is evidence of the process of "encounters" and/or "exchange" that cross or "transcend" national boundaries.[10] As Kreuzer summarizes, "a transnational approach…seeks to go beyond the national both as a default object and as a fixed methodological parameter of

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[7] Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century,* 765-766. See also Michael Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák: Searching in America for the Composer's Inner Life*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003).

[8] Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[9] Fishkin, "Crossroads of Cultures"

[10] Sarah Gerk, "'Common Joys, Sorrows, Adventures, and Struggles': Transnational Encounters in Amy Beach's 'Gaelic' Symphony." *Journal of the Society for American Music* 10, no. 2 (2016): 149–80; Cheryll Lynn May and Marian Wardle, *A Seamless Web: Transatlantic Art in the Nineteenth Century* (Newcastle upon Tyne, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014); Gundula Kreuzer, "Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert. Kompositorische und soziokulturelle Aspekte der Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa. Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2002. Ed. by Helmut Loos and Stefan Keym." Review. *Music and Letters,* Volume 89, Issue 3, (August 2008), 423.

historical enquiry."[11] Transnationalism thus transcends nationalism in the sense that it goes beyond the limitations of nationalism, both the geographical and conceptual. Transnationalism is thus distinct from both nationalism – which emphasises boundaries, and cosmopolitanism – which, as Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley assert, is a marker of a much more significant "ethical-political mandate."[12] Transnationalism is broader in scope than both transatlanticism, and transculturalism. Transatlanticism specifically addresses exchange across the Atlantic ocean, while transculturalism – which may refer to cultures found within the confines of a nation – emphasises the interconnected nature of these cultures and rejects hegemonic hierarchies.[13] Transnationalism is the theoretical underpinning which runs through all three chapters of this thesis, with each chapter also featuring some hints at the link between this main operating term and the concepts of transcendence and exclusion, which are addressed in their own chapters.

Chapter Two further explores the transnational basis of Parker's thought by discussing the concept of transcendence and showing the roots of this philosophy in Germany. Parker's comments about transcendence are placed in the context of the work of Wilhelm Wackenroder, E.T.A Hoffmann, and John Sullivan Dwight. Parker's Christian faith distinguishes his beliefs from Transcendentalism which was a pervading philosophy in America at the time and especially prominent in the work of Dwight and Charles Ives. While a transcendent philosophy of art did tend to consider instrumental music outside of the church as the highest art, Parker's contributions initiate a reconsideration of how Wackenroder, Hoffmann, and Dwight each promoted sacred music. As Chapter Two will show, far from divorcing art from the church, one of the goals of

[11] Kreuzer, 423.
[12] Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley, "Music and the New Cosmopolitanism: Problems and Possibilities," *The Musical Quarterly* 99, no. 2 (June 1, 2016), 141.
[13] Afef Benessaieh, "Multiculturalism, Interculturality, Transculturality," in *Amériques Transculturelles - Transcultural Americas*, ed. Afef Benessaieh (University of Ottawa Press, 2010), 11. Wolfgang Welsch, "Transculturality - the Changing Form of Cultures Today" *Filozofski vestnik* XXII, no. 2 (2001), 65.

holding to a transcendent philosophy of music resulted in a desire to increase the quality of music in every sphere of life. Parker, in his composing both for the church and for the concert hall, deemed this of supreme importance.

Unfortunately, a transcendent philosophy of music usually resulted in a false hierarchy of musical works that privileged Europeans and excluded others. This hierarchy, which I call idolatrous transcendence, is examined in Chapter Three in parallel with the false hierarchy of racism.[14] Exclusion is first seen in the relationship between Beethoven and the American composers, and then seen again in Parker's words about African Americans and Native Americans. The third chapter thus takes a decolonising approach, addressing the racist paradigms in Parker's words and musical choices.[15] Some scholars have suggested that focussing on the transnational can divert research from efforts of decolonising. For example, musicologist Tamara Levitz acknowledges "the 'transnational turn' in American Studies, which both provides a welcome challenge to nationalist paradigms, yet can also serve as a 'move to innocence' if used to evade them."[16] As Levitz states here, employing transnationalism as a framework may allow scholars to overlook the racist, colonial construction of nationhood for which these historical figures advocated. In other words, scholarship may over-emphasise the positive efforts of transnationalism instead of acknowledging the problematic effects of the racism that excluded certain groups from the nation. Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang assert: "the anti-colonial turn towards the transnational can sometimes involve ignoring the settler colonial context where one resides and how that

[14] On the idolatry of beauty, see also: C.S. Lewis, *The Weight of Glory and other addresses,* (The Macmillan Company, New York: 1949) and Simone Weil, *Gravity and Grace*, (London: Routledge, 2005).

[15] For more on decolonising/decoloniality see Walter Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, and Praxis*, (Duke University Press, 2018). See also Aníbal Quijano "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 15, no. 2 (June 2000): 215–232 and Ben Spatz, "Notes for Decolonizing Embodiment." *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism,* Volume 33, Number 2 (Spring 2019), 9-22.

[16] Tamara Levitz, "Decolonizing the Society for American Music." *Bulletin of the Society for American Music* 43, no. 3 (Fall 2017), 5.

inhabitation is implicated in settler colonialism, in order to establish 'global' solidarities that presumably suffer fewer complicities and complications."[17] As Levitz, Tuck and Yang all assert, employing transnationalism as a framework may defeat the purpose of decolonising – in that it becomes a means of distracting and distancing oneself from the racist biases that were at the foundation of what the dominant white population believed. In order to thus combine the transnational framework employed here with the efforts of decolonizing, Chapter Three aims to fully acknowledge Parker's colonial context, address his racist comments, and demonstrate how his racial bias resulted in the exclusion of African American and Native American musics – using his work associated with *The Progressive Music Series* (a set of instructional volumes for use in schools) as a case study.

Methodology

The main methodological approach I draw on in this work involves investigating intertextuality. One of the most frequent criticisms aimed at Parker was that his work was too highly derivative. Critics compared his work to that of other composers including Schubert, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Gounod, and Dvořák[18] with elements in some works comparable to those of Franck and Wagner, Tchaikovsky, Handel and Palestrina.[19] Although occasionally praised for this "eclecticism,"[20] it was also deemed to be something of a detriment that the composer never managed to gain a unique voice. Following Robert Hatten, who studies intertextuality with the intent to "balance the competing demands of interrelatedness and individuality," I argue that the

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[17] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012), 29.
[18] Brian Burns, "Horatio Parker's Hora Novissima, Op. 30 (1892): A Critical History and Analysis." D.M.A., University of Oklahoma, 2014, 99, 101.
[19] William Kearns, *Horatio Parker, 1863-1919: His Life, Music, and Ideas*, Composers of North America ; No. 6 (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1990), 129, 221.
[20] Unnamed critic cited in Kearns, 208.

derivative nature of Parker's output was rarely without due cause.[21] Whether it was for the purpose of transcending nationalism – as in the case of *A Northern Ballad*, or as a means of embodying transcendence – as in several of Parker's sacred works, intertextuality served Parker's compositional choices well.

A further methodological approach is built on the concept of composer intent. Although William Wimsatt and Monroe Beardsley staunchly deny authorial agency as a valuable contribution to analysis in literature, and music scholars have debated the relevance of composer intent in both analysis and performance, I follow Richard Taruskin who affirms the relevance of the composer's involvement with the work to analytical studies.[22] Throughout this thesis, insights from Parker's draft compositions, diaries and other writings help frame the analytical discourse in balance with the music itself. Parker once wrote: "it is not always profitable to talk about music, at least not for musicians. It is written in notes and it is uttered in tones and it cannot be expressed in words at all."[23] Despite this assertion, it is very helpful to have had access to so much of the composer's own writings about music. The Horatio Parker Papers at the Yale School of Music Archives are the comprehensive collection of Parker's compositions, correspondence and other writings, including his lecture notes from Music History courses offered at Yale, his public lectures, and the introductory comments to the many editorial projects he undertook. These

[21] Robert S Hatten, "The Place of Intertextuality in Music Studies" *American Journal of Semiotics,* Vol 3, No. 4 (1985), 69.
[22] W.K. Wimsatt Jr and M.C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy" *The Sewanee Review,* Volume 54 (1946): 468-488. Richard Taruskin, "Letter to the Editor" in *Music Analysis* 5 (1986): 313-20; The debate between Allen Forte and Richard Taruskin was played out in *Music Analysis* 4 and 5 (1985, 1986) cited in Ethan Haimo, "Atonality, Analysis, and the Intentional Fallacy," *Music Theory Spectrum* 18.2 (Fall 1996), 167–199. See also, Phillip Gossett, "Beethoven's Sixth Symphony: Sketches for the First Movement," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27 [1974]: 261-68).
[23] All archival sources, unless otherwise stated refer to MSS 32 The Horatio Parker Papers in the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University – hereafter referred to as HP Papers. Where possible, the title of the item will be given as well as box and folder numbers of the location in the archival collection. Horatio Parker, Music History Lecture #1, pg 4, 1908, HP Papers, Box 33, Folder 1.

sources, which I consulted in the summer of 2019, offer a clearer picture of the composer's motives and beliefs and lay the foundation from which his works may be interpreted. In addition, this thesis engages with three very different categories of Parker's repertoire – orchestral, choral/liturgical, and song – designed for use in three very different locations i.e., concert hall or church or classroom. What is revealed in Parker's words about music is a great consistency throughout each of these three "genres" or "realms."

Literature Review

The contemporary scholarship on Parker is far from extensive, with only a few devoted biographies and passing treatment in history survey texts. The most comprehensive work is William Kearns' biography of the composer which has been an invaluable resource as I undertook this study. Kearns surveys most of Parker's repertoire as well as giving significant details of his travels and career.[24] The only other extensive biography of the composer is by Isabelle Parker Semler – Parker's daughter – and was written as a memoir for her children of their grandfather. Semler's work is appropriately familial, painting a picture of a devoted father, busy composer, and well-respected musician.[25] The brief reflections of Parker's teacher, George Chadwick, and those of his pupil, David Stanley Smith, helped to complete a well-rounded picture of the composer and show the consistency of his thought over the extent of his life and his perpetual devotion to his art.[26]

Most modern scholarship mentions Parker only in passing as the teacher of his famed pupil, Charles Ives. Kearns attributes the lack of consideration of Parker to Charles Ives's comments

[24] Kearns, *Horatio Parker, 1863-1919: His Life, Music, and Ideas.*
[25] Isabel Semler, *Horatio Parker; a Memoir for His Grandchildren.* (Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series. New York: Da Capo Press), 1973.
[26] George Whitefield Chadwick, *Horatio Parker, 1863-1920.* (New York: AMS Press, 1972) Originally published 1921; David Stanley Smith "A Study of Horatio Parker." *The Musical Quarterly* XVI, no. 2 (1930): 153–63.

about his former professor, whom Ives deemed as having been "limited by what Rheinberger had taught him."[27] It is possible that this comment has resulted in the lack of critical treatment of Parker's work in contemporary scholarship; however, some recent works emphasise the critical nature of Parker's influence on the younger composer.[28] Ives's comments about Parker were much broader in scope than this one comment, in fact he wrote "I had and have great respect and admiration for Parker and most of his music. It was seldom trivial…Parker had ideals that carried him higher than the popular."[29] Investigation of these high ideals is the central focus of Chapter Two of this thesis. Perhaps the relationship of Parker and Ives was more a case of "like teacher, like pupil." According to a contemporary music critic,

> It is said of H. W. Parker that when he was a student in Munich under Rheinberger he was repeatedly introducing some new wrinkle, some unheard of effect in the modest compositions on which he was then laboring. Certain of these musical inventions were distasteful to the master who detected in them an outrage against the canons of the Royal Conservatory.[30]

This is much the same description that Ives gave of how Parker responded to his own polytonal experiments. In Ives's report, Parker sounds quite good-natured, "Parker took it as a joke (he was seldom mean)…He would just look at a measure or so, and hand it back with a smile, or joke about 'hogging all the keys at one meal' and then talk about something else."[31] Although Parker's influence on Ives remains a topic of focus in academic literature, his contributions also had a much

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[27] Charles E. Ives, *Memos*, ed. John Kirkpatrick (New York: Norton, 1972), pp. 115–16.
[28] J. Peter Burkholder, "Ives and Yale: The Enduring Influence of a College Experience." *College Music Symposium* 39 (October 1, 1999): 27–42; Ann Beser Scott, and Charles Ives. "Medieval and Renaissance Techniques in the Music of Charles Ives: Horatio at the Bridge?" *The Musical Quarterly* 78/3 (Autumn 1994), 448-478.
[29] Ives, *Memos*, 49.
[30] W.E.G., "A Notable Potpourri: The Worcester Musical Festival Diffusively Ambitious", in *Boston Evening Transcript*, 28 September 1899, p. 8. Cited in E. Douglas Bomberger, "Layers of Influence: Echoes of Rheinberger in the Choral Works of Horatio Parker," in *Josef Rheinberger: Werk Und Wirkung--Bericht Über Das Internationale Symposium Anlässlich Des 100. Todestages Der Komponisten. Series: Münchner Veröffentlichungen Zur Musikgeschichte, No. 62,* edited by Stephan Hörner and Hartmut Schick, (Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider., 2004), 236.
[31] Ives, *Memos*, 49.

wider impact on the musical culture in New Haven extending through New England, across the continent, and as Chapter One will demonstrate, in Europe.

Recent surveys have tended to be dismissive in their treatment of Parker and his works, referring to his music as "forgettable" and containing "nothing especially American" or focussing more prominently on the other members of the Boston contingent.[32] Alan Levy tracks the development of nationalism in American music from its German roots through the New England School and up to the music of Aaron Copland. Levy mistakenly states that Parker's opera, *Mona*, is "based on native American material" and identifies it as the composer's one "major brush with the vernacular."[33] Parker's *Mona* is actually set in Britain during the early first century AD and develops around the conflict between the Romans and the Celts, whose lands the Romans have occupied.[34] Douglas Shadle focusses on the symphonic efforts of American composers, and Parker, whose only foray into the genre was from his student days in Germany, is thus absent from the work.[35] Hon-Lun Yang offers a survey of the overtures and symphonic poems of the New England composers, interpreting these programmatic works within a framework of nationalism. She also suggests that Parker's symphonic poem, *A Northern Ballad,* functions as part of his response to Dvořák, without drawing direct musical parallels between the two pieces.[36]

The academic literature that focusses specifically on Parker and his works is fairly limited. None of these studies has taken a particularly critical approach to Parker's output, often

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[32] Nicholas E. Tawa, *From Psalm to Symphony: A History of Music in New England* (Northeastern University Press, 2001), 173-174. This book by Tawa is a revised and expanded version of his earlier work: *The Coming of Age of American Art Music: New England's Classical Romanticists* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991). His comments on Parker are much the same between the two volumes, see 158-159. Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America a History*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 100.
[33] Levy, *Musical Nationalism: American Composers' Search for Identity*, 11.
[34] Nathanael Meneer, "Horatio Parker's Mona: An Experiment in American Grand Opera" (MA thesis, Boston University, 2012), 28.
[35] Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise*.
[36] Hon-Lun Yang, "A Study of the Overtures and Symphonic Poems by American Composers of the Second New England School" (PhD Diss., Washington University, 1998), 238.

approaching it instead from the perspective of genre – offering in-depth analysis of a few select works, and mainly focussing on the narrative of Parker as an overlooked composer – regardless of the validity of that claim. Brian Burns attends to Parker's oratorio *Hora Novissima* (1893), addressing its reception and noting the intricacy of its craft; Nathanael Meneer introduces Parker's opera *Mona* (1909-1911), a prize-winning work produced for the Met that expressed Parker's high ideals of music, and despite being poorly received, also prepared Parker for his second opera, *Fairyland* (1914).[37] Eric Saari examines a selection of Parker's secular cantatas as an example of his developing style and technique.[38] Sterling Scroggins positions Parker's song repertoire in association with the "cultivated music tradition" of Boston (which had developed via Dwight's "conscious efforts").[39] Howard Swyers, on the other hand, focusses mainly on the vocal compositional procedures in Parker's oratorios – noting that *Hora Novissima* (1891-1892) was conservative, while *The Legend of St Christopher* (1898) tended to be more dramatic, and that *Morven and the Grail* (1915) was a return to a style which the composer hoped would gain wider appeal after the poor reception of his operas. Swyers concludes that Parker's lack of fame is due in part to his rejection of an American vernacular, caused by his deep roots in the elitism of classical music.[40] While each of these works offers a helpful overview of Parker's efforts in these genres, and sets his work in the context of the late nineteenth-century composition in the United States, none has directly addressed his relationship to Dvořák, despite that composer's centrality in the literature to date. My own study builds from these foundational surveys into a more critical

[37] Meneer, "Horatio Parker's Mona."
[38] Eric Michael Saari, "The Compositional Style of Horatio Parker as Demonstrated in Selected Cantatas" (D.M.A., North Dakota State University, 2012).
[39] Sterling Edward Scroggins,. "The Songs of Horatio Parker: Analysis, History, Anthology, and Recording," (D.M.A., University of Maryland, College Park, 1995), 87-88.
[40] Howard Swyers, "Voice of the Forgotten American: The Oratorios of Horatio Parker," (PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2013), 168.

approach to a selection of Parker's works addressing the broader implications of his high ideals of music in terms of transnationalism, transcendence, and exclusion.

Chapter 1 – Transnationalism

Introduction

When Czech composer Antonin Dvořák arrived in the United States in 1892, he knew that his purpose was to aid the American composers in defining a national idiom. His recommendation to the locals by May of the following year was "that the future music of this country must be founded upon what are called negro melodies."[1] By December of 1893, Dvořák had expanded his suggestion to include the musics of Native Americans. His "New World" Symphony, in addition to several other works, stood as an example of how these sources might inspire further composition. Dvořák claimed he had not quoted any local musics directly, but rather composed "in the spirit of those folk melodies."[2] In addition to pentatonicism, Dvořák's use of open fifths and persistent drum-like rhythm are cited as evidence of the Native American inspiration, while melodically, the second theme of the first movement bears not a little resemblance to the African American spiritual "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot."[3] In combination with the program, which associated Dvořák's symphony with Longfellow's *Hiawatha* – an epic poem which was based on a Native American legend – these musical characteristics were enough to convince some critics that a national idiom had been identified.[4] Dvořák's conception of the nation in this work, however, which somewhat conflated the musics and experiences of Native Americans and African Americans, was predominantly rejected by the local composers, whose own Eurocentric, racist

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[1] Antonin Dvořák, New York Herald, May 21, 1893, cited in Joseph Horowitz, "Dvořák and the New World: A Concentrated Moment," Michael Beckerman ed., *Dvořák and His World,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 96.
[2] Antonin Dvořák, Letter to Oskar Nedbal, February 1900, cited in Beckerman, "Dvořák's 'New World' Largo and 'The Song of Hiawatha,' *19th Century Music,* Vol. 176, No. 1 (1992), 39.
[3] Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), Vol 4, 765-766. For more on Dvořák's introduction to African American music, see Jean E. Snyder, *Harry T. Burleigh: From the Spiritual to the Harlem Renaissance,* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016).
[4] Horowitz, "Dvořák and the New World: A Concentrated Moment" in *Dvořák and His World,* 95. Compare also, Mason's comments on Busch's *Minnehaha's Vision* mentioned in Chapter Three.

biases led them to construe the nation in an entirely different fashion. One of those composers was Horatio Parker.

Parker's conception of the nation was clearly defined by the exclusion of Native Americans and African Americans – and yet not strictly confined to the limits of the American borders. This chapter examines the transnational aspects of Parker's career from his own early education to the success of his oratorio, *Hora Novissima* (1893), and their ongoing impact in his life and compositions. In his role as the Dean of the School of Music at Yale, Parker rigorously advocated for the advancement of American music with a transnational focus. Further, in both his lectures and his own compositions there is evidence that Parker rejected Antonin Dvořák's suggestion that African American or Native American musics were sufficient to define a national idiom. While this was in part due to his racism against African Americans and Native Americans, as Chapter Three will more fully address, it was also because Parker acknowledged that folk elements, such as those used by Dvořák, generally lacked the capacity to evoke place with any particular specificity.

Several composers offered musical responses to Dvořák's claim including Amy Beach, whose use of published folk materials in her "Gaelic" Symphony functioned as her own transnational response to Dvořák. Following an introduction to Parker's transnational experiences, this chapter contrasts his response to Dvořák with that of Amy Beach. Parker's approach to transnationalism in his *A Northern Ballad* was different to Beach's. Unlike Hon-Lun Yang, who suggests that *A Northern Ballad* is Parker's national response to Dvořák, this chapter positions it as a transnational response because it transcends the boundaries of the nation.[5] The prevalence of intertextual references between Dvořák's "New World" and Parker's *A Northern Ballad* allows

[5] Hon-Lun Yang, "A Study of the Overtures and Symphonic Poems by American Composers of the Second New England School" (PhD Diss., Washington University, 1998), 238.

Parker's work to be read as a rejection of how Dvořák, a privileged outsider, had defined nationalism on behalf of the local American composers. Despite the profound similarities between the two works, Parker's piece was not considered "American," and thus stands in direct defiance of the older composer's claims. Rather than define national boundaries, Parker's work reveals that some of the musical characteristics which Dvořák had used to define national style (primarily, pentatonicism and the Scotch snap or Lombard rhythm) instead transcend national boundaries. Even when *A Northern Ballad* was produced in the most American context possible on American Composer's Day at the Panama Pacific International Exhibition in 1915, critics still did not perceive it as "American." Parker's life and music thus stand testament to the importance of transnational exchange in American musical life at the turn of the twentieth century.

Parker and Transnationalism

When asked what might make the young American composer successful, Parker advocated for an international education – just like the one he had received. After obtaining basic musical instruction at first from his own mother and then from composer George Whitefield Chadwick (1854-1931), Parker departed for Germany in 1882 to study under Josef Rheinberger (1839-1901) at the *Hochschule für Musik* in Munich.[6] Rheinberger, with whom Chadwick had also studied, was well-known for his organ and choral works.[7] Under Rheinberger, whose compositional strategies even Chadwick had deemed as "conservative," Parker received the foundational instruction in the

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[6] For more on Chadwick, see Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick: Yankee Composer* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), and Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: The Life and Music of the Pride of New England* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012).

[7] The scholarship on Rheinberger in English is limited, but recent German offerings include: Evelyn Fink-Mennel, Jörg Maria Ortwein, and Rupert Tiefenthaler, *Hochromantische Spurensuche; Josef Gabriel Rheinberger* (Feldkirch: Symposium of the Vorarlberg Landeskonservatorium and the *Internationale Josef Gabriel Rheinberger Gesellschaft, Bibliotek des Vorarlberger Landeskonservatoriums,* 2011), and Stephan Hörner and Hartmut Schick, eds. *Josef Rheinberger: Werk Und Wirkung—Bericht Über Das Internationale Symposium Anlässlich Des 100. Todestages Der Komponisten*. Münchner Veröffentlichungen Zur Musikgeschichte, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2004).

European Classical tradition which would stay with him throughout his life.[8] Parker spent three years at the *Hochschule*, and eventually married one of his fellow students, the young Anna Ploessl, thus cementing his ties to Germany. After returning to the United States and establishing his own career, Parker reaffirmed the necessity of a European education, stating:

> An American education is not, and never can be, sufficient. A man ought to know other Countries, other Peoples, and other languages. Let us have the spirit the French show when they give the Grand Prix de Rome. Let us have scholarships to enable our best students to live in Europe, in France, in Germany, or in Italy for a number of years, on condition that they remain poor and do a recognizable amount of good work. There is no danger of their losing any national characteristics they may have if enough care be given to their preliminary preparation for such a life.[9]

Parker clearly established that young American composers ought to be invested in and given the opportunity to experience a musical education outside of the confines of the American continent. His vision for American composers was that their education would cross national boundaries, not be restricted by them. He also agreed that their own "national characteristics" (which he did not elaborate on) would not be lost in the process of such an exchange, provided they had strong prior education. More important to Parker than the development of identifiable national characteristics was the nationality of the composer. In defining American opera later in his life, he stated:

> No amount of local color can make an opera American – and no lack of it can prevent an opera from being American if it is conceived here by our own people and executed in the spirit which must inform all creative artists of whatever nationality. The popular idea, therefore, that an American opera must have red Indians in it or darkies or cowboys is obviously incorrect.[10]

Parker's language clearly indicates a deeply rooted racial bias that led him to define the nation by excluding significant portions of its population. This will be further addressed in Chapter Three.

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[8] William Kearns, *Horatio Parker, 1863-1919: His Life, Music, and Ideas*, Composers of North America; No. 6 (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1990), 8.
[9] Horatio Parker, "Music in America" 1901. HP Papers, Box 36, Folder 2, 15-16.
[10] Isabel Semler, *Horatio Parker; a Memoir for His Grandchildren,* (Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 235.

After establishing his own career in the United States, Parker continued to actively participate in transnational exchange, while maintaining his own musical values. He often returned to Europe, spending his time in England – where he was involved with the Three Choirs Festival (an event which brought together the choirs of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester) – and in Germany, to visit his wife's family.[11] In 1901, Parker spent his sabbatical year in Europe, and upon his return delivered an address to his colleagues at Yale entitled "Impressions of a Year in Europe."[12] In this talk, Parker was much more critical of the state of music in Europe and began to advocate for a more conservative "Anglo-Saxon" approach to music. He argued that German music was becoming much too "colored by externals," French music was "superficial," and that Italians, in his estimation, were much too interested in opera.[13] However, these are precisely the three nations which he had advocated for as educational inspirations in his comments of the previous year. Gilbert Chase interprets Parker's comments saying, "We may gather that he was against diversity and in favor of decorum, with "beauty" as the ultimate value."[14] While Parker did hold to beauty as an ultimate value (as Chapter Two will further investigate), his involvement with the musical community in America, and the variety of his roles, demonstrate that he did believe that a certain level of diversity was required for musical success, although he emphasised an American foundation and an overall balanced approach to composition. As the editor of a volume of European songs, Parker reaffirmed, "however rich in each kind the musical literature of any country may be, the songs of other nations are always welcome."[15] As Chapter Three will

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[11] Parker also participated in transnational exchange in his visit to Ottawa, Canada in February 1908. He was the adjudicator of the music portion of the competitions sponsored by Earl Grey. See, for example, "Musical and Dramatic Competitions Begin," *Ottawa Citizen,* February 25, 1908.
[12] Kearns, 49.
[13] Horatio Parker, "Impressions of a Year in Europe" (1902); quoted in Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present,* Revised Third Edition, (Urbana, USA: University of Illinois Press, 1987,) 382.
[14] Chase, *America's Music,* 382.
[15] Horatio Parker ed., *German, French, and Italian Song Classics,* (Philadelphia, USA: John Church Company, 1912), preface.

investigate, although Parker certainly claimed to be open to the music of a variety of nations, he frequently limited the expression of that music within the Eurocentric style which he held in highest esteem. His work in England, facilitated by the success of *Hora Novissima*, demonstrates this further.

The Success of *Hora Novissima* as Evidence of Transnational Exchange

Parker's oratorio, *Hora Novissima* (1893)*,* demonstrates that his compositional style transcended national boundaries by garnering great acclaim in both North America and England. When the work was premiered in New York, it was received with enthusiasm and hailed as a milestone in American composition.[16] It was also the first ever American work to be performed at the Three Choirs Festival in England. Ivor Atkins, an organist and future friend of the composer, invited Parker to England to conduct the work in person in 1899.[17] The Three Choirs Festival (which was home to the premieres of such works as Elgar's *Enigma Variations,* as well as annual performances of Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*), began in the early eighteenth century and continues to the present day.[18] Parker had visited the festival in England in 1890, and thus would have been well familiar with the state of English choral music when he began work on *Hora Novissima* in 1891.[19] However, according to Parker himself, it was America, not England that was on his mind when he started composing the piece. He suggested that the oratorio was composed for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair (though it was not performed there), or for the New York Church Choral Society – which did eventually give the premiere.[20] Brian Burns reads the

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[16] Kearns, 19-20, Brian Burns, "Horatio Parker's Hora Novissima, Op. 30 (1892): A Critical History and Analysis." (D.M.A., University of Oklahoma, 2014), 72-74.
[17] Parker received the invitation from Atkins on January 17, 1899. Coincidentally, this was while he was working on *A Northern Ballad.* Parker's diary notes that he was at work on *A Northern Ballad* as early as February 13th of that year.
[18] Burns, 99. Watkins Shaw and John C. Phillips. "Three Choirs Festival." *Grove Music Online*, accessed 29 Apr. 2020, *Oxford Music Online.*
[19] Kearns, 106.
[20] Kearns, 18-19.

work as the composer's "artistic response to personal tragedy" given the recent deaths of several of Parker's close family members including his father and infant son. The work was dedicated to Parker's father and the poem from which the text is excerpted, *De contemptu mundi,* was one of his father's favourites.[21] The poem, written by French monk and poet, Bernard de Morlaix in approximately 1150, addresses themes of judgment, corruption of the world, and the glory of the age to come. Despite the personal losses that perhaps influenced Parker's choice of this text, the piece "brims with hopeful optimism,"[22] a testament to Parker's faith that those who believe in God will be reunited with Him and to one another, as the closing lines confirm: "most blessed and holy with Thee in Thy glory for ever reigning."[23] In choosing such an ancient text, Parker not only affirmed the roots of his faith, but also demonstrated the spatial and temporal exchange he valued and deemed necessary for successful composing. Burns summarises the reception of Parker's work, noting that critics "seemed to admire his ability to take in disparate influences and recreate them in his own voice."[24] Among the influences identified by critics are Schubert, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Gounod, and Dvořák – although these comparisons were at times both an admiration and a criticism of Parker's skill.[25] Regardless, it was significant that this was the first work by an American composer to be performed at the Three Choirs Festival, and its performances in England increased Parker's reputation both in America and in Europe.

The success of *Hora Novissima* at the Three Choirs Festival affirmed Parker's transnational reputation and garnered further opportunities for his career. After the 1899 performance of *Hora Novissima,* Parker was commissioned to write another work for the Three Choirs Festival. The

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[21] Burns, 45, 56-57.
[22] Burns, 55.
[23] Parker's mother, Isabella G. Parker wrote the English translation that was published with the original score. Burns, 61.
[24] Burns, 103.
[25] Burns, 99, 101.

resulting work, his oratorio *A Wanderer's Psalm*, was performed in Hereford, England, in September, 1900, and in Boston in December of the same year.[26] Among the compositions that Kearns suggests Parker referred to in *A Wanderer's Psalm* are Cesar Franck's *Symphony in D minor* and Wagner's *Der Fliegende Hollander* – again demonstrating Parker's proclivity to amalgamate a diverse range of influences.[27] Several others of Parker's choral works were performed at the festival in following years, including his oratorio *The Legend of St Christopher* and *A Star Song* in 1902.[28] Parker was also awarded an Honorary Doctorate in Music from Cambridge University in 1902 upon the recommendation of Charles Villiers Stanford.[29] Not only did Parker's music gain widespread performance among the English choral societies, Parker's experiences in England also inspired his attempt to recreate such opportunities back in America, for example The New Haven Oratorio Society which he started. Although brief, these are very practical examples of the transnational exchange that influenced not only Parker's compositions, but also his approach to musical life in the United States. It is unsurprising to find then, as the following sections will show, that Parker felt restricted by Dvořák's suggestions.

Dvořák's Prescription and Boston's Response

The premiere of Dvořák's "New World" Symphony in 1893 added fuel to a debate which was already of central concern to American composers: how could they establish artistic separation from Germany, and create a uniquely American musical identity?[30] Douglas Shadle summarises

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[26] Kearns, 44-45.
[27] Kearns, 129.
[28] William Kearns, "Horatio Parker and the English Choral Societies 1899-1902," *American Music,* Vol 4, No. 1 (1986), 22.
[29] Kearns, *Horatio Parker*, 46.
[30] Celia Applegate, "Music at the Fairs: A Paradigm of Cultural Internationalism?," in *Crosscurrents: American and European Music in Interaction (1900–2000)*, A Publication of the Paul Sacher Foundation (Woodbridge, Suffolk, United Kingdom: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 59-71. For more on this, see: Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

the four main approaches to this debate in the post-bellum era: first, the opinion that there was no such thing as a national musical identity – that composers must follow the classical tradition; second, that America should excel at the European trends which Wagner had revealed; third, that the influence of Wagner's style would eventually lead to the development of a unique American style, and finally, that an American musical identity would arise out of folk songs.[31] It was into this already raging debate that Antonin Dvořák stepped. Dvořák's suggestion, through both his words and his music, was that a distinct American music could be developed through the use of African American and Native American folk melodies. This recommendation was met with varied responses, particularly reinforced by philosophical differences between Boston – a city which emphasised intellectual prowess, and New York – whose population was much more diverse, and thus more open to a wider array of music.[32] Horowitz concludes, "New York opened its doors to Dvořák. Boston closed ranks."[33] For Parker, a native of neither city, his own opinions were clearly shaped by his associations. Although he was employed in New York, and technically under Dvořák himself, as the following paragraphs examine, Parker's opinion was very much aligned with that of the Bostonians – although his voice was absent from their original response.

Parker's Absence from the Initial Press Response

The initial reactions of the Bostonian musicians were captured in a newspaper article published by the *Boston Herald* on May 28, 1893. According to musicologist Adrienne Fried Block, the editor of the *Boston Herald* garnered statements from ten local musicians and composers, each of whom offered a personal response to Dvořák's recommendation.[34] The article

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[31] Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 136.
[32] Joseph Horowitz, "Dvořák and Boston," *American Music* 19, no. 1 (2001), 9.
[33] Horowitz, "Dvořák and Boston," 11.
[34] Adrienne Fried Block, "Boston Talks Back to Dvorák," *Newsletter - Institute for Studies in American Music; Brooklyn* XVIII, no. 2 (Spring 1989).

included replies from composers George Chadwick (Parker's teacher and friend) and Amy Beach (then only 25 years old), as well as other well-known Bostonian musicians including John Knowles Paine who was the head of the music department at Harvard. Parker's absence from this article is puzzling at first, mostly because of his close ties to the other composers who were called upon to contribute. Although Block calls the responses of these individuals "diverse in opinion,"[35] for the most part, their comments can be summarized in two ways: those who sympathize with Dvořák, and those who find his advice absurd. Paine wrote, "it is a preposterous idea,"[36] while Chadwick asserted, "I should be sorry to see… [such Negro melodies] become the basis of an American school of musical composition."[37] In contrast, George E. Whiting, a Boston organist, claimed to have been advocating the very same idea as Dvořák for much of the last decade.[38] It is perhaps the young Amy Beach's comment that most closely resembled the opinions of Parker on this matter (as this chapter will demonstrate). Beach stated emphatically, "We of the North should be far more likely to be influenced by the old English, Scotch, or Irish songs, inherited with our literature from our ancestors."[39] Beach's "Gaelic" Symphony, which she wrote in the following years, achieves just that. As Richard Taruskin summarizes, Dvořák's advice fell mainly on deaf ears because the American composers saw the American identity not as a particular ethnic heritage but rather, as defined by a geographic location, which did not lend itself to a cohesive musical style.[40]

Although Parker was already a prominent musical figure in New England at this time, and intimately associated with the Boston group, his absence from this article can be explained by the

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[35] Block, 10.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Block, 11.
[38] Block, 10.
[39] Amy Beach, cited in Adrienne Fried Block, "Dvořák, Beach, and American Music," in *A Celebration of American Music: Words and Music in Honor of H. Wiley Hitchcock,* edited by Richard Crawford, R. Allen Lott and Carol J. Oja*,* (Ann Arbor, MI, USA: University of Michigan Press., 1990), 260.
[40] Taruskin, Vol 3, 766.

intricacies of his career in 1893. It is difficult to track Parker's exact activities in this period because over the course of 1893, he was working in New York, then in Boston, and also in New Haven at Yale. The exact date on which he started his employment at Trinity Church in Boston is unknown (Kearns gives "Fall 1893"), although Kearns also asserts that Parker had announced his intended departure from New York as early as March 1893.[41] Parker's diary entries for the weeks surrounding this debate show that he was frequently in Boston (April 5th, May 10th, May 29th). On June 1st, just four days after the article was published in the Boston Herald, his diary entry reads, "Chad and Whiting and their wives to dinner."[42] However, the most significant contributing factor to Parker's absence from this response is likely his proximity to Dvořák during the first half of this year. According to Kearns, Parker taught music at the National Conservatory (of which Dvořák was head) until June 1893, though the arrangement of the school and faculty perhaps did not foster close rapport among its employees.[43] In February of that same year, Parker won the cantata prize from the National Conservatory for his work *Dream King and His Love*, announced to him in a personal letter from Dvořák.[44] The Cantata was then performed at a concert in New York in March 1893.[45] These developments in Parker's career, and his likely association with Dvořák in New York, would certainly have limited the American composer's opportunity to respond publicly to the European composer's assertions.

Dvořák's prescription for American music drew not a little contention from the local composers – many of whom had internationally successful careers and some of whom were already drawing on Native American and African American musics as sources of inspiration for their

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[41] Kearns, *Horatio Parker,* 21.
[42] Horatio Parker, 1893 Diary, HP Papers, Box 32, Folder 1. I have not yet been able to establish if the Whiting that Parker refers to here is the George Whiting of the Boston article above, or Arthur Whiting, another friend and composer of the Boston Group.
[43] Kearns, 17-18.
[44] Antonin Dvořák, Letter to Horatio Parker, March 30th, 1893. HP Papers, Box 27, Folder 7.
[45] Kearns, 17-18.

works (particularly Edward MacDowell and George Whiting). In addition to the spate of press coverage, several composers responded musically.[46] Although these works were not necessarily identified as responses at the time, they have since been considered a significant contribution to the discussion. Like Dvořák's "New World," Beach's "Gaelic" Symphony (1896) and George Chadwick's String Quartet No. 4 (1896) are also in E minor. Kathryn White reads Chadwick's response within the framework of nationalism because of its incorporation of American folk topics including the "barn dance" topic and the "American pastoral" topic.[47] Parker joined this chorus of E-minor mode responses with his *A Northern Ballad* (1899). All three of these works were composed and premiered in Boston before the turn of the twentieth century, and the composers were certainly familiar with each other's pieces. In a letter to Beach, Chadwick recalled that both he and Parker were encouraged by her symphony. [48] The remainder of this chapter frames Parker's *A Northern Ballad* as a transnational response to Dvořák much like Beach's "Gaelic" Symphony, though with some key differences. Beach's work offers an overtly transnational response to Dvořák through the use of published folk melodies while Parker's symphonic poem incorporates folk-like melodies in order to transcend nationalism. Although Parker's *A Northern Ballad* post-dates Dvořák's "New World" by several years, the two pieces bear some striking similarities. By contrasting Dvořák's use of folk idiom and an associated narrative with use of folk-like elements and no stated programme, Parker's own *A Northern Ballad* undermines Dvořák's definition of American nationalism in music and instead reveals the capacity of certain musical characteristics to transcend a particular national identity.

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[46] For more on the debate in the press, see Horowitz, *Classical Music in America.*
[47] Kathryn Joann White, *George Whitefield Chadwick and the American Vernacular in His Chamber Works,* (PhD Diss., Indiana University: 2012), 140, 145.
[48]Adrienne Fried Block, *Amy Beach: Passionate Victorian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 103.

Amy Beach's Transnational Response to Dvořák

Having briefly reviewed the state of affairs in which this dialogue took place, we now turn to the works themselves, first examining Amy Beach's transnational response. Already a successful pianist, Amy Beach (1867-1944), was a thorough and skilled composer who kept detailed comments about the works she heard. These notes often informed her own composing and explain her penchant for intertextuality.[49] Beach's orchestral repertoire, like Parker's, is minimal. In addition to the "Gaelic" Symphony, her only other major orchestral works are a Romance for Violin and Orchestra (op. 23, 1893) and the Piano Concerto (op. 45, 1900). Most of her repertoire consists of small piano works and vocal works, and the composer was already writing pieces which incorporated folk music elements before the 1893 debate.[50] It is only in recent scholarship that the "Gaelic" Symphony has been interpreted as a statement in contrast to Dvořák; contemporary reviews of Beach's work did not position the piece as "nationalistic," or in relationship to Dvořák's symphony.[51] However, there are numerous similarities between the two pieces which allow for such an interpretation. As Block summarizes,

> Both were written according to their composers' recommendations for creating an American national style; both were set in the same key, both used pentatonic themes; both featured oboe and English horn solos in the slow movements; and both combined folk idioms with late Romantic, German-inspired harmonies. [52]

Despite these notable similarities, it is clear from the way that Beach approached the material she worked with that she defined American nationalism in a strikingly different way than did Dvořák.

Amy Beach's response to Dvořák was shaped first by the limitations of his recommendation, and secondly by her perception of Dvořák's use of folk materials. As Sarah Gerk

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[49] Sarah Gerk, "'Common Joys, Sorrows, Adventures, and Struggles': Transnational Encounters in Amy Beach's 'Gaelic' Symphony," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 10, no. 2 (2016): 156.
[50] Gerk, 158.
[51] Gerk, 157.
[52] Block, "Dvořák, Beach, and American Music," 269.

asserts, Beach "expressed resistance to limiting American composers' palettes, adopting an inclusive approach to musical style tempered only by the composer's individual heritage and experience."[53] Much like Parker would also later express, Beach saw Dvořák's ideas as restrictive rather than helpful in the quest to identify a national idiom. As her response in the newspaper indicated, Beach considered a broader range of influences more appropriate for American composers with a European heritage; her "Gaelic" Symphony exemplified this by drawing on a variety of transnational sources.[54] In addition to Dvořák's "New World," Gerk identifies the Saint-Saens 3rd Violin Concerto and Brahms' 2nd Symphony as clear predecessors to Beach's work, and examples of transnational encounters.[55] By using these works as models, Beach not only asserted herself within the extensive, male-dominated orchestral repertoire, but also participated in the transnational exchange that fostered the development of classical music in the United States in the first place. The second evidence of transnationalism that Gerk sees in the work occurred as a result of the Gaelic cultural revival that was occurring in Boston at the time. Unlike Dvořák's work, with its prominent literary association, Beach's "Gaelic" symphony is not programmatic or associated with a narrative. The subtitle of the work came from the composer herself, who used Gaelic melodies for many of the themes and added her own original melodies in a "Gaelic style."[56] According to Gerk's interpretation, Beach selected the Gaelic melodies to acknowledge the struggles the Irish community had experienced.[57]

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[53] Gerk, 157.
[54] Later in her career Beach did turn to Dvořák's suggestion in works such as "Eskimos" (a set of piano miniatures) and her String quartet – both of which evoke Inuit culture by using modes and avoiding "traditional harmonic associations." (Michael Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music,* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 232) Adrienne Fried Block examines a total of five works in which Beach drew on Native American themes, summarising Beach's use of the melodies and her harmonic treatment. (Block, "Amy Beach's Music on Native American Themes." *American Music 8,* no. 2 (1990): 141-66. Accessed June 20, 2020. doi:10.2307/3051947.
[55] Gerk, 159.
[56] Block, *Amy Beach: Passionate Victorian,* 89.
[57] Gerk, 170.

Beach's approach to folk music is entirely different to Dvořák's, and thoroughly appropriate given her critiques of Dvořák's use of folk materials. Beach's deepest concern about the "New World" symphony was the "lightness" of the work and that Dvořák's supposed use of African American melodies did not acknowledge the "suffering, heartbreaks [and] slavery" of the African American people.[58] Thus, when Beach wrote her own symphony incorporating folk music, her goal was to create a work which acknowledged the painful experiences of the people to whom the folk material made reference. Both Douglas Shadle and Sarah Gerk identify the third movement of Beach's symphony as the one which most obviously succeeds with this task.[59] Gerk concludes, "Grief becomes the focus of this movement, and in its length and emotional weight, this movement becomes the centerpiece of the symphony."[60] Block contrasts the two composers' approach to folk material, "Beach quoted entire melodies, whereas Dvořák, if he did use quotations, worked only with fragments."[61] By drawing on published folk melodies with texts, in addition to her own previously composed works, Beach communicated a message of sympathy with the Irish community, one that acknowledged both their past and present struggles.[62] Overall, Beach sought to approach folk materials in a way that honoured their origins – to honour the people for whom this music was life. Gerk summarizes Beach's approach:

> She imbued the movement with a pervasive sense of loss, using what she thought were very old melodies, to convey a bucolic, pre-colonized image of the Irish. In doing so, she expressed the kind of sympathy for the suffering of underprivileged groups that emerged in her thoughts on the "New World" Symphony when she took Dvořák to task for insensitivity to the brutality of slavery.[63]

[58] Beach, cited in Block, *Amy Beach: Passionate Victorian,* 88.
[59] Shadle, 253; Gerk, 173.
[60] Gerk, 173.
[61] Block, "Dvořák, Beach, and American Music," 269.
[62] Gerk, 176.
[63] Gerk, 174-5.

Not only did Beach draw her folk melodies from published musical sources, she chose to set those melodies in a way that highlighted the sufferings of the community they represented. Her "Gaelic" Symphony thus rejected Dvořák's recommendation to locate a national style in the music of African Americans and Native Americans, and instead focussed on transnational encounters. As the remainder of this chapter will show, Parker similarly rejected Dvořák's designs.

Parker's Transnational Response to Dvořák

Parker's written response to Dvořák, given in his public lectures, asserted his belief that folk music would be insufficient to define an American idiom. These sources clarify that Parker defined America by excluding African Americans and Native Americans and thus required a different approach to composing than what Dvořák had offered, one that was not confined to sources of inspiration found on the American continent. While he did not respond in the original press debate of 1893, Parker gave several lectures on American music throughout his life, although none were published. The manuscripts for three of the lectures ranging in date from 1900 to 1916 are maintained in the Horatio Parker Papers at Yale. The most thorough of these is Parker's 1901 lecture, "Music in America," in which he directly addressed Dvořák's music and his prescription for American nationalism, calling it a "strange theory."[64] Parker referred to Dvořák's symphony and two chamber works, a "Quartet in F major" and a "Quintet in E Flat Major" saying, "the result attained is strongly tinged with originality of a national kind, but I suspect it of being rather Bohemian than American."[65] In addition to these denials of any "American" identity in these works, Parker refuted Dvořák's claim that America had any "indigenous" music at all. These comments are corroborated by a newspaper report of a similar talk that Parker had given in December 1897. The journalist who reported on the event summarized what Parker meant when

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[64] Horatio Parker, "Music in America," 1901, HP Papers, Box 36, Folder 2.
[65] Ibid.

he said America lacked "indigenous" music, as he explained, "music in America is an exotic, having been introduced here by foreign peoples."[66] Similarly, Parker reflected the elitist, Eurocentric attitudes of America's colonial settlers when he described the music of the "North American Indian." Parker explained that pentatonic music was not a sufficient means of identifying any particular nationality of folk music and wrote that it "does not differ from that of other savage races sufficiently in order to be called national."[67] The implications of this racist, colonial attitude will be further addressed in Chapter Three. Parker criticized Dvořák's use of pentatonicism, and explained, "The use of the pentatonic scale, one of the chief mechanical means employed by Dr. D., is common to all savages and to all imperfect civilizations."[68] With these staunch assertions, Parker rejected Dvořák's definition of an American musical idiom. The critic of *The New York Tribune,* Henry Krehbiel, a supporter of Dvořák and friend of Parker, confirmed that Parker "did not believe that an American School of Music should, or could, be built up on the principles which underlie the national schools of composition in Europe…more or less broadly, folksong idioms."[69] In combination with these written comments, Parker's *A Northern Ballad* functions as the composer's musical response to Dvořák's claim, affirming his own sentiment that an American idiom could not be defined by folk music.[70]

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[66] Newspaper Clipping, unknown, December 1897, HP Papers, Box 31, Folder 30.
[67] Horatio Parker, "Music in America," 1901; Newspaper Clipping, unknown, December 1897, HP Papers, Box 31 Folder 30.
[68] Parker, "Music in America," 1901 Lecture..
[69] Henry Krehbiel, "Professor Parker as Among Leading Composers" *The Yale Alumni Weekly,* XXIX/15, January 2, 1920, 348.
[70] In a letter from Ivor Atkins – an organist friend of Parker's and the director of Three Choirs Festival in England, Atkins shares with Parker an amusing typographical error from the programme for his upcoming concert. Atkins was to play an arrangement of Dvořák's New World Symphony and on the program is printed: "From the new Dvořák World." Atkins must have known something about Parker's opinion of the work for he wrote in his letter: "This is only a proof, but isn't 'From the new Dvořák World' a slip of genius on the part of the printer's devil. I've hardly done chortling yet." (Atkins, Letter to Horatio Parker February 1900. HP Papers, Box 26, Folder 8.) Although we don't have access to Parker's response, one can imagine the great amusement with which this error was met when it reached Parker in his office at Yale.

Parker responded musically to Dvořák's prescriptions with a work that uses folk-like elements, not for the purpose of defining the work within a national context, but to demonstrate that Dvořák's premise was untenable for American composers. By setting his work in the same key as Dvořák's own, and by quoting elements of it, Parker positioned his piece as a direct, though subtle, response to the older composer's claims. By using ambiguous folk-like melodies without a specific source and choosing not to reveal a narrative to which his work referred, Parker's work transcends the national, rather than simply forgoing it.[71] Hon-Lun Yang also refers to Parker's use of "pseudo folk melodies" in *A Northern Ballad,* but positions the work firmly in the Celtic tradition, interpreting it as a nationalist statement in response to Dvořák that likely referenced Parker's "Anglo-Saxon heritage."[72] In contrast, as I argue for the remainder of this chapter, *A Northern Ballad* demonstrates that folk-like melodies are not enough to conclusively imbue a work with a specific national character. While Amy Beach used published folk songs in her "Gaelic" Symphony, Parker did not draw on identifiable folk melodies for his work. As can be seen by the comments of several critics, the ambiguity of the folk-melodies Parker used and the lack of a specific program meant that the work was often interpreted as representing a place outside of North America. Parker chose to represent America in music using the musical language that was shaped by his transnational experiences, instead of using African American or Native American idioms. Parker's piece also shows that Dvořák's work should not be considered American – for, if Parker created folk-like melodies (as did Dvořák), and wrote with a narrative in mind (as did Dvořák), then what distinguishes the two works is not the content, but rather the strength and specificity of

[71] Here I draw on Gundula Kreuzer's summary of how a transnational approach influences music studies. Gundula Kreuzer, "Nationale Musik im 20. Jahrhundert. Kompositorische und soziokulturelle Aspekte der Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa. Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2002. Ed. by Helmut Loos and Stefan Keym." Review. *Music and Letters,* Volume 89, Issue 3, (August 2008), 423.
[72] Yang, 238-240, 244.

the extra-musical associations. Before examining the musical relationship between Parker's *A Northern Ballad* and Dvořák's "New World," it is helpful to introduce the frequency with which Parker employed intertextual references as a rhetorical device.

Intertextuality as Parker's Compositional Strategy

Parker consistently used intertextuality as a way of highlighting the meaning of a section or underscoring certain words or ideas, using music that would have been familiar and accessible to his audience. One of Parker's best-known works, the oratorio *Hora Novissima,* contains an almost direct quotation of the wedding march from Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. At the precise moment in the piece where the text makes an analogy of the union of Christ and the church as a wedding, the orchestral accompaniment follows both the chordal and melodic structure of the most identifiable phrase of Mendelssohn's work. The quotation was identified by critics immediately, who generally considered Parker's work to be somewhat derivative.[73] Brian Burns, however, calls the quotation an example of Parker's humor, writing, "one can imagine knowing smiles in the audience as the wedding comes to its climax."[74] This concern for keeping the audience engaged as part of the experience of the music seems to characterise Parker's use of intertextuality in his other works as well.

Parker's 1894 Easter Anthem, *Light's Glittering Morn* contains not a direct quote, as does *Hora Novissima,* but significant stylistic similarities which recall another famous Easter work: Handel's *Messiah*. The alleluia "chorus" in Parker's anthem appears to be modelled on the fugal "Amen" from Handel's *Messiah.* Both sections are in D major, the melodic lines have the same contour and the voices enter fugally from bass through soprano. Parker was well familiar with Handel's *Messiah,* having conducted it at Trinity Church in New York the year before composing

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[73] Burns, 99-100.
[74] Burns, 174.

his own Easter Anthem.[75] Upon hearing Parker's "alleluia," one can't help but be reminded of Handel's "Amen" – as though Parker joins the song, and the older composer affirms the praise with a hearty "amen" of his own.

An additional unpublished song from Parker's archive affirms this practice. Given the slightly untidy handwriting, it is possible that this work comes from his early student days. The piece is entitled, "It is the Sabbath Morn," but it lacks a date of composition and text attribution. In it, Parker celebrated the joy of gathering together as a community to worship God.[76] Towards the middle of the piece, Parker's text refers to the hymn "the Old Hundredth," by name, and that phrase is accompanied by the opening musical phrase of the hymn itself. Parker repeated the technique in the immediate next phrase with the line "the Church's one foundation," again using the melody of that hymn. This youthful piece shows Parker's ability to carefully craft original works which relied heavily on references to other pieces – not because he lacked originality as a composer, but because by adding these references he allows his hearers to participate in a much wider dialogue of musical conversation. Having seen Parker's proclivity to use intertextuality as a means of connecting his repertoire to that of his predecessors and engaging his audience in the process of that dialogue, the remainder of the chapter examines the connections between *A Northern Ballad,* and Dvořák's "New World."

Analysing *A Northern Ballad*

In *A Northern Ballad,* Parker used ambiguous folk elements including the "Scotch" snap and pentatonicism rather than folk melodies with a source. Not only do these techniques imply a folk-like nature to the work, which critics immediately identified, they also affirm the relationship

[75] Kearns, 21.
[76] Parker, "It is the Sabbath Morn," unpublished draft score, HP Papers, Box 18 Folder 30.

between *A Northern Ballad* and Dvořák's "New World."[77] According to Beckerman, "Dvorak was fascinated by specific rhythmic and melodic features of American indigenous music (e.g., Scotch snaps and pentatonic scales)."[78] Parker's use of the "Scotch" snap (usually a sixteenth note followed by a dotted eighth note) may have helped critics identify Scotch or Celtic influence in the work.[79] However, this rhythmic device may also be used in music as a means of evoking a "primitive" culture. Tara Browner notes that the use of the Scotch snap in music was associated with Native Americans in musical works as early as 1794.[80] Browner observes that this technique was also employed by Samuel Coleridge-Taylor in his cantata settings of *Hiawatha,* many of which were composed at around the same time as Parker's *A Northern Ballad.* Parker and Coleridge-Taylor were both participants at the Worcester Music Festival of 1899; although how much of their music was known to each other by that time is yet to be investigated. Parker used the Scotch snap in the oboe phrase at m. 40 – 44. The short-long rhythm of the Scotch snap is reiterated elsewhere, not identically, however, but in the main counter theme at m. 61 (see ex 1.2 below). Parker's use of the rhythm here (16th-8th-16th), I argue, is a more obvious rhythmic device than the other Scotch snap, and remains identifiable throughout the work, occurring numerous other times (for example, m. 89, m. 194). As will be shown below, although neither Parker's nor Dvořák's melodies are completely pentatonic, they do have that tendency – especially emphasised by the prominence of the tonic triad in combination with the lowered subtonic (see examples

[77] The author of the Boston Symphony Orchestra Program Note at the premiere of the work in 1890 refers to the melody of the first theme as "the folk-song theme of the introduction." Boston Symphony Orchestra concert program, Subscription Series, Season 19 (1899-1900), Week 10, seq. 12. BSO archives online. Archives.bso.org. TRUSVolume14/Pub411_1899-1900_BSO_Subscription_Wk10.pdf Accessed June 23, 2020. See also: Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Feb 10-11, 1900. Cited in Kearns, 221.
[78] Beckerman, "Master's Little Joke," in *Dvořák and His World,* 139.
[79] For example, see critics cited in Kearns, 221.
[80] Browner, 113.

below).[81] Far from using such folk devices to conclusively assert that the music he wrote was American, as Dvořák asserted a composer might, Parker's writing actually transcends nationalism, as evidenced by the confusion of the critics who heard this work, and identified the folk-like melodies but disagreed on any imagined location the work may evoke. In other words, as the reception of Parker's work demonstrates, pentatonic melodies and Scotch snaps were by this time simply musical tropes that could not identify particular places or peoples with any specificity.

In addition to the folk-like elements discussed above which counter Dvořák's purported use of folk melodies, Parker's *A Northern Ballad* and Dvořák's "New World" Symphony share similar melodic ideas, the tonal center of E minor, and the prominent use of D-flat major as a contrasting key. These intertextual elements offer hermeneutic windows through which Parker's symphonic poem may be read.[82] I interpret these intertextualities not as evidence of a Bloomsian anxiety of influence, but rather as evidence of Parker's commentary on Dvořák's work.[83] Yang also notes that the piece was criticized for being too derivative of Dvořák, although she says that the first theme, the motive of the introduction, the introduction, the second theme and the coda are "uniquely Parker's own design."[84] However, as the remainder of this chapter investigates, Parker's first theme and coda theme (which is developed out of the melodic material of the first theme) are strikingly similar to the melodic material of Dvořák's "New World" symphony.

The main motivic device of Parker's *A Northern Ballad* is an ascending and descending minor third which recurs throughout the work and also appears prominently in Dvořák's "New World" (example 1.3, below). The motive initially appears at the statement of the first theme

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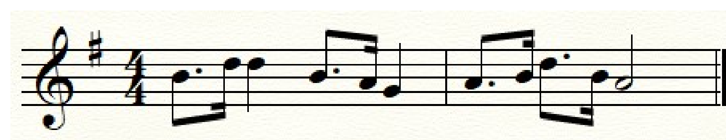
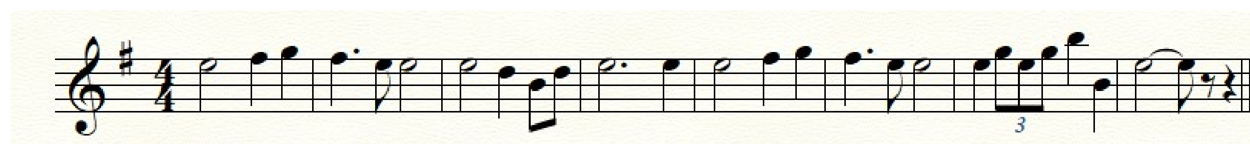
[81] Benedict Taylor, "Modal Four-Note Pitch Collections in the Music of Dvořák's American Period." *Music Theory Spectrum* 32, no. 1 (2010): 45.
[82] Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800-1900*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
[83] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). See also, Robert S Hatten, "The Place of Intertextuality in Music Studies" *American Journal of Semiotics,* Vol 3, No. 4 (1985), 69-82.
[84] Yang, 241.

(example 1.2, m. 54).[85] Although William Kearns also identifies this motive as significant, he offers only limited description of how Parker develops it throughout the work, and does not identify it in relationship to Dvořák.[86] I argue that Parker's use of this motive, and its similarity to Dvořák's writing in the "New World" Symphony, allows us to interpret the latter work as a commentary on the former, or perhaps even read Parker's "Ballad" as the same ballad to which Dvořák refers in his symphony – Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*. Both this opening melody and its counter-melody also hint at the pentatonicism that Parker had decried in Dvořák' writing (see examples below).



Ex 1.1 Dvořák – "New World," II English horn melody m.7-8 (transposed to G)

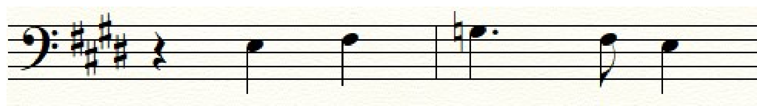
Ex 1.2 Parker – *Northern Ballad,* Main theme melody and counter melody from (violin m.54-55, flute m.61-62)



Ex 1.3 Dvořák – "New World" Symphony – IV – main theme (m. 10-17).

[85] Interestingly, Parker's statement of this ascending/descending minor third is also almost identical to the main motive that opens Dvořák's Cello concerto in B minor.

[86] Kearns identifies this motive as "b" and shows that it arises from the 3rd measure of the slow introduction which precedes the main theme (Kearns, 222). Kearns' "b" in the introduction differs from "b" in the main theme however, in that b in the introduction ascends to scale degree 4, rather than staying within the minor third. He also labels b1 (scale degrees 1-2-3-2-1) in the introduction and identifies it again in the second theme (in F major – where it appears as 3-4-5-4-3) and again as the main motive from which the melodic material of the coda is derived.



Ex 1.4 Parker - *Northern Ballad* m. 345-346

Ex. 1.5 Parker – *Northern Ballad* – Coda theme (transposed to E major, m. 352-359).

Parker takes this minor third motive, which is also the main melodic theme of the fourth movement of Dvořák's symphony, and transforms it into an almost "otherworldly" or "dreamlike" theme in the coda of his *Northern Ballad*. In so doing, he positions his work in stark contrast to Dvořák. In Dvořák's "New World" the horns introduce the theme of the fourth movement with almost militaristic precision and a fortissimo dynamic (see Dvořák, IV: m 10-17). The entire orchestra takes up this melody in the following measures. In contrast, in the transition to the coda in *Northern Ballad,* the minor third theme is stated in the low strings and brass. At the coda, Parker transforms this theme into D-flat major, (the key of Dvořák's second movement), and orchestrates it in the upper strings and woodwinds in triple meter (see example 1.5, Parker m.352-359). Rather than being militaristic or triumphant like Dvořák's final statement of this motive, Parker's coda theme seems to float and become transcendent, aided by the rippling arpeggiated accompaniment in the harp, and the pianissimo dynamic. Far from the assertive statement that Dvořák's work seems to make, Parker restates this motive subtly, with an approach which transcends both the limitations of nationalism and, perhaps, by his use of D-flat, also transcends the physical.

Both Parker and Dvořák chose D-flat major as a contrasting key in important sections of their works. In Dvořák's symphony, the first movement ends with an emphatic E minor chord. At the opening of the second movement, sustained chords in the brass and low winds mark the

transition to D-flat major. As scholar Michael Beckerman noted, this transition in the "New World" takes the listener to the "mythical world" of flat keys, transporting us to the realm of "legend."[87] In Beckerman's analysis, this realm of "legend" closely relates to Hiawatha's experience in Longfellow's poem, and Dvořák even used the term "legend" on one of the drafts of his score.[88] Similarly, I suggest that Parker's use of D-flat major at the coda of his symphonic poem not only affirms an association to the realm of "legend," but also affirms the intimate link between these two works. Although Parker's piece hints at sonata form, with a main theme in E minor and a secondary theme in F major, it does not appear that there is a true recapitulation. Rather, it is the secondary theme that becomes the focus of the E major section before the coda, and then it is the melodic material of the main theme that is transformed into this otherworldly D-flat major in the coda. To get to D-flat major, Parker re-introduced the melodic minor third of the first theme, again in E minor, and then this motive becomes the main theme of the coda (see above example 1.4, Parker m. 345-346). Additionally, when Parker's *A Northern Ballad* was performed at the Panama Pacific International Exhibition in 1915 (with the composer himself conducting), the work appeared on the program not as *A Northern Ballad,* but as *A Northern Legend,* further evidence of the importance of D-flat major to Parker's understanding of this work and to affirming the connection to Dvořák's piece.

A further element of similarity between the works is the two composers' use of wind writing that seems to imitate bird song. In *Northern Ballad,* the bird-like call appears in the second

[87] Michael Beckerman, "Dvořák's 'New World' Largo and 'The Song of Hiawatha'" *19th Century Music,* Vol 16, No. 1, (Summer 1992), 42.
[88] Ibid.

theme area in the flute at m. 157 and is then echoed by the clarinets at m. 163.

Ex 1.6 Parker – *Northern Ballad* – "Bird" theme (m. 157-159, flute).

It also occurs in unison (octaves) at m. 175, where it is juxtaposed against the main theme (now in D minor). Parker's use of the bird call does not return until m. 332 – right before the transition to the coda. Beckerman establishes Dvořák's use of this technique in the "New World" symphony as an element of landscape painting and notes the most prominent appearance of it in the second movement of the symphony – the technique was also acknowledged by critics, and can be observed further in the sketches for Dvořák's *Hiawatha* opera.[89]

Ex 1.7 Dvořák "New World" II (m. 91-92, flute).

The birds in Longfellow's poem appear and celebrate the union of Hiawatha and Minnehaha, singing sweetly, lending further credence to critic Henry Krehbiel's assertions that this second movement relates to the couple's wooing.[90] Krehbiel called attention to this "striking episode" in the symphony via Dvořák's use of staccato melody and trills, and suggested they picture, "a gradual awakening of animal life in the prairie scene" and "the voices of the night or dawn, in converse."[91] Regardless of whether Parker had *Hiawatha* in mind while composing this work, he

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[89] Beckerman, 42.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Henry Krehbiel, New York Philharmonic Program note, February 15, 1901.

successfully evoked Dvořák's wind writing with these bird-like themes. These striking musical similarities position Parker's work in direct contrast to Dvořák's work, pitting a composition which was mostly overlooked against one that was hailed as a nationalist statement.

Reception of *A Northern Ballad* as Evidence of Transnationalism

In addition to the above-mentioned musical elements, the mixed reception of Parker's *A Northern Ballad* also affirms its position as a work which transcends national boundaries. Critics and reviewers made little connection between the work and Dvořák's symphony, and when speculating about the use of the term "Northern" in the work's title, attempted to tie the piece to European nations. No one, when speculating a location for this work, suggested America. The geographic descriptors offered by critics included, "Scandinavian,"[92] "Celtic rather than distinctively Norse," "Scotch," or "Anglo-Saxon."[93] Redfern Mason, the music critic of the *San Francisco Examiner*, wrote after the performance at the Panama Pacific International Exhibition in 1915, "here was the melancholy of desert places."[94] Mason continues, "I divined a tale told in the chimney corner, with glimpses of fairies, and my neighbor caught hints of the Orient."[95] What Mason interpreted as "fairies" likely refers to the "bird theme" which I have already identified. His neighbour, in contrast, is the only one to have suggested a much more Eastern location for the piece – thus affirming what Parker had elsewhere asserted: that pentatonicism was not enough to define a national location. It is revealing that neither of these comments suggest an American location for the "legend" – especially given the context of the performance – American

[92] Unnamed Reviewer, *New York Tribune,* February 10, 1901.
[93] Kearns, 208, 221.
[94] Redfern Mason, "Composers of America Display Art" *San Francisco Examiner,* August 2, 1915. I argue this phrase recalls precisely what Krehbiel had said about the second movement of Dvořák's "New World," the "tenderness" and "loneliness on the prairies." In other words, Dvořák's "New World" brings forth the same images for Krehbiel as does Parker's *Northern Ballad* for Mason. Having myself lived on the Canadian prairies, one could in fact say that prairies are "northern" deserts.
[95] Ibid.

Composer's Day (where Parker's piece was listed as *Northern Legend* not *Northern Ballad*). This lack of a clear national definition is precisely what makes Parker's work so intriguing. Because Parker evidently refused to attach a specific program to the work, there remains the option for it to be interpreted by listeners as evoking any number of geographical locations, or not. The symphonic poem thus succeeds in transcending nationalism via the very elements that Dvořák had incorporated as signposts to define nationalism.

A Proposed Program – *Hiawatha* By Aassociation

In the same way that Dvořák was inspired by Longfellow's *Hiawatha,* perhaps we may conceive of Parker's *Northern Ballad* as an overture to that same work. Rather than following the true "narrative" of the story (which is an epic poem of over twenty chapters), both works captured the mood or essence of the tale. Critics have not been forthcoming in proposing a program for Parker's symphonic poem, instead insisting that "the work is one without a programme"[96] or that "its title is due to its coloring and there is no particular tale back of it."[97] While Parker may not have broadcast the fact that he had a narrative in mind, his use of the term ballad implies otherwise.[98] In the rest of Parker's oeuvre, the term "ballad" is always used in the context of drama and narrative, and in works with text. For example, the choral works *Ballad of a Knight and His Daughter,* composed 1885, with a text by German poet, Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg; *King Gorm the Grim: Ballad,* composed 1906, text by Theodor Fontane; *King Trojan,* composed in 1885 – with Parker's note on the score: "Ballade von Alfred Muth." Parker's original title for this work

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[96] Unnamed reviewer, "The Philharmonic Society" *New York Times*, February 16, 1901.
[97] Krehbiel, Program note.
[98] As an aside, Parker dedicated *Northern Ballad* to Theodore Thomas, who was one of the most prominent conductors of the day and according to Shadle, a "genuine believer" in the "cult of art worship" (136). Additionally, Thomas preferred absolute music to program music, another reason Parker may have left his narrative unstated (John Ogasapian and N. Lee Orr. *Music of the Gilded Age* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 14).

was "A Northern Romance" subtitled "Ballad for Orchestra."[99] If Beckerman (drawing from Krehbiel's knowledge) is correct in stating that at least the second movement of the "New World" symphony can be read as representing Hiawatha's wooing, perhaps the romantic ballad Parker had in mind when composing his own *Northern Ballad* was indeed Longfellow's *Hiawatha.*[100] Similarly, as mentioned above, both composers, at least at some level, envisioned their works as associated with the concept of a "legend" which is an equally appropriate term for the narrative of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.[101]

Parker's choice of the adjective "Northern" in his title leaves open the option for the work to be interpreted as American, or not. Longfellow's *Hiawatha* is set under the shores of Lake Superior, certainly the "northern"-most part of part of the contiguous United States and "north" of where Parker et al considered home to be. Additionally, when Amy Beach referred to the Boston composers in her written response to Dvořák, she said, "we of the North," lending credence to the idea that Parker could have considered "Northern" as located within the United States as opposed to further afield. David Stanley Smith even characterized elements of Parker's other works as "northern," as he said of *A Wanderer's Psalm* that "it must be placed among the noblest American compositions. There is in it a Northern grayness of tone, as there is in much of Parker's music, a kind of modernized Puritanism, which harmonizes with any Anglo-American's outlook on life."[102] For these New England composers, the use of the term "North" refers to the United States. Although attaching the *Hiawatha* narrative to Parker's symphonic poem would likely render

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[99] Parker, draft score, Box 20, Folder 7. Diary entry, February 21 1899 "Fin. Northern Romance," Diaries, Box 32.
[100] Beckerman, "Dvořák's 'New World' Largo and 'The Song of Hiawatha,'" 39.
[101] There was one occasion on which *A Northern Ballad* and the "New World Symphony" appeared on the same program: at the New York City premiere of *A Northern Ballad* on February 16th 1901. At that time, no association was made between the two pieces, likely in part due to the biases of the author of the program notes, the renowned critic, Henry Krehbiel, who was one of Dvořák's staunchest supporters.
[102] David Stanley Smith "A Study of Horatio Parker." *The Musical Quarterly* XVI, no. 2 (1930), 157.

nationalist readings of a different sort to the work, it is equally likely, given Parker's opinions and other ballads, that he had a German, or perhaps even Bohemian, narrative in mind.

Conclusion

Parker's career and works consistently transcend national boundaries. His education took him to Europe to study under Josef Rheinberger and he frequently returned to Germany from the United States for holidays. His composing opened opportunities for him in England with the Three Choirs Festival, which also led to his being bestowed with an honorary doctorate from Cambridge. With *A Northern Ballad,* Parker directly contradicted Dvořák's assertions that a national music ought to be founded on folk music. Parker achieved this by using "folk-like" music that belies national characteristic – as evidenced by the confused comments of the critics. The work is not so much a product of transnational exchange as is Amy Beach's "Gaelic" Symphony, but rather one which transcends national boundaries because it is not limited to a certain sphere of source materials. In contrast, Amy Beach challenged Dvořák's suggestion for American nationalism by using published Irish folk songs as the basis for her work. The evidence of Parker's education, his career, and the comments he made throughout his life, demonstrate that nationalism as a musical aim was of little concern to the composer. Rather, what far more considerably shaped Parker's approach to composition was his belief that music ought not to be bound by this or other such limitations – but that it should transcend.

Chapter 2 – Transcendence
Introduction

Of far greater import to Parker than the perceived national characteristics of a piece of music was its quality. In his words and in his works, Parker consistently averted the conversation about nationalism and instead turns his attention to producing music that is good, true, and beautiful, thus making a general appeal to the concept of transcendence. Although he never used the term "transcendent," Parker's writings reveal that he held to this prevailing philosophy of art in which music is afforded special spiritual, religious, and emotional potency because of its unique characteristics as compared to the other arts. In the context of late nineteenth-century New England, the concept of transcendence and music was propagated most prominently through the work of Boston's famous music critic, John Sullivan Dwight, and led to that city's "cultivated music tradition."[1] Unlike Dwight, whose view of music was intimately linked with the tenets of Transcendentalism, Parker esteemed art as transcendent from within the context of his Christian faith.[2] Both Parker and Dwight, following in the tradition of German Romantic philosophers, understood that music had spiritual significance. Although this often resulted in an idolatrous pursuit of secular instrumental music, particularly in the tradition of Beethoven, Parker's

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[1] Sterling Edward Scroggins,. "The Songs of Horatio Parker: Analysis, History, Anthology, and Recording," (D.M.A., University of Maryland, College Park, 1995), 87-88. For more on Dwight see: Ora Frishberg Saloman, *Beethoven's Symphonies and J.S. Dwight: The Birth of American Music Criticism*, (Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1995). See also: Michael Broyles, *Music of the Highest Class: Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). Irving Sablosky, *What They Heard: Music in America, 1852–1881, from the Pages of "Dwight's Journal of Music,"* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986).

[2] For more on Transcendentalism see: Sandra Petrulionis, Harbert, Laura Dassow Walls, and Joel Myerson *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Phillip F. Gura, *American Transcendentalism: A History*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007); Perry Miller, *The Transcendentalists: An Anthology,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950). Ora Frishberg Saloman. "Music." In *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism*, Petrulionis, Sandra Harbert, Laura Dassow Walls, Joel Myerson, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

comments reintroduce a little-acknowledged strain of this ideal. Parker's belief that music is transcendent, held in the context of his faith, reveals that holding to music as a transcendent art and putting music to "work" in the service of the church are not mutually exclusive ideas. In other words, Parker sought to reconcile the "religion" of art music with religious faith. The lesser-known writings of some of the most prominent proponents of music as an independent, transcendent art, actually reveal that these views are not mutually exclusive at all. In fact, what is consistent between Wilhelm Wackenroder, E.T.A. Hoffmann, John Sullivan Dwight and Horatio Parker is that they all upheld music as a transcendent art, while also affirming that music could serve the "function" of worship.[3] In fact, music's capacity for transcendence, Dwight would argue, makes it all the more appropriate for worship. In introducing these other voices, this chapter will trace the lineage of Parker's thought beyond his own nation and generation, and see how these German writers, who had clearly influenced Dwight and the musical culture of Boston, informed his thinking throughout his life.

In this chapter, I first offer a definition of transcendence (in as much as transcendence can ever truly be "defined"), then investigate Parker's writings to ascertain his position. Next I examine the history of the concept of transcendence and art, incorporating the work of three writers who were influential in propagating this idea: Wilhelm Wackenroder (1773-1798), E.T.A Hoffmann (1776-1822), and John Sullivan Dwight (1813-1893). As the words of these writers reveal, the view of music as an independent, transcendent art very quickly highlighted what is an unsustainable dichotomy – between art and religion and between beauty and function, wherein music (especially instrumental music) replaced religion as the source of spiritual experiences, and

[3] See also: Abigail Chantler, *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Aesthetics,* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016.) Linda Siegel, "Wackenroder's Musical Essays in 'Phantasien uber die Kunst'" *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* Vol 30, No 3, (Spring, 1972).

music itself became the object of worship. In contrast, Parker's goal of reuniting the arts and the church, undergirded by his belief in music as transcendent and clarified by the centering of God as the object of worship and music as the means of transcendence, attempted to counter this dichotomy and instead reveals that art and religion, beauty and function need not be separated. Returning to the writings of Wackenroder, Hoffmann and Dwight we find that each one, in addition to proclaiming the independent merits of instrumental music also advocated for an improvement in church music. Finally, I examine some selections of Parker's repertoire to see how his belief in the transcendent capacity of music was worked out practically in his composing. This is demonstrated in the intricate harmonies of one of his hymn settings, his use of references to Palestrina and Handel in his liturgical work, *Light's Glittering Morn*, and in two choral works for the concert hall which re-envision worship at the throne of God.[4]

"Defining" Transcendence

The terms "transcendent," "divine," "ineffable," and "spiritual" are used frequently and somewhat interchangeably in discussions about music, art, and religion. Although it is far beyond the scope of this chapter to address each concept in its entirety, it will be helpful within the context of this discussion to offer a brief definition of the terms and how they relate, especially within the history of transcendence in art and music.

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[4] For further examples of analyses of transcendence in music see Daniel K. L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Willem Erauw. "Canon Formation: Some More Reflections on Lydia Goehr's Imaginary Museum of Musical Works." *Acta musicologica* 70, no. 2 (July 1, 1998): 109–115, Benedict Taylor, *The Melody of Time: Music and Temporality in the Romantic Era*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), Nicole Grimes and Dillon Parmer, "'Come Rise to Higher Spheres!' Tradition Transcended in Brahms's Violin Sonata No. 1 in G major, Op. 78." *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music*, vol. 6, no. 11 (2009), 129-152. Alexander Stefaniak, "'Poetic Virtuosity': Robert Schumann as a Critic and Composer of Virtuoso Instrumental Music" (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2012).

Transcendent, most simply, refers to that which is "beyond,"[5] or that which is "outside of material existence."[6] As Andrew Bowie explains, concepts of transcendence are intimately connected to the work of philosopher Immanuel Kant, who understood the transcendent as "what is beyond our capacity to know, which exceeds the bounds of experience and involves what he thinks of in terms of 'ideas', such as 'immortality' and 'God.'"[7] Thus, we may understand the relationship between transcendent and divine in that divine is "beyond" mortal, or God is "beyond" humanity. Similarly, in the sense that the spiritual is "beyond" the physical, the ineffable is "beyond" our capacity to know or express in words.[8] A common idea which captures the relationship of music and transcendence is that music is transcendent because it functions as a window onto the divine, however, music soon became the object of transcendence rather than being understood as the means to it.[9] Transcendent can also mean "universally applicable or significant."[10] However, as Chapter Three examines, transcendence may also result in exclusion. In summary, transcendence describes the movement from physical to spiritual because that which is truly 'ineffable' dwells in the realm of the spiritual. As one further point of clarification, Transcendentalism (which will always appear with a capital T) refers to the philosophy developed

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[5] Jeremy Begbie, *Redeeming Transcendence in the Arts: Bearing witness to the Triune God*, (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2018), 5.

[6] *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "transcendent," accessed May 25, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/transcendent.

[7] Andrew Bowie, "Music, Transcendence and Philosophy" in Ferdia J. Stone-Davis ed., *Music and Transcendence,* (London, Routledge: 2015), 213.

[8] See also, Judy Lochhead, "The Sublime, the Ineffable, and Other Dangerous Aesthetics." *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 12, no. 1 (2008): 63-74. As Lochhead demonstrates, the terms beautiful, sublime, and ineffable are not actually synonymous or interchangeable, however, for the purposes of this chapter, I will treat them as such – for our interest is not so much in what distinguishes these concepts, but in how they reveal Parker's assertions of music as a transcendent art and how that informed his composing.

[9] Elizabeth Kramer, "The Idea of *Kunstreligion* in German Musical Aesthetics of the Early Nineteenth Century," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2005), 22. Scruton, 75.

[10] *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "transcendent," accessed May 25, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/transcendent.

by Ralph Waldo Emerson and others, and will be discussed later in relation to John Sullivan Dwight.

Parker's View of Transcendent Music

Parker's writing reveals that he held to music as a transcendent art, noting its spiritual value and emphasising that it must express the good, the true, and the beautiful. At the close of one of his addresses on American music, Parker affirmed the spiritual value of music rather than emphasising nationalism. He concluded, "we must bear our American part, intelligently, efficiently, in the great human fight against dullness and the tyranny of stodgy, necessary, inevitable, material things" and make "our escape into the world of spiritual things whither music is so well fitted to guide us."[11] In striking a contrast here between "material things" and "spiritual things," Parker acknowledged, much like the generation of German romantics before him, the special capacity that music has as a transcendent art – where it stands as a window between the material and the spiritual, the internal and the external. Parker's daughter, Isabel Semler, affirmed that her father was committed to this spiritual cause, describing his "lifetime of high endeavour, of faith in all things beautiful and good, of hope for a future finer and still nobler world."[12] Parker's faith in the value and endurance of that which is good extended even to his own work: "if my own work is any good, it will last, if not, it had better die with me – the sooner the better in fact."[13] As his student David Stanley Smith also affirmed, Parker's values significantly shaped the development of the music program at Yale, especially its "emphasis on composition, and the less

[11] Horatio Parker, Address before the Music Teacher's National Association, May 19, 1916, 7. HP Papers 35/2.
[12] Isabel Parker Semler, *Horatio Parker, A Memoir for His Grandchildren Compiled From Letters and Papers* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1942; reprinted., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 279.
[13] Semler, 296.

tangible bequest of a high spiritual outlook on music."[14] In Parker's own words, and in the words of those who knew him, it is clear that he gave music a special spiritual significance, or held to it as transcendent. Having spent three years at music school in Germany, Parker likely inherited these beliefs from the German romantics of the previous generation, and from the culture that had developed around classical music in New England by the mid nineteenth-century.

Origins of Transcendence in Art and Music

The concept of music as a transcendent art gained widespread acceptance in the early 1800s as part of a broader cultural shift in Europe that separated art from craft, emphasising beauty as an end in itself, alongside its deep spiritual and emotional capacity. This cultural shift created a distinction between fine art (which was created for beauty) and craft (which was created for function).[15] The "purpose" of art then, was not to have a purpose, but to be beautiful for its own sake.[16] Musicologist Lydia Goehr summarises how this cultural shift separated the value of music from extra-musical meaning and function. She explains,

> First, theorists claimed, the significance of fine art lies not in its service to particularized goals of a moral or religious sort, or in its ability to inspire particular feelings or to imitate worldly phenomena. It lies, rather, in its ability to probe and reveal the higher world of universal, eternal truth. This ability originates, according to Gustav Schilling, in 'man's attempt to transcend the sphere of cognition, to experience higher, more spiritual things, and to sense the presence of the ineffable'. Theorists then argued that instrumental music, without particularized content, is the most plausible candidate for being the 'universal language of art'. Such music provides a direct path to the experience of a kind of truth that transcends particular natural contingencies and transitory human feelings.[17]

[14] David Stanley Smith and W. Oliver Strunk, "A Study of Horatio Parker," *The Musical Quarterly,* Vol 16, No 2 (April 1930), 158.
[15] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 152.
[16] Mark Evan Bonds, *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), Beauty chapter abstract.
[17] Goehr, 154.

Thus art was understood to possess transcendent capacity, and instrumental music was especially privileged because its meaning did not need to be derived from external associations.[18] As Goehr further explains, in the romantic era there was both the "*transcendent* move from the worldly and particular to the spiritual and universal; … [and] the *formalist* move which brought meaning from music's outside into its inside"[19] (emphasis in original). To hold to a philosophy of music as transcendent then, meant to acknowledge that by its very nature, music had particular capacity for expressing that which is beyond capable of being expressed with words; in other words, that which is spiritual, ineffable, or divine. Because of the close relationship between musical experiences and spiritual experiences, religion and music were at first simply correlated, but eventually there was a reversal wherein music became the object of religious devotion.

Movement Towards Instrumental Music as Religion

In some spheres, the transcendent value of music was so highly praised that music replaced the role of religion itself. Again according to Goehr, as music took on meaning independent of function and independent of words, it was separated from a religious function, and thus, like other arts, was able to "transport us to higher, aesthetic realms."[20] At first, this emphasis on music was simply that it was a means of transcendence, or a window onto the transcendent. However, it wasn't long until music became the object of worship (or religious devotion) rather than the means; and rituals associated with religion became associated with music instead. Goehr writes, "the suggestion that music carried transcendent meaning led soon enough to the view that instrumental

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[18] See also: Nicholas Cook and Nicola Dibben, "Emotion in Culture and History: Perspectives from Musicology" in *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications,* Patrik N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda, eds., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 45-72.
[19] Goehr, 153.
[20] Goehr, 152.

music did more than point to the transcendent. It also embodied it."[21] This German romantic aesthetic, which held to music as a divine art, came to be termed *Kunstreligion* – or art religion. According to Elizabeth Kramer, *Kunstreligion* is "a constellation of ideas about the ways in which music and spirituality interact."[22] It was not all music that afforded such opportunities, but instrumental music in particular.

An Unsustainable Dichotomy – Art/Religion

To hold to music as a transcendent art often meant divorcing it from words and from function, thus implying a separation of art from the church and from religion, and resulting in a "new religion" which exalted Beethoven to the top. For music to be truly beautiful or ineffable, and thus transcendent, it had to be separated from words. After all, that which was beautiful was that which was without function. This idea can be traced at least as far back as the writings of the German monk, Wilhelm Wackenroder (1773-1798).[23] Wackenroder most emphatically asserted that words were incompatible with transcendence: "words by their concrete association draw the mind toward earth, whereas music elevates the soul toward heaven."[24] E.T.A Hoffmann (1776-1822), whose musical aesthetic was indebted to Wackenroder, famously tied the concept to the work of Beethoven.[25] One of Hoffmann's most oft-quoted refrains, expressed this sentiment entirely: "when we speak of music as an independent art, we should properly refer only to instrumental

[21] Goehr, 154. See also Roger Scruton, "Music and the Transcendental" in *Music and Transcendence,* Ferdia J. Stone-Davis ed., (London: Routledge, 2015), 76. Scruton affirms "humankind was losing its religious anchor and needed another way of reaching and holding on to the transcendental than that provided by religion

[22] Elizabeth Kramer, 16. *Kunstreligion* has three main tenets, that "music gives voice to spiritual ideas," "music and spiritual experience are similar," and "music as perceived as its own particular type of spirituality." (Kathryn Joann White, *George Whitefield Chadwick and the American Vernacular in His Chamber Works,* (PhD Diss., Indiana University: 2012), 66) In this sense, *Kunstreligion* is distinct from "ideas of aesthetic disinterestedness [from Moritz], the musical sublime [from Burke and Michaelis] and artistic autonomy [Kant]." (Kramer, 16) For more on art religion, see Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music.* Roger Lustig (trans.), (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

[23] Linda Siegel, "Wackenroder's Musical Essays in 'Phantasien uber die Kunst'" *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* Vol 30, No 3, (Spring, 1972), 351.

[24] Siegel, 355.

[25] Chantler, *Hoffmann's Musical Aesthetics*, 1-31.

music which, scorning the assistance and association of another art, namely poetry, expresses that peculiar property which can be found in music only."[26] Hoffmann directly asserted that Beethoven was the composer whose music reached the epitome of this new religion:

> That inspired composers have raised instrumental music to its present height is certainly not due to the improvement in the medium of expression, the perfecting of the instruments or the greater virtuosity of the performers, but rather comes from the deeper spiritual recognition of the peculiar nature of music. Mozart and Haydn, the creators of the instrumental music of to-day, show us the art for the first time in its full glory; the one who has looked on it with an all-embracing love and penetrated its innermost being is – Beethoven![27]

Statements such as these promoted Beethoven to an almost idolatrous position, and by implication, opposed sacred choral music, denying its spiritual potency and freeing the religious aspect of music from a religious function. However, as the remainder of this chapter will investigate, Parker's words and efforts are reminders of an additional benefit of holding to music as a transcendent art: that it would increase the appreciation for music within the church and reunite the "religious" capacity of instrumental music to a religious function in the church.

Given the prevalence of this philosophy in Germany during the nineteenth century, it is not surprising to find that Parker also held to music as a transcendent art. While he may have encountered the ideas during his own transnational experience as a student in Germany (studying with Joseph Rheinberger in Munich),[28] it had also significantly shaped the musical culture of the United States in much of the mid to late nineteenth century. As Chapter Three will also show, this significantly affected the efforts of local composers who were attempting to promote their own music amidst the idolatrous worship of Beethoven. Douglas Shadle attests, "the desire to assert

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[26] Arthur Ware Locke and E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Beethoven's Instrumental Music: Translated from E.T.A. Hoffmann's 'Kreisleriana' with an Introductory Note" *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol 3, No 1, (Jan, 1917), 127.
[27] Hoffmann, *Kriesleriana* cited in Locke and Hoffmann, 127.
[28] See also: Paul Weber, "Josef Gabriel Rheinberger and the Reform of Catholic Church Music: Part I." *The American Organist* 48, no. 10 (10, 2014): 48-57.

national musical autonomy…ran counter to the cosmopolitan worship of transcendent art that took hold in certain quarters."[29] And in no one's writing was that worship more evident than in that of John Sullivan Dwight.

Dwight's Transcendentalism and the Musical Culture of Boston

In the United States, music critic John Sullivan Dwight (1813-1893) was a prominent advocate of transcendent music, but advocated for it within the context of Transcendentalism. Based in Boston, Dwight had been a Unitarian minister before turning to Transcendentalism in his late twenties. Through most of his writing, and his own self-published journal, Dwight advocated for classical music as the avenue for true religious experience. According to John Ogasapian and Lee Orr, Dwight described German instrumental music as "the True, the *ever* beautiful, the Divine" in the first edition of his *Journal*.[30] As Mark Grant describes, Dwight was "the dean of transcendentalist music critics," and his journal was practically responsible for establishing "the cult of Beethoven worship in America."[31] Prior to the work of Dwight and several other Transcendentalist music critics including Christopher Pearse Cranch, Margaret Fuller and William Wetmore Story, Beethoven was little known in America and liturgical music was the defining parameter of art.[32]

Transcendentalism was a burgeoning ideology in nineteenth-century New England and had particular implications for the appreciation of music, especially that of Beethoven. It developed in America around Concord, Massachusetts in the 1830s to 1850s in the works of Ralph Waldo

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[29] Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the nation: the nineteenth-century American symphonic enterprise,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) 135.
[30] John Ogasapian and N. Lee Orr, *Music of the Gilded Age,* 58.
[31] Mark N. Grant, *Maestros of the Pen: a History of Classical Music Criticism in America,* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 37.
[32] Ora Frishberg Saloman, "American Writers on Beethoven, 1838-1849: Dwight, Fuller, Cranch, Story." *American Music* 8, no. 1 (1990): 12-28. Accessed May 11, 2020. doi:10.2307/3051933. 14, 20. Grant, 37.

Emerson (1803-1882), Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) and the Alcotts;[33] it was neither a static nor a unified ideology and had far reaching implications for religion, politics and the arts.[34] Transcendentalism was deeply rooted in German philosophy, inherited by these Americans through Goethe.[35] In Transcendentalism, religious fervour was abandoned "in favor of intuition and the personal experience of God within each individual, rather than in the context of church rituals."[36] Thus, we can see how easily this philosophy aligns with the ideas of the German romantics – where art was first separated from religion and then became a religion of its own. Dwight and the other Transcendentalists privileged Beethoven's music because they believed it "best captured the essential nature of inner human aspirations by bringing humanity into higher unity with the Infinite."[37] Dwight's bias towards older, European music is revealed in his criticism of a recently premiered American work, where he decried "it has not lifted us, as all great music does, into that free ideal element of thought and feeling, where we seem to be at one with all and nearer to the universal heart."[38] The music Dwight sought after was music that would get him and all listeners closer to this universal heart and his words point towards Beethoven as the emblem of the unity of soul for which the Transcendentalist must strive. He wrote, "rarely is there an assembly, where all are so lifted above themselves, and made to forget their selfish partialities…where the one spirit which is in us all…so wells up …and gives us a never-to-be-

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[33] Amos Bronson Alcott was an author, as was his more famous daughter, Louisa May. Charles Ives' *Concord Sonata* has movements named after Emerson, the Alcotts, Thoreau, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was also a writer associated with the group, but did not agree with Transcendentalism. See: Kyle Gann, *Charles Ives's Concord: Essays after a Sonata,* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 1, 210. Richard Kopley, "Naysayers: Poe, Hawthorne, and Melville." In *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism*, Sandra Harbert Petrulionis, Laura Dassow Walls, Joel Myerson, eds., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[34] Taruskin, Vol 4, 244. Petrulionis, Walls, and Myerson, xxiv; See also, Michael Moran, "New England Transcendentalism," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Vol. V (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 479.
[35] Moran, cited in Taruskin, 244.
[36] Grant, 37.
[37] Saloman, "American Writers," 21.
[38] Dwight, cited in Shadle, 169.

forgotten glimpse of the fact that we are nearer to each other than we knew… as an assembly on whom Beethoven and the orchestra have begun to work."[39] Just like Wackenroder and Hoffmann's comments illustrated above, instrumental music, and especially symphonies, were considered most transcendent because they were rarely tied to words for meaning. As Dwight said, "music answers the soul's deepest craving for expression more nearly than any other language, not excepting poetry or prayer."[40] Given the fact that the transcendent capacity of music was most clearly associated with instrumental music, it appears inconsistent that Parker, who also emphasised the transcendent capacity of music, sought to reunite this art to the service of the church. However, as the remainder of this chapter will investigate, Parker's understanding of the value of music gave him the impetus to improve the quality of music in the church, as Dwight, Hoffmann, and Wackenroder each also believed it should.

Parker's Reconciliation of Transcendent Music and Religion

By acknowledging music as a transcendent art within the context of his Christian faith, Parker sought to reunite the arts and the church. In several of his lectures on church music, Parker made clear that a false dichotomy had been created between the religious feeling inspired by works of art and true religious faith found in the church:

> The emancipation of the arts from the church in which they were born and brought up, or at least brought up, is an accomplished fact. They have tried their wings and have found freedom, or liberty in the wide outside world. It remains now for the Church to bring them back. It needs their best work, and ought to have it. I wish that I knew how they could be recalled.[41]

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[39] John Sullivan Dwight, "Academy of Music--Beethoven's Symphonies." *The Pioneer. A Literary and Critical Magazine* (1843-1843), 01, 1843, 26.

[40] Dwight, *The Pioneer,* 26. There is currently limited scholarship on how Dwight and the other Transcendentalist critics viewed Wagner, see for example: Ora Frishberg Saloman, "Dwight and Perkins on Wagner: A Controversy within the American Cultivated Tradition, 1852-1854," in *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984). See also Linda Siegel, "Wagner and the Romanticism of E. T. A. Hoffmann." *The Musical Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (1965): 597-613. Parker's opinion on the new trend in German music was that it was too much "colored by externals." (Parker, "Impressions of A Year in Europe," cited in Semler, 164.)

[41] Horatio Parker, "Church Music", Oct 27, 1904, HP Papers Box 35, Folder 6.

> I feel confident that when that happy moment shall have come Church Music will have regained that influence in the World of Art which rightly belongs to it. I believe it will again satisfy men's craving for the beautiful and the ineffable which it is so eminently fitted to do.[42]

> The church needs music perhaps as much as music needs the church. The art needs the inspiration which is derived from high ideals and noble practices. They can benefit each other immeasurably, the art and the church. They have done so in the past and I hope they will always continue to do so.[43]

Here, Parker did not distinguish between instrumental or vocal music, but rather, emphasised that it is church music that should fill the craving for the ineffable and the beautiful – in other words, that church music, as much and perhaps more so than instrumental music, should be acknowledged as transcendent.

Parker believed that separating the arts from the church caused serious problems for the quality of the music in the church and created false perspectives about concert music. In the same vein as the romantics before him, Parker spoke of music as a necessity of the soul, but did so within the context of church music. After bemoaning the poor quality of church music in his day (especially the "quartet choirs"), he yet had hope, and stated:

> I cannot doubt that in time Church music will again become what it should be, always a sincere expression of deep religious feeling. It can then fulfill its real function which is to satisfy the desire of men and women to find in Church only that which is good and true and beautiful and holy.[44]

In general, Parker was much more interested in the quality of the music than in its designation. In his opinion, there was much bad music in the church – he referred to Anglican Chant and the Moody and Sankey hymns as distinct examples, and agreed that there seemed to be much more "religious" music outside of the church.[45]

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[42] Parker, "Church Music," 1897, HP Papers, Box 35, Folder 5.
[43] Parker, "Church Music Since Bach," HP Papers, Box 35, Folder 9.
[44] Parker, "Church Music" Box 35, Folder 7.
[45] Parker, "Church Music Since Bach," Box 35, Folder 9, 7.

Overall, Parker resisted the distinction of sacred and secular music, and rather emphasised that the quality of music is of primary concern. He acknowledged that there was no distinction in the quality between the sacred and secular music of composers such as Bach and Handel.[46] Like Dwight and many others, Parker too, identified something religious about Beethoven's work, especially the Fifth Symphony and the Ninth Symphony, and yet again, emphasised that both these secular works and Beethoven's sacred music contain the same spirit. "I do not regard the great Mass in D of Beethoven as being one bit more religious than his Ninth Symphony. Both are great musical conceptions and both are carried out with the utmost elevation of spirit and both represent the best possible work of the master."[47] In Parker's estimation, the symphonies of Beethoven were spiritual and religious, and also "art," as was the music Parker longed to see in the church. In this sense, Parker closely reflected the views of French philosopher, Victor Cousin, who concluded that the beautiful "purifies and elevates the soul by the affinity between the beautiful and the good, and by the relation of ideal beauty to its principle, which is God."[48] As Jann Pasler explains, "Cousin sees art as fulfilling a religious purpose: nurturing hope for the immortality of our souls."[49] Parker's efforts of reuniting art to the church thus echo Cousin's assertion that the object of beauty is God, and music is simply the means of transcendence.[50]

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[46] Horatio Parker, Church Music 1897, 10. HP Papers, 35/7.
[47] Parker, Church Music Since Bach 35/9, 6.
[48] Victor Cousin, cited in Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). 63.
[49] Pasler, 63.
[50] Parker may have been introduced to this idea via the philosopher and musicologist François-Joseph Fétis who had also been significantly influenced by Cousin's work. (Katharine Ellis, Robert Wangermée and Gustave Chouquet, "Fétis Family" *Grove Music Online.* Accessed 2 Jul. 2020. Oxford Music Online) Fétis was also the author of a music history textbook which, although it cannot be confirmed Parker had, was certainly in use at Harvard by Parker's colleague, John Knowles Paine. See Michael Bennett Joiner, "Courses in Culture: The Acceptance of Music in the Late-Nineteenth-Century American University." (PhD Diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2013), 202.

Although Transcendentalism was the pervading philosophy in New England at this time, Parker most clearly held to music as a transcendent art hand-in-hand with his Christian faith, against which Transcendentalism is incompatible. Central to the tenets of Christianity is the concept that God is triune, revealing Himself to humanity in Christ Jesus, whose death and resurrection on the cross made relationship with the Father possible, and whose Holy Spirit facilitates for each individual both a personal relationship with God, and unity with the family of God – which is called the church.[51] In contrast, Transcendentalism, which Grant calls a "secular off-spring of Unitarianism," emphasises the "personal experience of God within each individual, rather than in the context of church rituals."[52] It can also have a "pantheistic association of God with and in nature."[53] One of the main goals of Transcendentalism is an attempt to achieve divinity or a collective oneness, by the means of true individuality. Although this seems contradictory, Richard Taruskin summarises, "by trusting their individual instincts…people could gain direct access to the all-encompassing wisdom of God."[54] Transcendentalism thus denies Christ's death and resurrection as the means of getting to know God – the belief that was central to Parker's faith and service to the church. In his reflection on Parker's life, the Rev. Winfred Douglas wrote of the composer's deep and abiding faith that had informed all of his composing, and noted his "standards of truth, of sincerity, of steadfast faithfulness to lofty ideals of nobility and of intellectual beauty, of loyalty to the Church, and of loving and humble service to God."[55]

Not only did Parker's work seek to reunite the arts and the church, but by approaching transcendence from the perspective of religion, he established faith in God as the true means of

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[51] Michael Reeves, *Delighting in the Trinity: An Introduction to the Christian Faith,* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012), 11-12, 106.
[52] Grant, 36.
[53] Denise Von Glahn and Michael Broyles, "Art music." *Grove Music Online.* 4 Oct. 2012; Accessed 30 Apr. 2020.
[54] Taruskin, Vol 4, 244.
[55] Douglas, cited in Semler, 305.

transcendence and repositioned music as the window to that transcendence. As Jeremy Begbie has asserted, claims about transcendence always presuppose that there is a divine, a transcendent reality that is the object of transcendence.[56] For Dwight, as for the Transcendentalists, this was an un-named, pantheistic, ultimate unity that secular, instrumental music revealed. Dwight himself asserted that these compositions "shed a sacred influence over our minds; they make us conscious of new worlds within us; they open a new communication between our hearts and nature, and assert the present Deity, without name, without creed."[57] However, for Parker, it was the God of Christianity that was revealed in this transcendence. Far from creating a religion out of music, Parker's understanding of transcendent art reunited to the church gave transcendence the goal of worshipping God, and yet also acknowledged the unique capacity that music, as an independent art, possesses. For Parker, as for Bach, then, the "aim and final reason of all music," whether sacred or secular, vocal or instrumental, would be "for the glory of God."[58] This perspective thus reunites the supposedly dichotomous ideas of beauty and function. When art is divorced from religious function, i.e. serving the object of adoration (i.e. God), beauty must function as an end in itself – meaning that religious "art" cannot exist (harming the quality of music in churches), and art itself thus becomes the object of religious adoration (creating compositional idols that are worshipped as gods). As Chapter Three will explore, this idolatrous understanding of transcendence results in harmful exclusion. The music that Parker sought both to endorse and to compose was that which acknowledged the special capacity of music to express the spiritual.

[56] Begbie, 184.
[57] John Sullivan Dwight, "Sacred and Secular Music" *The Musical World* 17, no. 15 (Apr 14, 1842): 115.
[58] H.T. David and A. Mendel, *The Bach Reader* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1945), 33.

Reconciliation of Music and Religion in Wackenroder, Hoffmann, and Dwight

Reuniting religious function with transcendent music, as Parker aimed to do, was also a focus of the efforts made by Wackenroder, Hoffmann, and Dwight. Though this may seem contradictory given their emphasis on instrumental music as a religion in itself, they each also advocated for the need for music to serve in the church and devoted some of their writing to furthering that cause. Abigail Chantler agrees that there are "two diametrically opposed facets" caused by Wackenroder's and Hoffmann's appreciation of instrumental music and sacred vocal music which is reconciled by the fact that they viewed sacred vocal music "not merely as an accompaniment to a religious text, but rather as an innately spiritual medium the metaphysical purport of which is represented metaphorically by the words."[59] Similarly, as musicologist Craig Comen proposes, Hoffmann's writings may actually introduce a different interpretation of the function that music has, in that it reveals "the rift between the secular and the religious realms by exposing the religiosity of the former and the secularity of the latter."[60] With this in mind, and with Parker's goals of reuniting music's supposed self-sustained religiosity to a religious service, a further investigation of the writings of Wackenroder, Hoffmann, and Dwight is required to understand the way they perceived the relationship between art and religion in church music.[61]

Hoffmann's indebtedness to Wackenroder is apparent not just in his approach to instrumental music, but also in their approach to church music. For Wackenroder, "music is … a gift from God, which has enabled man to express and understand his feelings."[62] Musicologist

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[59] Chantler, 11.
[60] Craig Comen, "Hoffmann's Musical Modernity And The Pursuit Of Sentimental Unity." *Eighteenth-Century Music* 15, no. 1 (2018): 21.
[61] For alternate interpretations of Hoffmann's writing in "Alte and Neue Kirchmusic" see: Thomas J. Mulherin "'Where nature will speak to them in sacred sounds': Music and Transcendence in Hoffmann's *Kreisleriana"* in *Music and Transcendence,* Ferdia J. Stone-Davis ed., (London: Routledge, 2015); Mark Evan Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
[62] Siegel, "Wackenroder's Musical Essays," 353.

Linda Siegel claims, "it is not surprising to find that Wackenroder considered sacred music the highest form of all art."[63] However, given Wackenroder's emphasis on instrumental music discussed above, it is in fact, surprising to find that Wackenroder's appreciation of music extended to church music as well. He devoted one of his essays on music specifically to music in the church. In it, he identified the need for variety in church music, and he especially praised the music which embodies the romantic, emotional ideal in the context of praising God. Of this kind of church music, Wackenroder withheld no praise, and wrote:

> it resembles the spirit of men so saturated with awe-inspiring thoughts of God that they forget the weakness of the human race. These men are courageous enough to proclaim the greatness of the Highest on earth with the loud stately voice of the trumpet. They believe that the essence and the glory of God is revealed to them through this ecstasy.[64]

Wackenroder affirmed that music should operate in the context of the worship of God and that the music of instruments was well-suited to this task. Similarly, after asserting that Palestrina saved music in the church from its nigh loss at the hands of Pope Marcellus the Second, Hoffmann wrote, "a profound awareness of the inner nature of music dawned in composers' minds, and from their hearts flowed a stream of immortal, inimitable vocal works born of genuine holy inspiration."[65] Far from destroying the role of music as worship in the church, these authors affirmed that it is of utmost importance. Hoffmann continued, "with Palestrina began what is indisputably the most glorious period in church music (and hence in music in general)."[66] Hoffmann's comments on church music, recounted here, were published in 1814, the same year as his infamous Beethoven review. Comen affirms that Hoffmann's essay on church music "initially seems to condemn

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[63] Siegel, 355.
[64] Wackenroder, cited in Siegel, 356.
[65] E. T. A. Hoffmann, (Ernst Theodor Amadeus), and David Charlton. *E.T.A. Hoffmann's musical writings: Kreisleriana, The poet and the composer, music criticism,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 351 'Old and New Church Music' Originally published AMZ, xvi, 31 August, 7, 14 September 1814, cols. 577-84, 593-603, 611-19. First reprinted: Ellinger 1894.
[66] Ibid., 357.

modern church music – squaring with Hoffmann's reputation for privileging instrumental music" and yet "the essay exposes a space for both genres in light of their modern complexities."[67] It is this somewhat dichotomous consistency that continues in Dwight's writing, and which is evident in Parker's efforts to ensure his music, whether it was for the church or the concert hall, maintained this high spiritual view of music.

Even John Sullivan Dwight, though he had abandoned Christianity in favour of Transcendentalism, was not opposed to ascribing transcendent value to the music of the church. Moving from his understanding of music as a "divine Art," Dwight offered a perspective from which music ought to be viewed in order to serve the religious service in the church. In sum this was: that music should be properly respected, free from "frivolous associations" (that is, melodies borrowed from works well-known outside of the church), of the proper quality, and all built from the perspective that "Art resembles the Divine."[68] Dwight even went so far as to suggest that the instrumental music of Bach and Beethoven should be included in church services, after all, he said, "why shall not these exert that inspiration in the holy place, which they so often do in the concert rooms?"[69] His suggestions moved from the assumption that music is sacred in and of itself without any religious associations, to acknowledging that this transcendent power in music could be appropriately reunited to religious function in the church – with or without the aid of words: "we want to avail ourselves, in worship of the religion which is in all real and high music."[70] Indeed, returning to Hoffmann's initial praise of instrumental music reveals precisely how instrumental music ought to shape the music of the church for "its sole object is the expression of the infinite"

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[67] Comen, 20.
[68] Dwight, "Hints on Musical Worship," *Dwight's Journal of Music,* May 18, 1872, Boston, 238-239.
[69] Dwight, 239.
[70] Dwight, 239.

– a task which certainly aligns with the goals of church music.[71] As Dwight suggested above, attempting to raise the appreciation of music as an art should improve the worship in the church. He concluded, "Music has not done its great work in the churches, because great music has not been believed in."[72] In their vociferous promotion of music as an independent art, Dwight, Hoffmann and Wackenroder inherently understood that increasing an appreciation for the transcendent capacity of music should, out of necessity, increase both the quality and appreciation of music when it is offered in the service of the church. As demonstrated in his own comments above, Parker also held to this view, and as the latter portion of this chapter will show, these high ideals were brought out practically in his compositions in a variety of ways.

How Parker Reunites Beauty and Function

Parker's belief that it was necessary to reunite the arts and the church shaped much of his life. In addition to his employment as a church organist, and teaching at Yale, his compositional efforts also reveal Parker's belief in the necessity of "good" music. Parker was employed at Trinity Church in Boston from 1893-1902, where he would have continued to develop his standards for music. Linda Clark summarises "the music Parker chose mirrored the musical taste of the parishioners. …To be familiar with the sound of Parker's music is to be familiar with a type of nineteenth century church music, specifically that found in well-to-do urban parishes in the [sic] part of the century."[73] These formative years employed at the church in Boston may have helped solidify Parker's opinions about the relationship between music and the church, art and function. In the years ahead, Parker was involved with important musical projects for the Episcopal Church

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[71] Hoffmann, "Kreisleriana" in Locke and Hoffmann, *Musical quarterly*, 127.
[72] Dwight, "Hints on Musical Worship," 239.
[73] Linda Jane Clark, *Music in Trinity Church, Boston, 1890-1900: A Case Study in the Relationship between Worship and Culture,* (D. Sacred Music, Union Theological Seminary, 1973), 310. Cited in Scroggins, 94.

(including revising the hymnbook) and also continued his own composing – both for the liturgy and for the concert hall. As the remainder of this chapter will examine, each one of these contributions may serve as an example for how Parker integrated his transcendent philosophy of music into the works he composed, and the musical selections he made. His revisions for the Episcopal hymnbooks in both 1904 and 1918 demonstrate an emphasis on beauty defined by a high Eurocentric ideal, while his piece *Light's Glittering Morn* emphasises its transcendent capacity by referring to Palestrina and Handel. Similarly, *Hora Novissima* and *Adstant Angelorum Chori* – both works for the concert hall, combine music and text that offer a transcendent vision of worship at the throne of God.

Hymnbook

In addition to his extensive work in composing and teaching, Parker also served as the chief editor of the 1904 version of the Episcopal Hymnbook, which would have been used by congregants during the weekly church services.[74] In revising the hymnbook, one of Parker's main concerns was the quality of the music. In the introduction to the work, he said, "clearly we need not more tunes, but better ones, attaining a higher standard of musical worth and dignity."[75] Aligning with his belief that music in church must be beautiful as well as functional, Parker acknowledged the dearth of tunes that succeed at this goal. One reason for this lack, Parker noted, was the absence in other hymnbooks of "subtly coloured and expressively serious minor tunes,"

[74] It may be interesting to suggest here that for further study one might look at the parishes at which Parker was employed throughout his life and see what sort of impact his philosophy of music had on the parish life – particularly looking at how instrumental music may have been incorporated into worship services. Clark has done this to an extent (though her work is not accessible online), and the history of the church in New Haven offers little comment on Parker's musical influence on the Parish, see: Deaconess Josephine A. Lyon, *The Chronicle of Christ Church"* unpublished, 134-135. This book was kindly loaned to me by Dr Thomas Murray when I visited Yale in July 2019.

[75] Parker, *The Hymnal – Revised and Enlarged as adopted by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in the Year of Our Lord 1892,* ed by Horatio Parker, (New York, Novello Ewer and Co, 1903), iii.

especially those tunes that had been so important to previous generations.[76] Not only was Parker responsible for editing and arranging the hymns, he also contributed a significant number of new settings himself; of the more than 600 hymns in this edition of the hymnbook, thirty-four are contributions by Parker (only two of which are in the minor mode, despite his earlier suggestion that minor tunes had been lacking). Kearns writes, "Parker's tunes are invariably diatonic, and their harmonies have some chromatic embellishments… his harmonic progressions … are more varied and striking than usual hymn-tune settings of this period."[77] While it is beyond the scope of the present text to examine the musical characteristics of each setting in order to establish some sort of rubric for what Parker might have deemed appropriately dignified, a case study of one hymn may serve as an example.

A variety of settings of the text "How Firm a Foundation," appear in several editions of the Episcopal Hymnal which offer a comparison to Parker's own. After working as the sole editor on the 1903 edition of the hymnal, Parker was again involved with the 1916 hymnal as part of the committee of 18 members. Of the thirty melodies he set for the 1903 edition, 10 appear again in the 1916 edition.[78] One such example is "How Firm a Foundation." In the edition of the Episcopal hymnal prior to Parker's (1883), the music for "How Firm a Foundation" is a simple setting in 3/4 time with primarily tonic and dominant harmonies, and few accidentals. There is no rhythmic variation throughout the hymn, with each word or syllable in this homophonic texture given one half note, barring phrase endings.

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Kearns, 204.
[78] For complete list of Parker's hymns and their presence in Episcopal Hymnals 1903-1943 see Kearns, 304-305.

Fig. 2.1 "How Firm a Foundation" Walmer Melody from *The Episcopal Hymnal,* 1883

In contrast, Parker's contribution to the 1903 edition is much more complex. Parker's melody is in E-flat major with a 4/2 time signature, and strays much further from the tonic and dominant harmonies of the 1883 edition with a significant use of chromaticism. In addition to secondary dominants to ii and vi, Parker's most emphatic harmony in this work is the German 6th chord on the final beat of m. 10, which had been prepared by the introduction of the flattened 7th scale degree in m. 9 and the G-flat major triad at the beginning of m.10. The rhythms are also more varied with the addition of some passing notes and brief melismas. Given these greater musical complexities, music that was dignified, in Parker's estimation, should draw on more intricate harmonies, as well as pay closer attention to the relationship between music and text. Although

this example is not in a minor key, it does reflect the "subtle colourings" and "expressivity" for which Parker aimed.

212

FOUNDATION (*Second Tune*). Four 11's. HORATIO PARKER, 1903.

1 How firm a foun-da-tion, ye saints of the Lord, Is laid for your faith in His ex-cel-lent Word! What more can He say than to you He hath said, You who un-to Je-sus for re-fuge have fled? re-fuge have fled?

(275)

Fig 2.2 "How Firm a Foundation" Parker's Setting, *The Hymnal* 1916

In the 1916 edition of the hymnal, Parker's setting is given as the second tune, while the primary melody is *Adeste Fideles*.[79] The harmonies in the tune *Adeste Fideles* return to the much more typical tonic, dominant, and secondary dominant that had characterized the 1883 setting of the text. The introductory remark to this edition of the hymnal concluded that "the number of sentimental and weak melodies has been reduced. It is hoped that the many fine new tunes will so far win their way that such inferior music as is retained will lose its attraction."[80] In the case of

[79] 1918 Hymnal, 274-275.
[80] 1918 Hymnal introduction.

"How Firm a Foundation," evidently both Parker's setting and the *Adeste Fideles* setting lost their attraction, for in a most recent edition of the hymnal, 1982, neither arrangement is present.

212 Sundays after Trinity.

Five 11's.

Adeste Fideles (*First Tune*). J. F. Wade's *Cantus Diversi*, 1751.

1 How firm a foun-da-tion, ye saints of the Lord, Is laid for your

faith in His ex-cell-ent Word! What more can He say than to

you He hath said, You who un-to Je-sus for re-fuge have

fled, You who un-to Je-sus for re-fuge have fled? Amen.

(274)

Fig 2.3 "How Firm a Foundation" ***Adeste Fideles*** **melody.** ***The Hymnal,*** **1916.**

The melody which has been settled upon is an alternate tune also called *Foundation*, which, Parker might be slightly horrified to know, is entirely pentatonic (the scale he called "common to all savages and to all imperfect civilizations").[81]

[81] Parker, Music in America 1901 Lecture. Discussed in Chapter One and will also be addressed in Chapter Three. https://hymnary.org/hymn/EH1982/636

The Christian Life **636**

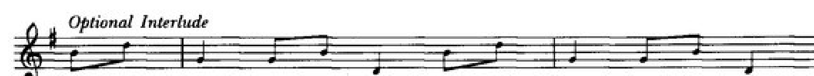
1 How firm a foun - da - tion, ye saints of the Lord,
2 "Fear not, I am with thee; O be not dis - mayed!
3 "When through the deep wa - ters I call thee to go,
4 "When through fier - y tri - als thy path - way shall lie,
5 "The soul that to Je - sus hath fled for re - pose,

1 is laid for your faith in his ex - cel - lent word!
2 For I am thy God, and will still give thee aid;
3 the riv - ers of woe shall not thee o - ver - flow;
4 my grace, all suf - fi - cient, shall be thy sup - ply;
5 I will not, I will not de - sert to its foes;

1 What more can he say than to you he hath said,
2 I'll strength - en thee, help thee, and cause thee to stand,
3 for I will be with thee, thy trou - bles to bless,
4 the flame shall not hurt thee; I on - ly de - sign
5 that soul, though all hell shall en - deav - or to shake,

1 to you that for ref - uge to Je - sus have fled?
2 up - held by my right - eous, om - ni - po - tent hand.
3 and sanc - ti - fy to thee thy deep - est dis - tress.
4 thy dross to con - sume, and thy gold to re - fine.
5 I'll nev - er, no, nev - er, no, nev - er for - sake."

Optional Interlude



Words: K. in John Rippon's *Selection*, 1787, alt.
Words: *Foundation*, melody from *The Sacred Harp*, 1844 11 11. 11 11

Fig 2.4. "How Firm A Foundation" *Foundation* melody, The Episcopal Hymnal, 1982.

Parker's commitment to musical excellence was consistent throughout his life. As the Reverend Winfred Douglas (a colleague of Parker's on the 1916 hymnbook project) asserted shortly after Parker's death, even to the end of his life Parker was determined to offer only the best music in the service of the church. To demonstrate this, Douglas related the anecdote that in Parker's final hymn setting, "God of the Nations," the composer submitted not one but two settings to the hymnbook committee, and still after they had settled on one, Parker insisted on making

numerous revisions.[82] As theologian and music scholar Jeremy Begbie has asserted, relating music, function and transcendence is a difficult but worthy aim:

> To acknowledge that the arts are always entwined in networks of function is right and proper, but that is quite different from assuming that their value and significance are to be limited solely to this or that immediate utility – the music of a hymn may serve the emotional need of a congregation in worship, but the hymn may also (and arguably should) serve the end of glorifying God through its aesthetic structure, its carefully crafted beauty.[83]

This affirmation of beauty and function reflects not only Parker's efforts in arranging his own hymn settings and the 1903 version of the hymnbook, but also the compositional techniques he carried into his church anthems.

Light's Glittering Morn

In Parker's Easter Anthem, *Light's Glittering Morn,* the composer uses intertextual references to Palestrina and Handel as a means of emphasising the transcendent nature of music and uniting it to the worship of God in the context of the church. Unlike Charles Ives who went on to use intertextual references as the means of realism and modernism,[84] intertextual references for Parker function as a testament to transcendence. In this Easter Anthem composed in 1894, Parker quotes Palestrina's hymn, "The Strife is O'er." In addition, Parker's compositional choices in the closing "Alleluia" section of the piece (see example below) are noticeably indebted to the fugal Amen that closes Handel's *Messiah*.

[82] Douglas, cited in Semler, 309-310.
[83] Begbie, 163.
[84] Wilfrid Mellers, "Realism and Transcendentalism: Charles Ives as American Hero," *Music in a New Found Land: Themes and Developments in the History of American Music* (London: Routledge, 1964), 38–64. Richard Taruskin, Vol 4, 272.

Manuscript of Parker's *Light's Glittering Morn,* m.91-101. HP Papers, Box 19, Folder 40.

By quoting works that his hearers would have been familiar with, Parker engaged the congregation in the spiritual act of worship, effectively communicating the concept of transcendence – both in the sense of the reminder that the God whom they worship is "beyond" them, and also by the fact that the song of worship they sing is not theirs only, but exists "beyond" their own space (in

heaven) and "beyond" their own generation (through the ages). As the church liturgy explains, this is "joining our voices with the voices of angels and archangels who forever sing this song: 'Holy, Holy, Holy.'"[85] By making references to works of a different time and place, and putting it in the context of the worship of the church, Parker also expressed the unity of the church throughout all ages that is emphasised in Christianity. He affirmed music as the means of transcendence, but also reconciled transcendent music within a religious context.

Hora Novissima **and** ***Adstant Angelorum Chori***

In two of his most significant choral works, Parker set texts that envision worship in heaven. These two musical works are thus windows onto the transcendent, combining music's innate capacity as a transcendent art with texts that also offer a view of transcendence. Although *Hora Novissima* and *Adstant Angelorum Chori* are both works with sacred themes, they were not intended for use in church services, but rather for the concert hall. The first, *Hora Novissima,* as described in Chapter One, was met with great success. It draws on the extensive musical capacity of the entire orchestra, joined with the chorus in praise. According to Ryan Minor, in Mendelssohn's *Lobgesang,* the chorus "serves as a representative link between past and present, thought and deed, sacred and worldly, the universal and the particular."[86] Although Minor does not use the term transcendence, the description he offers here expresses the concept perfectly and just as appropriately applies to *Hora Novissima*. For Mendelssohn, it was the chorus in his symphony that enacted the means of transcendence. In contrast, in Parker's *Hora Novissima* it is only the combination of choir and orchestra that can fully communicate the transcendent vision that the soul would experience upon meeting God, the Creator and King, face to face (much like

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[85] This quote from the Church Liturgy is repeated every Sunday at churches around the world. (Parker was employed in the Episcopal church for most of his life, and would have been well familiar with these words.)
[86] Ryan Minor, "National Memory, Public Music: Commemoration and Consecration in Nineteenth-Century German Choral Music," (PhD Diss, University of Chicago, 2005), 33.

Beethoven achieves in the finale of the Ninth).[87] For example, in the fourth movement of the work, *Pars Mea, Rex Meus,* through his use of a fugue that involves both choir and orchestra, Parker positioned the instruments as equal partners in the worship around the throne of the "Most Mighty, Most Holy." As mentioned in Chapter One, Parker's choice of text for this work was a poem by a twelfth-century French monk; the piece thus both transcends national and temporal boundaries, and in envisioning worship at the throne of God, also transcends to the realm of the spiritual.

In *Adstant Angelorum Chori,* Parker celebrates the variety of sacred choral music, embracing history and tradition and yet spinning it with his own interpretive flair. Drawing on excerpts from the poem "Joys of Heaven and The Nine Angelic Choirs" by Thomas à Kempis (c. 1380-1471), the text envisions choirs of angels praising God.[88] Composed in 1898, the work won the top prize in a competition held by the Musical Art Society of New York. Kearns calls it "another ecstatic vision of the celestial country."[89] Frequently praised for his a capella works, *Adstant Angelorum Chori* is Parker's most ambitious – a motet for two choirs. Musically, it draws on what he considered the apex of church music (Palestrina), and yet as Henry Krehbiel (famed *New York Times* critic and Dvořák promoter) claimed, the work is also stamped with Parker's own eclecticism. Krehbiel's praise of Parker's motet is exultant, he wrote:

> Professor Parker's talent moves with greater freedom in the atmosphere of the church. Erudition graces him, and he discourses in the learned forms without a suggestion of pedantry. His motet is a happy blending of the new and the old. The purely vocal effects of the sixteenth century musicians alternate with effects drawn from the instrumental art of to-day, the pure harmonies of the Palestrina period with the poignant dissonances which have so greatly increased the capacity of music as an agency of expression.

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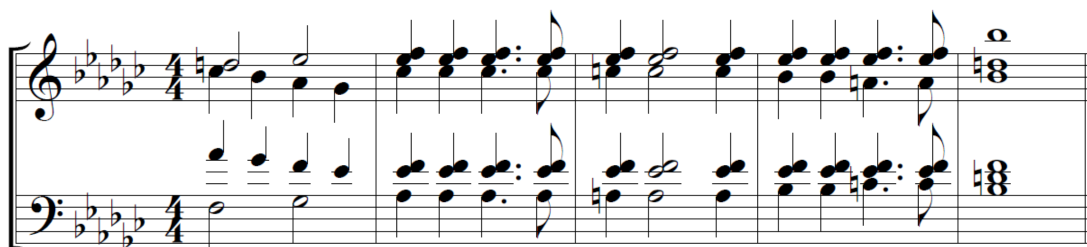
[87] From the translation of Bernard de Morlaix's Latin text which this work sets, cited in Burns, 64. Bomberger cites the two measure phrases that characterise *Pars Mea, Rex Meus* as concrete evidence of Rheinberhger's influence on Parker.

[88] Thomas à Kempis was a German-Dutch medieval author, most well known for his work, *The Imitation of Christ.* (See, Paul van Geest, "Thomas a Kempis." In *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine,* eds., Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten. (New York, Oxford University Press, 2014). For the present work, Parker set the original Latin verse, and as with many of his works in Latin, it is published with a highly singable English translation by his mother, Isabelle Parker.

[89] Kearns, 125.

> Professor Parker sang the joys of heaven and portrayed the hymning of the angelic chorus; but he did so with the tongues of men rather than angels, as Palestrina would have done.[90]

Examining Parker's eclecticism in this work, one particular section may serve as an example. Demonstrating his own contrapuntal skill and hearkening back to the sacred music of the sixteenth-century, Parker joined the two choirs for a section that involves strict imitation, (see Example 2.2, p. 74-76) proclaiming "songs of fullest harmony, praise the Sov'reign Deity," before departing into a freer, imitative style. Parker then abandoned this strict imitation in favour of homorhythm with harmonic choices far removed from the sixteenth-century where the work had begun. In fact, at the climax of this section, the homorhythmic progression goes from G-flat major to the key of B-flat major (although marked in the score as E-flat). This progression from tonic to major III is a stereotypical Romantic technique highly favoured in the compositions of Clara and Robert Schumann.



Example 2.1 Reduction of Choral Parts in *Adstant Angelorum Chori,* m. 142-146.

As evidenced above in *Light's Glittering Morn,* Parker's imitation of Palestrina in this work was not because he lacked something original to say, but rather evidence that he believed in the transcendent capacity of music. What lent transcendent authority to Parker's music in this case, was a return to the style of music that had initiated the appreciation of music as an art in worship at a time in church history when that role was in question.

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[90] Henry Krehbiel, "Musical Matters," *New York Tribune*, March 19, 1899, 12.

Example 2.2 ***Adstant Angelorum Chori,*** **14-16.**

14

Circa Tempo I.
Allegro e legato.

Con-cors vox est om-ni-um, De - um col - lau - dan - ti - um; —
Songs of full - est har-mo-ny Praise the Sov - 'reign De - i - ty, —

Con-cors vox est
Songs of full - est

Both Choruses.

Circa Tempo I.
Allegro e legato.

p molto legato

delicatamente

— Fer - vet a- -mor, — fer - vet a- -mor —
— Love — is fer- -vent, — Love — is fer- -vent, —

om - ni-um, De - um — col - lau - dan - ti - um, — De - um col - lau -
har - mo-ny Praise the — Sov-'reign De - i - ty, — Praise the Sov-'reign

men- -ti - um, fer- - -vet a- -mor
Spir- -its burn, Love is fer- -vent,

delicatamente

dan - ti - um; Fer - vet a- -mor, fer - vet
De - i - ty, Love is fer- -vent, Love is

p

Con-cors vox est om - ni - um, De - um col - lau - dan - ti - um;
Songs of full-est har - mo - ny Praise the Sov - 'reign De - i - ty,

p

men- - - - - - -ti - um,
Spir- - - - - - -its burn,

a- -mor men- - - - -ti - um, a - mor
fer- -vent, spir- - - - -its burn, spir - its

delicatamente

De - um col - lau - dan - ti - um; Fer- - -vet
Praise the Sov - reign De - i - ty, Love is

p

Con - cors vox est om - ni - um,
Songs of full - est har - mo - ny

cresc.

men- - - -ti-um, fer- -vet a- -mor

burn, Love is fer- -vent,

cresc.

a- -mor, fer - vet a- -mor, men - ti-

fer- -vent, Love is fer- -vent, spir - its

cresc.

De - um col - lau - dan - ti - um, De - um col - lau - dan - ti - um,

Praise the Sov-'reign De - i - ty, Praise the Sov-'reign De - i - ty,

cresc.

f

Con - cors vox est

Songs of full - est

f

a- -mor men- - - -ti - um, Fer - vet a - mor,

spir- -its burn, Love is fer - vent,

f

um, fer - vet a - mor men- -ti - um.

burn, Love is fer - vent, spir- -its burn.

f

De - um, De - um col - lau - dan - ti - um.

De - i - ty, De - i - ty, Praise the Sov-'reign God.

f

Conclusion

Parker's primary concern in composing, be it for the concert hall or for the church service, acknowledged the spiritual capacity of music. Like the Transcendentalist critics of New England, and the German Romantics of the previous generation, Parker held to music as a transcendent art – one which was capable of expressing that which was beyond expressing by any other means. While in some circles this belief divorced music and religion, and music came to be considered religion in and of itself, for Parker, a transcendent view of music was not opposed to religious belief or religious function. In fact, he held that art and religion must be reconciled. Although Dwight, Hoffmann, and Wackenroder had so staunchly advocated for music as an independent art, each also made efforts to ensure that church music was appropriately aided by the powers of this transcendent art. As Parker's words show, this was the very effort he aimed for in his own composing and arranging. By drawing together his belief in God, and his affirmation of the peculiar spiritual capacity of music, Parker contributed music to the church and to the concert hall that pointed to the glory of God and the beauty of music. As Vladimir Jankélévitch would go on to suggest,

> The mask, the inexpressive face that music assumes voluntarily these days, conceals a purpose; to express infinitely that which cannot be explained … the mystery transmitted to us by music is not death's sterilizing inexplicability but the fertile inexplicability of life, freedom, or love… The ineffable… cannot be explained because there are infinite interminable things to be said of it: such is the mystery of God, whose depths cannot be sounded, the inexhaustible mystery of love.[91]

In other words, acknowledging the infinite worth of an infinite God should result in an infinite number of expressions. However, as the following chapter will address, when a belief in transcendence begets false hierarchies, the result is exclusion.

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[91] Vladimir Jankélévitch, *Music and the Ineffable,* trans. Carolyn Abbate, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, [1961] 2003), 71, in the chapter "The Ineffable and the Untellable: The Meaning of Meaning," quoted in Lochhead, 70.

Chapter 3 – Exclusion
Introduction

If, as Chapter Two concluded, the goal of music is to express the infinite, a true philosophy of music as transcendent must allow for (or at least ought to result in) an infinite possibility of expressions. If it does not, it is symptomatic of idolatrous transcendence which only results in exclusion. Exclusion is thus not a function of transcendence itself, but rather, a function of the idolatrous ways in which artists and critics establish standards for art and beauty with an ethnocentric, often Eurocentric, mindset. In short, exclusion is a function of idolatry and racism, not of transcendence. Idolatry and racism are intimately related in the fact that both create false hierarchies that privilege one object or group over any other. That relationship will be explored throughout this chapter. The procedure of idolatrous transcendence which results in exclusion can be demonstrated particularly well in early twentieth-century America as national composers sought to establish their own artistic reputation in alignment with, and yet independent from, the European works which were hailed as the epitome of art and music. The trend of exclusion that is evident in this era follows this pattern: the glorification of Beethoven and other European (mostly German) composers resulted in the exclusion of the works of local composers. Further, the deeply rooted culture of racism that viewed African Americans and Indigenous peoples as second-class citizens or worse, not citizens at all, meant that the local American composers, who still defined beauty and music by European standards, were easily able to exclude the musics of Indigenous and African Americans. Holding to a view of music as transcendent becomes problematic when what defines that transcendence is limited by certain cultural boundaries. Despite the fact that one aspect of transcendence is defined as that which moves beyond boundaries, idolatry has caused boundaries to be established that exclude both people and music. Exclusion is not simply an

unfortunate by-product of transcendence. It is an intentional rejection and "othering" built on hegemonic principles that were (and still are) deeply rooted in the American cultural hierarchy.

Using Horatio Parker's experience as an example, this chapter examines how he and his contemporaries were excluded by music critics for the sake of reiterating the idols of the European canon – most particularly Beethoven. In turn, Parker's comments and editorial choices demonstrate the exclusion of marginalized and racialized groups in the United States. Having taken transnationalism as a framework throughout this thesis, which emphasises encounters and exchange across borders, this chapter on exclusion reveals the absence of exchange (or as Browner would term it, appropriation) that characterised the colonial relationship between European settlers, Native Americans and African Americans. This chapter thus takes a decolonizing approach – addressing the deeply rooted structural racism that informed Parker's musical choices.

There are two ways in which exclusion is particularly evident in this era – absence and appropriation. In absence as exclusion, the music of African Americans was simply ignored or omitted. This is evident in Parker's comments about music and in the work he contributed as the editor of a collected volume of music for use in schools – *The Progressive Music Series*. In appropriation as exclusion, the musics of Indigenous peoples are divorced from their context and framed within a Western tonal context in a way that excludes the original artists themselves. There is no evidence in Parker's repertoire that he borrowed from or sought to emulate the music of African Americans or Native Americans; however, it was a prominent compositional technique at the time in the works of many of his colleagues, including Amy Beach, and can be demonstrated (albeit in a much simpler form) in some of the songs selected for *The Progressive Music Series*. Finally, having seen how exclusion is manifested, the chapter closes with a return to the concept of transcendence, and affirmation of its transnational implications.

Rooted in Racism – A History of Exclusion

It is the responsibility of people in positions of privilege to address and challenge the inequality and brutality that is begotten when racism has its way – and the field of musicology is not exempt from this task. Despite the fact that we are separated from Parker's New England by an entire century, the evidence of exclusion we see today is symptomatic of a deeply ingrained structural racism that was just as much present in the composer's own lifetime. As Tamara Levitz proposes, addressing exclusion in music scholarship involves research that acknowledges the "material history of the United States as a white supremacist, settler colonial state and empire founded on the genocide and dispossession of Native Americans, and on chattel slavery."[1] To this end, some words about Parker's socio-cultural context are necessary. Although slavery was abolished by the Civil War (which ended when Parker was a toddler), tolerance for slavery and the belief that some people groups were "intellectually and culturally inferior to whites"[2] continued throughout the twentieth century and still continues in systemic racism today. By the time Parker had returned from his education in Germany, America had entered what became known as the Gilded Age, a time of increasing population, technological advances, an increase in immigration and trend towards modernization.[3] "High" art was viewed as a means of harmonizing society and combatting social ills, while "low" art conversely, was viewed as demoralizing and was often associated with non-European races.[4] This cultural hierarchy was a reflection of the hierarchy of races that was implicit in the Doctrine of Discovery which paved the way for white supremacy,[5]

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[1] Tamara Levitz, "Decolonizing the Society for American Music." Bulletin of the Society for American Music 43, no. 3 (Fall 2017), 3.

[2] Kira Thurman, "Singing the Civilizing Mission in the Land of Bach, Beethoven and Brahms: The Fisk Jubilee Singers in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of World History,* Vol 27, No 3, 2016, 445.

[3] John Ogasapian and N. Lee Orr, *Music of the Gilded Age*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 3.

[4] Ibid. See also: Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America,* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[5] Robert J. Miller, Jacinta Ruru, Larissa Behrendt, and Tracey Lindberg. *Discovering Indigenous Lands: The Doctrine of Discovery in the English Colonies,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 2. The Doctrine of

as well as in Johann Blumenbach's 1795 classification of races that placed the Caucasian race at the top of a pyramid-like hierarchy.[6] Musicologists including Matthew Morrison and Rachel Mundy assert that the structural, methodological procedures of musicology and music criticism also follow Darwin's evolutionary biology, and thus inherently privilege the music of white European composers.[7] In order to address these false hierarchies, it is important to investigate how they have been reinforced and thus begin the process of dismantling them. The comments of Parker that I am about to introduce are absolutely inexcusable. They show a lack of comprehension of the message of the gospel to which Parker claimed to adhere and the profound impact, even in the church, of a racial hierarchy that is explicitly condemned in God's kingdom.[8] These comments are not offered lightly, nor are they offered with the intent to brush aside Parker's opinions as simply a product of his culture. Following Tamara Levitz's advice to American music scholars to "investigate how the coloniality of power in that nation determined and controlled the production of knowledge about music there,"[9] the remainder of this chapter will review Parker's comments, acknowledging their deeply rooted racial bias, and investigate how those biases were evident in an example of the music that was produced under his direction.

Discovery is the term now given to idea that European explorers had the rights to claim whatever territories they discovered with no regard for the native inhabitants. It was most prominent in the 1500s-1900s but the origins of the concept may be traced back as far as 500 AD. It was then also ratified in the US legal system in 1823 As Miller et al. explain, "this international law had been created and justified by religious and ethnocentric ideas of European superiority over other cultures religions, and races of the world."

[6] Mark Charles and Soong-Chan Rah, *Unsettling Truths: The Ongoing Dehumanizing Legacy of the Doctrine of Discovery*, (InterVarsity Press, 2019), 77. Mark P. Orbe and Tina M. Harris, *Interracial Communication: Theory Into Practice,* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2001), 26. See also: Joe R Feagin, *The White Racial Frame: Centuries of Racial Framing and Counter-Framing,* (New York, Routledge, 2013).

[7] Matthew D. Morrison; "Race, Blacksound, and the (Re)Making of Musicological Discourse." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 72 no. 3 (December 2019): 781–823. doi: https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2019.72.3. 781, 785. Morrison cites Rachel Mundy's work: Rachel Mundy, "Evolutionary Categories and Musical Style from Adler to America." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 735–68.

[8] This is not Parker's responsibility alone. The church has long been complicit in the defense of systemic racism, which runs contrary to the message of the gospel. Charles and Rah affirm, "Theology that arises from Scripture and from the teachings of Jesus *does not allow* for the identification and exclusion of the other," 22 (emphasis added).

[9] Levitz, 3.

Parker's racial bias was not the primary factor in his comments about music, but it was present nonetheless, especially in the vocabulary he chose to use to address the situation of American music at the turn of the twentieth century. As mentioned in Chapter One, Parker outright rejected Dvořák's suggestions that African American and Native American musics might define an American national style. While Parker's comments are somewhat contingent on the characteristics of the music itself, his language also revealed an inherent racial bias. In 1897, Parker gave an address to the Contemporary Club, and the event was reported in the local newspaper.[10] Within the Parker archives at Yale, there is a draft of a talk that he gave in 1901 entitled "Music in America." Corroborating evidence from these two sources provides a clearer picture of how Parker communicated his ideas about the music of others and how it should relate to American composers' efforts to identify a national idiom. Parker explained that Native American music "does not differ from that of other savage races sufficiently in order to be called national."[11] In the 1897 talk, the reporter noted that Parker played a pentatonic scale on the piano for the audience, and explained Parker's observation that "the music of all barbarous and semi-civilized peoples was based on the pentatone."[12] The reviewer however, wrote that the music "did not seem at all savage."[13] Parker's use of the terms "savage," "barbarous," and "semi-civilized" in these conversations demonstrates his acceptance of the pervasive racist attitudes of his day which had developed alongside the cultural hierarchy and led to the exclusion of certain musics.

Not only did Parker's comments reject the music of Native Americans, he also reinforced the segregation of African Americans and their music. In 1918, Parker's comments on music

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[10] Newspaper Clipping, unknown, December 1897, HP Papers, Box 31, Folder 30. Kearns also reports that Parker gave an address of the same name at the Peabody Institute in Baltimore in March, 1897.
[11] Horatio Parker, Music in America, 1901.
[12] Newspaper clipping, unknown, December 1897, HP Papers, Box 31, Folder 30.
[13] Ibid.

addressed to the wider Yale audience were published in an entry entitled, "Our Taste in Music." In this document, Parker observed the musical progress that had been made in the United States in the previous generation. In addition to praising the success of the nation's orchestras for having introduced "practically all the best music which Europe has produced,"[14] he also stated that Americans had made their own progress as composers and artists. In one section, he noted the conflict caused by the unhelpful distinctions of high and low taste and asserted that "an enormous part of our national common progress is made by breaking down the barriers between such types."[15] Despite the fact that here Parker sought to break down barriers, it becomes clear that this was a limited breaking down of barriers, for later in his review, Parker made comments that continued to cement some highly problematic barriers indeed. He wrote:

> In contemporary dance music we can find cause for hope and despair. Gone are the beautiful waltzes, the mazurkas, even the sprightly polkas. We see a burly negro or his intellectual equivalent beating on bells, gongs, pans, or various other articles of kitchen furniture with weapons of divergent weight and material, to the extinction of any possible musical sense. It is naked African rhythm and no more. But I am told that this phase is passing, and I recently heard with rather pathetic gratitude the exotic, velvety voice of a tenor saxophone among dance players. I like dance music well done. When the percussion instruments allow one to hear it, such dance music as we have is not without interest or hope. Barring the savage rhythm and the noisy battery, there is a new richness in the vocabulary of harmony and a new grace in melodic outline.[16]

Parker's statement here reveals that the root cause of the problem of exclusion is really not a musical problem, nor an aesthetic problem. It is a racist, hierarchical, and societal problem built on the belief that certain races were intellectually less capable than others. Parker's problem with the music was founded on his belief that African Americans were not the equals of white

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[14] Horatio Parker, "Our Taste in Music" *The Yale Review,* Vol 99 Iss 3, (June 2011), 32, accessed July 14, 2020, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9736.2011.00719.x. Originally published Vol. 7, no. 4, (July 1918).
[15] Ibid., 34.
[16] Ibid., 36.

Europeans and thus their music was not worth considering. Because Parker held to a Eurocentric standard of beauty, it impacted his views on race and on music, resulting in clear lines of exclusion.

There is no evidence to suggest that Parker, unlike Amy Beach, later changed his tune and adopted Native American or African American musics as sources of inspiration for his work. Of the composers who responded to Dvořák in the 1893 newspaper article, several were already composing with local sources as inspiration and some who had initially rejected the idea did eventually turn to Native American and African American music for ideas. Amy Beach, for example, composed several works which drew on Native American motifs.[17] Parker, however, remained firmly rooted in the German and Anglo-Saxon music with which he had been trained, advocating for a standard of art and beauty clearly defined by white European standards. Parker's consistent comments show a deeply-seated racial bias that resulted in exclusion. This idolatrous positioning of European music (via the work of John Sullivan Dwight and others) as the standard against which all others were measured reveals a pattern of exclusion that was also detrimental to Parker's own career and legacy.

How Parker and American Composers are Excluded

Dwight's Culture of Beethoven Idolatry

As addressed in the previous chapter, the work of critic John Sullivan Dwight was instrumental in facilitating the appreciation of classical music in the United States. Dwight's advocacy of classical music, however, was so rooted in German tradition that it came at the expense of skilled local composers, many of whom also held Beethoven in high regard. Dwight's belief was that eventually some American genius would be revealed. What he obviously did not

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[17]Adrienne Fried Block, "Amy Beach's Music on Native American Themes." *American Music,* Vol 8, no. 2 (1990): 141-66. Accessed June 20, 2020. doi:10.2307/3051947.

realize, was that the genius of Beethoven, so repeatedly exalted by his own efforts and the efforts of other critics, firmly stood in the way.[18] Dwight did hold to a certain kind of cosmopolitanism, or universalism, but it was one which exalted German music to its peak. In correspondence with Richard Pohl, then employed by the *Neue Zeitscrhift für Musik*, Dwight lauded the merits of cosmopolitanism. The cosmopolitanism he advocated for, however, was one that promoted German music around the world. The two correspondents berated another other kind of cosmopolitanism that they saw evident in New York City – where a diverse immigrant population was shaping a community that looked, and sounded, significantly different to the high-brow tastes of Boston.[19] According to Douglas Shadle, "Dwight asserted that supporting local composers might actually detract from the appreciation of masterworks."[20] This created a false hierarchy in which American composers were excluded for the sake of maintaining the status of European works, especially those of Beethoven. This idea took root in American culture beyond just the sphere and lifespan of Dwight. A few decades later, and on the other side of the continent, American composers were still being significantly excluded by those worshipping the idol of Beethoven.

"American Composers Day" Overshadowed by Beethoven

An example of how American composers were excluded by the idolatry of Beethoven is evident in Redfern Mason's report on music at the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition. The morning after American Composers' Day at the Exhibition in August 1915, the music critic of *The San Francisco Examiner*, Redfern Mason, reported on the performances of the works of the American composers. On the same page, he also reported on Beethoven's Ninth Symphony which

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[18] Douglas W. Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation: The Nineteenth-Century American Symphonic Enterprise*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 67.
[19] Shadle, 70. See also, Horowitz, "Dvořák and Boston" *American Music,* Vol 19, No 1 (Spring, 2001), 11.
[20] Shadle, 67.

was due to be performed at the Exhibition a few days later. This brief newspaper review gives just one example of the way in which the idolising of Beethoven resulted in the exclusion of American composers, and other musics. It is revealed both in the language Mason uses – contrasting religious devotion with matter-of-factness – as well as in the overall space devoted to the different works. Amanda Cannata notes that cultural hierarchies were a problem that plagued the music at the Exhibition, although her study focusses on Guatemalan, Mexican, and Native American Music. Cannata states that the head of the Department of Music for the event was "George Stewart, a Bostonian whose outlook represented a conservative perspective that venerated European art music and eschewed consciously American works."[21] Stewart's ties to Boston undoubtedly meant he had been influenced by the ideas of Dwight. Despite this fact, seven works were performed on the day devoted to American Composers, including Parker's *A Northern Ballad* (referred to in the review as *A Northern Legend),* Chadwick's overtures *Euterpe* and *Melpomene,* Amy Beach's Piano Concerto, and Mabel Daniels' *The Desolate City.*

Mason's review of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony is suffused with religious language and devotion, clearly following the trends of Hoffmann and Dwight. Over sixty percent of the space on the music section of this page from the newspaper is devoted to extolling the merits of a few short extracts from each movement of Beethoven's Symphony (see Fig 3.1). Mason's vocabulary in this review emphasised the "genius" of the work, its "religious rumination," and praise of "unity," and "brotherhood." Mason described the final chorus as one which calls "upon mankind…to prostrate themselves before the throne of a paternal God."[22] Although because of the

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[21] Amanda Cannata, "Articulating and Contesting Cultural Hierarchies: Guatemalan, Mexican, and Native American Music at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915)," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 8, no. 1 (February 2014): 79.
[22] Redfern Mason, "Beethoven's Ninth Symphony Analyzed: Beauties of Composition are Pointed Out" *San Francisco Examiner,* August 2, 1915.

text of Beethoven's symphony it may be appropriate to discuss the work with such religious terms, what is actually problematic is the religious devotion to the work itself. As Chapter Two addressed, there is an important progression that can be observed from the consideration of musical works as windows on transcendence to their acceptance as the transcendent object itself. Mason's review is evidence of the latter. Beethoven's work is a window on the transcendent – envisioning worship at the throne of God – that soon became worshipped itself to the exclusion of other works. Alongside his adoration of the piece, Mason concluded that the work is indeed "American in spirit," once again confounding the efforts of the American composers who were trying to establish their own voices. As Shadle concludes, "with Dwight, Fuller and many others placing Beethoven and his symphonies at the summit of a musical Olympus, local composers faced a significant quandary: since Beethoven could reportedly speak for the American people, even *being* American could not necessarily help them gain a foothold."[23] In Mason's review here, so much time was devoted to extolling the merits of Beethoven's work there was little room left on the page to address the works of the American composers, and thus, although they were not entirely absent, they were still significantly excluded.

In contrast to the lengthy, devotional review of Beethoven's work, in the review of the efforts of American composers, each work is given a few scant lines, and Mason's prose is decidedly academic and abrupt. He described the compositions of Parker and Chadwick as "scholastic" and "too perfectly knit," respectively, and accused Beach of "long tracts of gracious unoriginality."[24] Mason's cursory attitude towards these works demonstrates again the challenges that American composers faced when trying to get their pieces performed and accepted into the repertoire of the American public. Mason began his review noting that he was intent on finding

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[23] Shadle, 27.
[24] Redfern Mason, "Composers of America Display Their Art" *San Francisco Examiner,* August 2, 1915.

"signs of that distinctive American idiom which we are all awaiting." His conclusion, upon having heard the concert, was that the American idiom was most clear in Carl Busch's tone poem, *Minnehaha's Vision,* which according to Mason, contained "mutterings in Indian dialect for trombone and drum."[25] In fact, as Tara Browner notes, Busch used both authentic Native American melodies and "simulated" Native sounding music in an attempt to express the American idiom.[26] As a later portion of this chapter will address, these techniques, which Browner deems appropriation, also function as a means of exclusion. Mason concluded, in the vein of Dvořák, that the American idiom then, was to be found in "the echo of the music of the aboriginal redskins." Coincidentally, Busch was actually born in Denmark and did not move to the United States until he was 25, so this situation almost perfectly mirrored that of Dvořák – a composer raised and educated outside of the United States, with the weight of European privilege, arrived on the music scene in America and succeeded (supposedly), to the detriment of the local born composers, to communicate an American idiom. Mason's comments concerning these works reveal a fascinating contradiction about finding national identity in music. In one place, Mason identified Beethoven's work as being "American in spirit," while in the next, he affirmed that the American idiom must be found in the music of Native Americans. This grave inconsistency highlights the commodification of Native American music for the purpose of defining an American "sound" while yet rejecting the people themselves as citizens and artists.

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Tara Browner, *Transposing Cultures: The Appropriation of Native North American Musics 1890-1990,* (PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 1995), 18, 108.

6 THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

COMPOSERS OF AMERICA DISPLAY ART

Give Concert at the Exposition That Brings Out Music Reflecting Credit on U. S.

WORK OF SEVEN PLAYED

High Qualities Are Shown by All; Some Remarkably Good Works Are Offered

BY REDFERN MASON.

EXAMPLE OF EXOTIC.

THINGS HER OWN THOUGHTS.

FEARS TO EXPRESS SELF.

SHOWS CLASSIC ATTITUDE.

STEEPED IN THE ORIENT.

Beethoven Ninth Symphony Analyzed

Beauties of Composition Are Pointed Out

Work That Will Be Played at Festival Friday Night Described As One of World's Most Sublime.

BY REDFERN MASON

NEVER was genius more American than was the German composer, Ludwig Van Beethoven.

When, on Friday night, San Francisco listens to his Ninth Symphony, she will hear, for the second time in her history, the most democratic chapter in the world's book of inspired music.

Before Beethoven's time musicians were liveried servants; but the great German declared that men of genius could not be created by the fiat of kings. His "Eroica" glorified the man who overthrew feudalism in France, and when Bonaparte made himself Emperor the composer tore up the dedication with the angry exclamation that the Corsican was "only of common clay after all."

His Ninth Symphony, the most glorious of his works, is a musical promulgation of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

SCHILLER WAS HIS INSPIRATION.

The "Ode to Joy" of the poet Schiller was his inspiration and, for many years, he dreamed of the possibility of writing a work which should be worthy to be mated with it. When, after long brooding and infinite labor, the Ninth Symphony came into being, Beethoven dedicated it to the Philharmonic Society of London, for which he had agreed to write a symphony, and to Frederick III of Prussia. If Boston of New England had made her appeal for a work from Beethoven some half dozen years earlier, the Ninth Symphony might be American in dedication as it is American in spirit.

Beethoven himself never heard the work with his outward ear. He was incurably deaf. When he led the first performance in Vienna and the people went beside themselves for joy, the great man knew nothing of their enthusiasm until one of the singers, touched to the heart, turned him round and showed him the applauding multitude.

The people knew by that power of divination which we may call the genius of the multitude that the work was great. Musicians did not recognize this truth till Mendelssohn, Schumann and Wagner told them. Fettered by scholastic prepossessions, they did not know what the common people had no need to be told.

BEGINNING OF WORK IS MYSTICAL.

Let us examine this work, so that we may profit more by hearing it.

The beginning is mystical. There is a long continued shimmer of the strings in "empty" fifths, a musical effect parallel to that of a face without eyes. A figure strikes downwards, arrow-like; but a score of bars elapses before the great germinal idea of the movement, the common chord of D minor, sweeps downwards, with its characterizing third, in emphatic arpeggio.

The first half of the following excerpt gives the mystic adumbration, the open fifths, which are continued for many bars, and the downward figure; the second half is the stern and fateful melody from which the fabric of the great first movement of the symphony is mainly evolved.

But the movement is in sonata-form; so its genius needs a contrasting melody. These melodies influence one another like the hero and heroine of a play. If the first theme is Beethoven himself, grave and steadfast, the element of contrast is almost feminine. Hence may come such joy as he is to know in this working-day world. Note that this theme is in B Flat.

2. etc.

Upon these two themes, with rhythmic and melodic episodes of deep significance and beauty, the tonal edifice of the first movement is built. It is an unrivaled masterpiece of sonata form.

EAGER AND RECKLESS ACTION.

In the second movement, the Scherzo, we enter an atmosphere of eager and reckless action. The same melody is played at breakneck pace by one instrument after another, and it makes harmony with itself. Beethoven is seeking joy in a vein of academic dexterity. Grip this theme, and the Scherzo will become luminous.

3 etc.

In the Trio, a placid interlude which splits the Scherzo into two sections, Beethoven expresses his love for the pastoral life. For him the very trees cried "Holy! Holy!"

4 etc.

The Scherzo returns and, when its whirlwind activity is exhausted, Beethoven gives himself up to that mood of religious rumination which has inspired the noblest of his works. The orchestra sings what music-lovers agree in calling the ideal Adagio. "How differently these tones speak to our hearts," exclaimed Wagner; "how pure, how heavenly soothing." Here is the principal strain:

5. Adagio molto e cantabile

The Adagio includes a contrasting theme, almost equally beautiful; but I have not space to give it. The composer's meditation is broken by an orchestral turmoil which may typify the soul in perturbation. Suddenly, as if the spirit had caught a glimpse of the beatific vision, the instruments give out this deathless melody:

Allegro assai

To this tune the chorus sing Schiller's "Hymn to Joy." They call upon mankind to be embraced in amity, to move forward to the ideal as heroes, to prostrate themselves before the throne of a paternal God. And the wonder and gladness of this tune is that it is of the very genius of the folk. It is a transcendental Volkslied; it crystallizes in imperishable tone the most endearing qualities of the German people. Though dynasties should fall and the destiny of empires be changed, this tune will live on, "more enduring than bronze," in the hearts of grateful humanity.

To hear the Ninth Symphony is more than a gratification of our senses; it is participation in a sacrament of art and friendship.

3,000 Tons of Raisins Sold Europe in Week

Deals Totaling $300,000 Are Announced by California Firm.

Man and Wife Hurt As Auto Turns Over

Woodworth Apple Orchard Is Sold

Druids Institute Grove at Vallejo

100 Candidates Also Initiated at Lodge Ceremonies.

Bohemian Clubmen Gathering at Grove

Several Hundred Members and Their Guests Already in Redwoods.

Calf Tears Off Ear Of Japanese Captor

Fig 3.1 Excerpt from *The San Francisco Examiner*, p. 6, August 2, 1915.

How Parker and White American Composers Enforce Exclusion

Although Parker was also gloriously enamoured of Palestrina and Beethoven, he also asserted that American music, by American composers, would eventually be the equal of any other in the world. The practical development of Parker's belief in music as a transcendent art had far different results than did Dwight's. Shadle summarises: "Dwight was in essence saying that composers should simply give up. The masters had no more seats at their table."[27] In contrast, although Parker held Palestrina, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven as among the greatest composers, he was also enthusiastic that American composers would be able to reach such great standards of composition. He was staunch however, in the fact that these composers required the support of the nation, and that the standard to which they would be held would transcend national boundaries:

> I do not care so very much about the nationality of the music if it [is] good. But if we in America do not support our own native born [sic] musicians, who may be expected to do it[?] Every civilized country must have music and must bear its part in protecting and producing their art. Even our own country cannot escape this duty although it has not been as assiduously cultivated hitherto as we could wish. I have no doubt that this, with many other desirable things, will come to us in the near future, nor do I doubt that in time the best work of Americans will be the equal artistically of the best work on earth.[28]

Parker's continued advocacy for future American composers, his commitment to composing his own great works as well as emphasising music education reveals that one could hold to a transcendent philosophy of music without being entirely exclusive. As discussed above however, the standard of "good" to which Parker held, was defined by Eurocentric ideals which resulted in a racial bias and overt exclusion.

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[27] Shadle, 130.

[28] Parker, Music in America Lecture, HP Papers, Box 36, Folder 2, 1901, insertion to page 17.

Absence as Exclusion – Parker's *Progressive Music Series*

While still employed at Yale, Parker was also involved with music projects outside the school. One of these was his editorship of *The Progressive Music Series*. These books contain songs and rhythm exercises for school children, arranged in increasing order of difficulty and grouped according to musical characteristics that shape a series of lessons for use in the classroom. A total of six volumes were published between 1914-1919, with corresponding teacher's manuals. Although four individuals are credited as editors, Parker was the main editor of the work and personally responsible for contacting famous composers across America and Europe whose works contributed to the series. [29] The series claimed to contain "the music of the world as found in the most complete libraries of America and Europe" and drew on the works of composers from throughout the two continents as well as numerous folk songs.[30] Although tracking exclusion is obviously a challenging task, what is lacking from this published collection of music reveals the prejudiced opinions of the editors.

Taking the contents of volume one as a case study, a complete bias for European music is revealed. The preface for the series in the Teacher's Manual of Volume One asserts that the editors included "only songs of unquestioned merit," "of real musical worth" with "unquestioned cultural value" (speaking only of the pre-existing songs, of course – the works composed specifically for the series are supposed to represent an "unrestrained expression of the composer's individuality" – though how the most simple eight bar melodies based almost entirely on a tonic arpeggio and step-wise scale motions can express the composer's "individuality" is not clear).[31] With comments

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[29] Kearns, 32-33.
[30] Horatio Parker, Osbourne McConathy, Edward Bailey Birge, W. Otto Miessner, eds, *The Progressive Music Series,* Introduction to Vol 1, Accessed August 8, 2020, Archive.org, https://archive.org/details/b1progressivemus00park/page/n1/mode/2up.
[31] Parker et al, *Progressive Music Series – Teacher's Manual Vol 1,* iii. For some of the works by Parker in Volume 1, see "Mathematics" page 149 of Teacher's Manual, and "The Circus" 208.

as assertive as these, it is fascinating to see what has been left out of the collection – and thus deemed lacking in "merit," "musical worth," and "cultural value." The majority of the contents are folk songs, with an emphasis on English Folk Songs (such as "London Bridge") and some French folk songs, though these have either been translated or given new words (for example, the melody of "Sur le pont d'Avignon," is not given with the original lyrics). There are also folk melodies from Sweden and Lithuania.[32] The composers featured in this volume, aside from the numerous contributions of each of the editors, include Moritz Moszkowski, Edvard Grieg, and Carl Reinecke. Despite the claim of the extensive and comprehensive nature of this work, exclusion is evident in the lack of songs from Native and African American traditions. This volume does contain one work based on an "Eskimo Folk Song" ("The Eskimo Hunter") in addition to a song entitled "Indian Song," an original composition by M. Edith Reynolds. These works introduce the concept of appropriation, and as will be discussed below, also function as a means of exclusion.

Appropriation as Exclusion

Appropriation is another means by which exclusion is evident and it is closely related to the concepts of exoticism and orientalism. According to Ralph Locke, exoticism is "the process of evoking a place (people, social milieu) that is *perceived* as different from home by the people who created the exoticist cultural product and by the people who receive it."[33] As Locke's definition emphasises, the purpose of exoticism is to highlight differences. Most often this is done by using musical techniques that depart from the styles which are heard in "functional tonality."[34] The sounds thus function as markers to highlight an "other" that is somehow considered outside the majority culture. Exoticism is an alternate term to "orientalism" which was popularised by Edward

[32] Parker et al, *Progressive Music Series*, Swedish Folk Song p 44, Lithuanian p 42.
[33] Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism*: *Images and Reflections*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 47. Emphasis in the original.
[34] Locke, 49.

Said in the 1980s. Orientalism is a more critically charged term with the aim of challenging the markers of cultural imperialism and their representations.[35] Exoticism, in Locke's system, allows for a wider scope of interpretation in which inclusions of "exotic" material are not always conflated with "systematic hatred."[36] Appropriation may thus be considered a more precise kind of exoticism that occurs when cultural elements are "borrowed" and reimagined in a context generally outside of the original culture that gave rise to these products. Appropriation functions as exclusion because the people with whom the products originated are excluded, but their art and their stories are taken for the benefit of another. In investigating this process in American classical music of the nineteenth century, Tara Browner explains, "the Indianist composers provide one of the earliest examples of musical borrowing/appropriation, as distinct from creating an imaginary music to fit an exotic culture, or borrowing from one's own cultural heritage."[37] In the case of the "Indianist" music that Browner investigates, Native American music that was portrayed or borrowed may or may not have had any authentic source and was thus purely imagined or "simulated." These simulations function as another means of exclusion because "when simulations require agency, they often *displace* the real" (emphasis mine).[38] The most stereotypical example Browner cites in this case is the four beat strong-weak-weak-weak rhythm that has gained such recognition and repetition that it now "defines Native music for the dominant society, and simultaneously depicts the 'primitive' nature of Indians."[39] These practices of appropriation, most often seen in stereotypical exoticized musical features continue to propagate the colonial power of the dominant culture over the Native American culture.

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[35] Locke, 34.
[36] Locke, 41.
[37] Browner, 41.
[38] Browner, 5.
[39] Ibid.

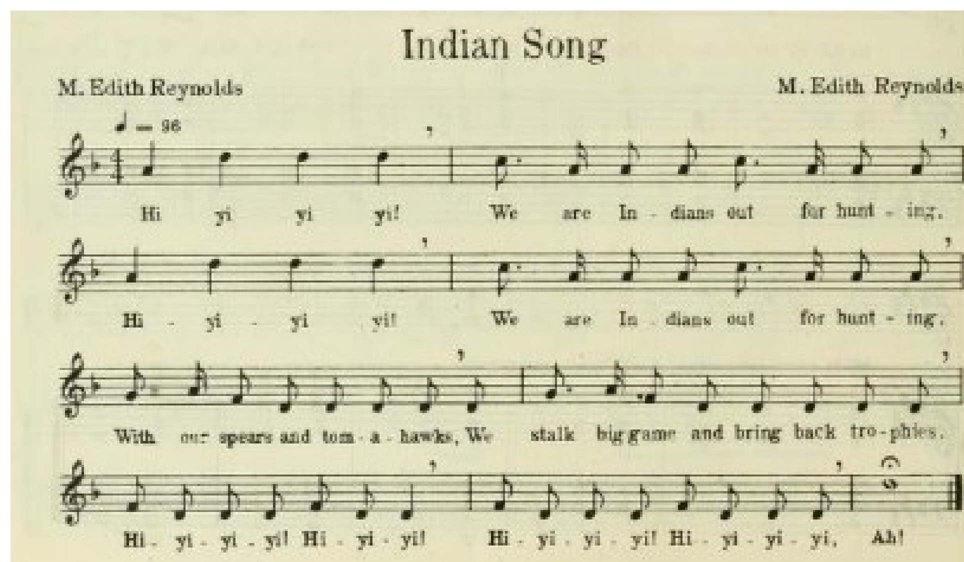

Fig. 3.2 "Indian Song" *The Progressive Music Series* Vol 1, ed. Horatio Parker, Teacher's Manual, 136.

Instead of including genuine Native American folk works, Parker and the editorial team included songs which rehearse caricatures of Indigenous people in their words, music, or both. Following Browner's assertions, these function as simulations of Native musics and because of the abundance of repetition, come to represent an exoticized "other" with such force that they replace the original. In Volumes 1 and 2 of *The Progressive Music Series* there are three such examples. The first, "Indian Song," has words and music by M. Edith Reynolds, and it features a pentatonic melody, rhythmic repetition, and lyrics meant to evoke chanting. This one seemingly innocent composition contains both of the elements that Locke identifies as those which exoticize and mark the Native American as "other" in relationship to the majority culture (pentatonic scale and repetitious rhythmic pattern).[40] In Browner's framework, which categorises Indianist music based on its distance from a probable authentic source, this work may be considered indexical or symbolic, as there is no authentic source and yet it purports to imitate the sounds of Native American music.[41] The lyrics aid the stereotypes and portrayal of an "exotic other" by using

[40] Locke, 50.
[41] Browner, 17

unidentifiable syllables and portraying Native Americans as an aggressive, hunting people with "spears" and "tomahawks."[42]

The Eskimo Hunter
(Book One, p. 56)
Clinton Scollard
Eskimo Folk Song
Rather fast ♩=104
Funny furry fel - low; Who's that a - go - ing Through sleet and snow - ing,
Pack o - ver - flow - ing? Just a lit - tle furry yel-low Es - ki - mo!

Fig. 3.2 "The Eskimo Hunter" *The Progressive Music Series* Vol 1, ed. Parker, Teacher's Manual, 220.

In contrast to the above song, there are two additional songs that continue this stereotyping, though these are reported to be from original Native American folk sources. In "The Eskimo Hunter," which comes from "Eskimo Folk Song," it is not the music, but rather the addition of Eurocentric words that highlight the racial hierarchy and stereotype. The lyrics are not original to the folk song, but the melody has been given new words by Clinton Scollard.[43] These lyrics reiterate the harmful, racial hierarchy that segregated people groups based on the colour of their skin, referring to the Eskimo as "funny," "furry," and "yellow." This would be considered an example of appropriation because an Eskimo folk melody has been removed from its context, and

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[42] Similarly, "Playing Eskimo" (a song with lyrics and music that do not have folk origin) which does not appear in the Teacher's manual, has no musical signs of exoticism.

[43] The term "Eskimo" has been removed from common usage because of its racist implications and replaced with the term Inuit. I use "Eskimo" here only as quoted from the Music Series source.

given new words, thus marking it, in Browner's framework, as "iconic." Although this melody is also pentatonic it is not as obvious a stereotype as the "Indian Song" above.

Fig. 3.2 "Cherokee Cradle Song" ***The Progressive Music Series*** **Vol 2, ed. Parker, Teacher's Manual, 195.**

In Volume Two of the series, a similar technique is employed in the "Cherokee Cradle Song." The source of the melody is given as a "Cherokee air," thus it has an apparently authentic source, but it is removed from that source and given new words by M. Louise Baum. The only textual choice which relates the words to the source of the music is the use of the word "papoose" in the second stanza. The melody is built simply on the minor tonic triad, and there is nothing in the melody itself that paints this work as "exotic." However, the added accompaniment does feature the open fifth which may be identified by listeners as adding a "primitive" sound and the motion from i-VI could also be read as exotic. As Michael Pisani explains, most authentic Indigenous music would not be as easily adapted because it incorporates both microtonal and polymetric elements.[44] Parker and the other editors thus chose melodies that would easily fit within

[44] Michael Pisani, *Imagining Native America in Music,* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), 185.

the tonal system they are aiming to teach while still managing to mark the subjects as “other” by adding racist words.

As each of these musical examples shows, despite potential efforts to the contrary, appropriation is exclusion because it pries authorship and agency from the hands of the oppressed and puts it into the hands of the oppressor.[45] It also most often portrays its subjects in a way that denigrates their relationship to the majority culture, resulting in stereotypes and caricatures that bear little resemblance to reality, reinforcing the problematic hierarchies of racism. Each work, whether through the music, lyrics, or both, continues to portray Native Americans as “other.” These false, idolatrous hierarchies promote appropriation and exclusion, as opposed to allowing for beauty, transcendence, and infinite expression from the perspective of multiple cultures.

Fine Art and Framing

The very way in which art developed as a philosophical aesthetic concept reveals some of the problems of this idolatrous hierarchy. As discussed in the previous chapter following the research of Lydia Goehr, the concept of fine art developed in the mid-eighteenth century in contradistinction to “craft.” In this process, craft was that which was made for a function; while art, without a function, was a reflection of the beauty of nature and meant to be considered purely for its aesthetic value.[46] To enable this appreciation of art purely for aesthetic contemplation, museums and art galleries were developed to house and curate works of art. Goehr describes the process, “Museum curators would take a work of art and by framing it – either literally or metaphorically – strip it of its local, historical, and worldly origins, even its human origins.”[47]

[45] For more extensive research on authorship and agency see Georgina Born and David Hesmondalgh, eds., *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
[46] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 152.
[47] Goehr, 173.

Although in her text Goehr does not relate this to the process of appropriation, the language she uses gives striking opportunity for the comparison. White, European composers, in their approach to Native American or other folk material, operate in a similar way to museum curators. As Browner explains, the approach to the Native American melodies always resulted in loss at some level or other. She writes, "written composition required some type of transcription, and the adaptation of Indian melodies inevitably entailed a loss of musical nuance or textual meaning, greater or lesser depending on the transcriber and the changes deemed necessary to fit within the European harmonic system."[48] Just as Goehr mentioned in the quote above, these works required a certain amount of "framing" and the "stripping away" of what did not fit in order to be brought into the realm of what was considered Fine Art. Perhaps even unintentionally, composers "borrowing" from Native American and African American sources do this same thing: removing this music from the people for whom it held meaning and beauty, and isolating it outside of its original cultural context, and thus stripping it of its original value and transcendence in that culture. Although this was likely not Dvořák's intention, his example set the same precedent and is still lauded as a model of inclusion.

Idolising Dvořák as a Model of Inclusion

The reception of Dvořák's work in America, as well as the way in which his reputation is discussed in the present, also demonstrates the pattern of idolatry that leads to exclusion. Once again, at the expense of the work of local composers, it is Dvořák, a European "outsider," who has been hailed as the one who most effectively contributed to the defining of an American sound in music. Joseph Horowitz, a prominent scholar on the history of classical music in America, describes Dvořák in this manner: "a pedigreed outsider he influentially validated African-

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[48] Browner, 9.

American music."[49] This sort of rhetoric arises from the racist bias that creates a hierarchy between western and other cultures and needs to be addressed. Dvořák's work did not "validate" any sort of music to the public, nor did the music of Native Americans and African Americans require validating in the first place.[50] Similarly, in a recent report on the diverse musical culture of the United States the author writes: "that melting pot is what Antonin Dvořák celebrated, and even elevated, in his "New World" symphony: a philosophy of inclusion rendered in music."[51] Horowitz also praises Dvořák as a model of inclusion, asserting that neither Dvořák, nor Henry Krehbiel – the critic who was so invested in promoting Dvořák's efforts – held to a hierarchy of races, while in Boston: "John Sullivan Dwight and his intellectual progeny disdained popular and indigenous music as a contaminant."[52] As Douglas Shadle's research shows, the symphonic enterprise in America had been active for decades before Dvořák entered the scene. If the model of inclusion is one which simply promotes imagined Native American music based on a narrative that is distant from an authentic source, then there are at least two symphonic examples that also took Longfellow's *Hiawatha* as their subject prior to Dvořák's contribution (Robert Stoepel's "Hiawatha: An Indian Symphony" of 1859, and Ellsworth Phelps' "Hiawatha" of 1874).[53] Idolising Dvořák as a model of inclusion then is simply a further example of the exclusion of American composers and also contributes to a false notion of what "inclusion" should actually

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[49] Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 231.

[50] Nor is it just scholars who speak of Dvořák's influence in these terms. At a recent performance of one of Dvořák's symphonies by the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra, the orchestra's spokeswoman repeated this same idea, saying that Beyonce or Kanye West would not be popular if it hadn't been for the fact that Dvořák opened up the rest of the world to the idea of African American music. (Heard by the author at the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra, *Bach and Liszt with Konstantin Shamray,* Concert, May 11, 2019, Calgary, AB)

[51] Tom Huizenga, NPR. Nov 24, 2018. "How the 'New World' Symphony Introduced American Music to Itself" https://www.npr.org/sections/deceptivecadence/2018/11/24/669557133/dvorak-new-world-symphony-american-anthem. Accessed April 17, 2020. Rebutted by Douglas Shadle here: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/14/arts/music/dvorak-new-world-symphony.html

[52] Joseph Horowitz, "Dvořák and Boston" *American Music*, Vol 19, No. 1 (Spring, 2001), 11.

[53] See Shadle, *Orchestrating the Nation*, 134, 195. (Shadle also has a forthcoming book on Dvořák.)

look (or sound) like. As discussed above, when inclusion occurs without authentic representation, the result is usually, though not always, the appropriation and reiteration of harmful stereotypes. What Dvořák's work reveals, and what the work of Parker and the other editors in *The Progressive Music series* proves, is that inclusion and diversity for their own sake don't work. Without collaboration and exchange, mere inclusion for the sake of diversity simply rehearses unequal power dynamics. Without authentic representation, the music reinforces the idolatry of one race over the other, of one person over another. In contrast, in place of the idolatrous transcendence seen heretofore, transcendence that rejects idolatry and hierarchy allows for the process of exchange, with a dramatic increase in the opportunity for new expressions.

Transnational Transcendence – Music as a Gift

Parker and Mason both acknowledge that one of the common beliefs about music across many cultures is that it is a gift of God and that it possesses particular spiritual potency. Thus, transcendence appears to be accepted transnationally. When Parker addressed the particular relevance of church music to his audience, he began with this statement:

> Legends and teachings of the most ancient peoples agree in ascribing the origin of Music to a Divine source … the Chinese, Hindoos, Egyptians, and Greeks unite in giving the Gods credit for the beginnings of their Music.[54]

Parker acknowledged here that despite distinct cultural and religious differences, one transnational and transcultural aspect music is its relationship to religious service, and its perception as a gift of God. In words strikingly similar to Parker, Redfern Mason, the critic of the *San Francisco Examiner* who has been mentioned several times before, also affirmed that there is a divine

[54] Horatio Parker, "Church Music," 1897, HP Papers Box 35, Folder 5.

significance to the music of numerous different cultures, and that sometimes, that may be borne out in musical similarities, he wrote,

> A comparison of the chants of East and West, of the sacred music of the Orient and the worship songs of the Occident, shows a tendency toward uniformity in certain essentials. Melodies as remote in point of origin as the chants of the Omahas, the chorales of Germany, the folk hymns of Celt and Slav, the Gregorian psalmody alike suggest the bowing of the spirit before the first cause.[55]

What Mason observed here is true transcendence: that music in each of these cultures, in some way or other, was held to afford a particular potency as a window on the divine. Tara Browner affirms that this is also the case for Native American cultures, where "music is central to both individual and community life. It can be used to manipulate reality by influencing the future, to mediate between humans and the spirits that surround them."[56] Reading these reviews, one assumes there would be room for collaboration, not exclusion. But that is clearly not the case.

Unfortunately, as this chapter has investigated, in many cases it certainly did matter, in the estimation of the quality of music, whether it was composed by a European, an American of European descent, or a Native or African American. On the one hand, Redfern Mason and Parker acknowledged that numerous different cultures actually have the same basic understanding of music – that it offers a profound means of expression, is intimately linked with religious experience, and that it came as a gift of God. On the other hand, however, Parker and other American composers and critics rejected the music of any culture outside of their own cultural heritage, reinforcing the hierarchies and idolatry of Eurocentrism. Instead of looking for what was good and beautiful in each culture and in each generation, and learning from one another, the music of one generation and culture had been exalted as the ultimate standard of goodness and beauty.

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[55] Redfern Mason, "Is Music Purely Physical or Does Something Divine Enter In?" *San Francisco Examiner,* Dec 7, 1913.

[56] Browner, 6.

In other words, if Parker and Mason believed that other cultures, just like their own, view music as the gift of God, it was inconsistent for them to also mandate an aesthetic to the glory of God that excluded the music of those other cultures.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how a system which idolises one particular culture over another, repeatedly enforcing racist hierarchies, can be reflected in music. We have explored the relationship between transcendence and exclusion, pointing out that exclusion is not a result of holding to a transcendent philosophy of music, but rather of assenting to the idolatrous hierarchies that exist in society. Initially this was evident in the idolising of Beethoven's symphonies as the epitome of transcendent music, and in America, where this belief took hold under the influence of John Sullivan Dwight and others, the works of American composers were excluded. Similarly, because of theses cultural hierarchies, and the implicit racial bias that was (and as we have seen in recent days, still is) present in society, the musics of African Americans and Native Americans were also excluded. This exclusion was seen in either absolute omission – where the music of these cultures was absent from published collections of music such as *The Progressive Music Series*, or when there were inclusions, the result was usually appropriation which propagated caricatures that portrayed an exotic "other" rather than an equal brother.[57] When envisioning the transcendent ideal in music as worship at the throne of God, and yet limiting transcendence to the music of one culture or worse, one composer in one culture, an idolatrous hierarchy is enforced that results in exclusion. The Biblical picture of that worship, however, invites much more than just one composer's imagination because the Biblical vision of worship at the throne of God is one in which every

[57] Sister, or partner. I use the word brother here as a reference to the finale of Beethoven's Ninth, using Schiller's language of brotherhood.

nation, "all tribes, and peoples and languages," is represented.[58] Envisioning worship at the throne of God should thus demolish the false hierarchies of racism and idolatry because every knee bows before God's throne.[59] This vision is what allowed Parker to continue composing even in the shadow of Beethoven, and yet his racist bias overruled the opportunities he had to work towards something greater than mere inclusion. After all, if music is a gift from God, as many cultures have understood it, it must not be appropriated, it must be shared. This is the sort of exchange that is embodied in transnationalism or transculturalism - where shared experiences shape new art, or where art is created based not on what is taken from another, but on what has been gifted. Only this will allow for the "infinite expressions" called for by a transcendent philosophy of music.

[58] Revelation 7:9 (ESV).
[59] Philippians 2:10 (ESV).

Conclusion

Horatio Parker was an American composer whose greatest aim in life was to produce good music. The preceding chapters have explored Parker's beliefs that on the one hand, music ought to transcend national boundaries, while on the other hand, only music of certain cultures (mainly those of white, European heritage) was capable of doing so. Throughout this thesis, Parker's reliance on the music of others, which had occasionally been criticized as a lack of originality, has shown the importance and variety of applications of musical exchange. Intertextuality can demonstrate appropriation when its purpose is to mock and to stereotype, functioning as a means of exerting power over someone else (colonialism) rather than as evidence of the process of exchange (transnationalism). It can function as evidence of transcendence and worship when music is viewed as a window on transcendence (rather than the object of transcendence), and as the gift of God. Intertextuality can also demonstrate commentary – as in the relationship between Parker's *A Northern Ballad* and Dvořák's "New World," and compassion – as was Amy Beach's goal in her "Gaelic" Symphony.

Building from a framework of transnationalism, Chapter One demonstrated the German roots of Parker's education, the positive reception of his work in England and his continuing belief that these international experiences were necessary for the development and success of American composers. In the context of the dialogue around defining a national American musical idiom, Parker's voice has heretofore remained sidelined. However, reviewing the comments Parker gave in lectures on American music revealed his opinion that a national music could not be defined by African American or Native American folk melodies. This was partially influenced by his racial bias, as Chapter Three addressed, but also solidified by his acknowledgement that such musical signs (e.g. Pentatonicism and the Scotch snap) as Dvořák emphasised had lost their capacity to

identify national location with any specificity. By setting the piece in the same key as Dvořák's New World Symphony, using folk-like melodies that incorporated pentatonicism and the scotch snap, and avoiding a program, Parker's work is not bound to representing any particular location and thus evades a nationalist interpretation. The confusion of the critics who heard the work, and the diversity of the locations they suggested it may evoke, affirmed that the work transcends nationalism. Unlike Amy Beach, whose symphonic response to Dvořák was overtly transnational – in that it demonstrated encounters across borders by incorporating melodies from Gaelic sources – Parker's response is transnational in that it transcends national boundaries.

In contrast to Dvořák, who had come to America for the express purpose of showing American composers how to "create a national music,"[1] Parker's efforts in composing were not for the purpose of defining a national style. Rather, the composer emphasised the need for American composition students especially, to have a broad range of instruction. These opinions would surely have been influenced by Parker's own experiences – he was educated in Germany under Josef Rheinberger and travelled between America, England, and Germany with some frequency throughout his life. Evidence for this in Parker's own early musical style may be garnered from the words of the critic of *The Yorkshire*, who called Parker "an eclectic" and said he has "acquired something of German thoroughness and solidity" and also acknowledged, "the influence of France in the beautifully balanced construction of Mr. Parker's music."[2] These words summarise the process of exchange that was evident both in Parker's composing and in his career.

Chapter Two engaged with the relationship between music and transcendence as the foundation for Parker's musical efforts. One of the most common central threads in Parker's

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[1] Antonin Dvořák to Mr. and Mrs. Hlavka in Prague, 27 December 1892, cited in John C. Tibbetts, ed., *Dvořák in America, 1892-1895* (Portland, Or: Amadeus Press, 1993), 390.
[2] Correspondent, *The Yorkshire*, December 1897, HP Papers, 30/15.

writings about music is the high spiritual value he placed on the art, acknowledging its capacity to transcend the realm of the material and the physical. Although this was a common view of music, especially in Boston at the time (through the efforts of John Sullivan Dwight), placing Parker's words in the context of a much wider dialogue about this philosophy, revealed the transnational origin of this concept. It was E.T.A Hoffmann who most prominently asserted the spiritual nature of instrumental music in particular, a belief which became even more clear in his criticism of Beethoven. As Lydia Goehr, Elizabeth Kramer, and other scholars have observed, holding to transcendent art tended to divorce music and religion by having music (especially instrumental music) replace religion as the fuel of spiritual experiences. As a devout Christian, Parker sought to reunite transcendent art to religious function – both theoretically (as had Wackenroder, Hoffmann, and Dwight), and practically – in his music for the church and for the concert hall.

The application of this belief in Parker's composing was exemplified in three case studies. Parker's contributions as the editor of the Episcopal Hymnbook of 1903, followed both the directives of that denomination for church music "to suppress all light and unseemly music, and all indecency and irreverence in the performance,"[3] and the composer's own ideals of music "for the greater dignity and purity of the Church's Service."[4] In addition to selecting and arranging, Parker contributed his own settings of hymns which give some insight into what the composer considered to have "greater dignity." For example, his setting "How Firm a Foundation," drew on a much wider harmonic vocabulary, greater vocal range, and rhythmic and melodic complexity than did previous settings of the same text.

Parker's efforts to reunite art to a religious function were also seen in several choral works he composed. His Easter Anthem, "Light's Glittering Morn" transcended the bounds of the

[3] Canon 25 of Title 1 of the Digest – of Church music, reprinted in the introduction to the 1903 hymnbook.
[4] Parker, "Preface," *The Hymnal* 1903, iv.

temporal and the physical by making references to Handel and Palestrina. Two choral works, *Hora Novissima* and *Adstant Angelorum Chori,* composed not for the church but for the concert hall, offered windows on transcendence by envisioning worship at the throne of God. Each of these works offers a slightly different perspective on how Parker's belief in the transcendent nature of music informed his composing. As William Kearns has summarised, "Although fond of insisting that music should have deeper, more abiding values, he never attempted a critical assessment of these; undoubtedly, he believed them to be as self-evident to others as they were to him."[5] Although Parker's belief in the transcendent caacityz of music certainly impacted the compositions he undertook, transcendence was not generally considered an objective musical standard and understood more as a quality inherent in the very nature of music (though the idolatrous reception of Beethoven tends to indicate otherwise). As Chapter Three addressed limiting the transcendent capacity of music to that of only one culture resulted in manifest exclusion.

Chapter Three demonstrated exclusion in two forms – via absence and via appropriation. From Parker's *The Progressive Music Series*, a book designed to aid music instruction in grade schools, and which claimed to contain the best known and widest selection of music, African American music was entirely absent and Native American music was appropriated in ways that reinforced racist hierarchies. In some cases, this was through lyrics which propagated harmful stereotypes that denigrated people with different skin colour, while in other cases, musical symbols were incorporated as an effort to highlight difference and intentionally "other." A decolonising approach was thus required to acknowledge the colonial attitudes that still informed the relationship between the dominant white majority and other minorities. There is much work left to do in this area.

[5] Kearns, 236.

A further symptom of these racist hierarchies is evident in how Parker and his colleagues were excluded by the idolatrous adoration of the music of the European canon – whether it is in the continuing rhetoric that exalts Dvořák's role in defining the American style or in the criticism of the time that emphasised Beethoven and other European masters as the epitome of art. Parker was adamant that the work of American composers should not be overshadowed: "It is inconceivable that this great country of ours shall always be an artistic parasite, clinging to the rest of the world for support, dependent upon other nations for artistic maintenance. If we are to have an American school of music, and we must have one, we must make it ourselves."[6] And yet, in Parker's words to Yale, it was clear that his view of the American standard of beauty and complexity was defined by European models: "our thoughts began to flow freely in the broad, well-worn channel of European taste."[7] The most well-worn channel of European taste was surely Beethoven's Ninth – hailed as the epitome of transcendent music, and yet with a text which envisioned worship at the throne of God. Redfern Mason's religious devotion to the symphony exemplifies the problem of idolatrous transcendence, wherein works are viewed as transcendent in themselves, rather than as windows on transcendence. This idolatrous conception of transcendence is what causes exclusion – the establishment of a false hierarchy that often has both musical and racial implications. Where a right understanding of transcendence is adopted, and with the aid of transnational exchange, music's goal of "expressing the infinite" will once again succeed.

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[6] Horatio Parker, Address before the National Institute of Arts and Letters, *American Music*, January 25, 1900. HP Papers, 35/3.
[7] Parker, "Our Taste in Music," 32.

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