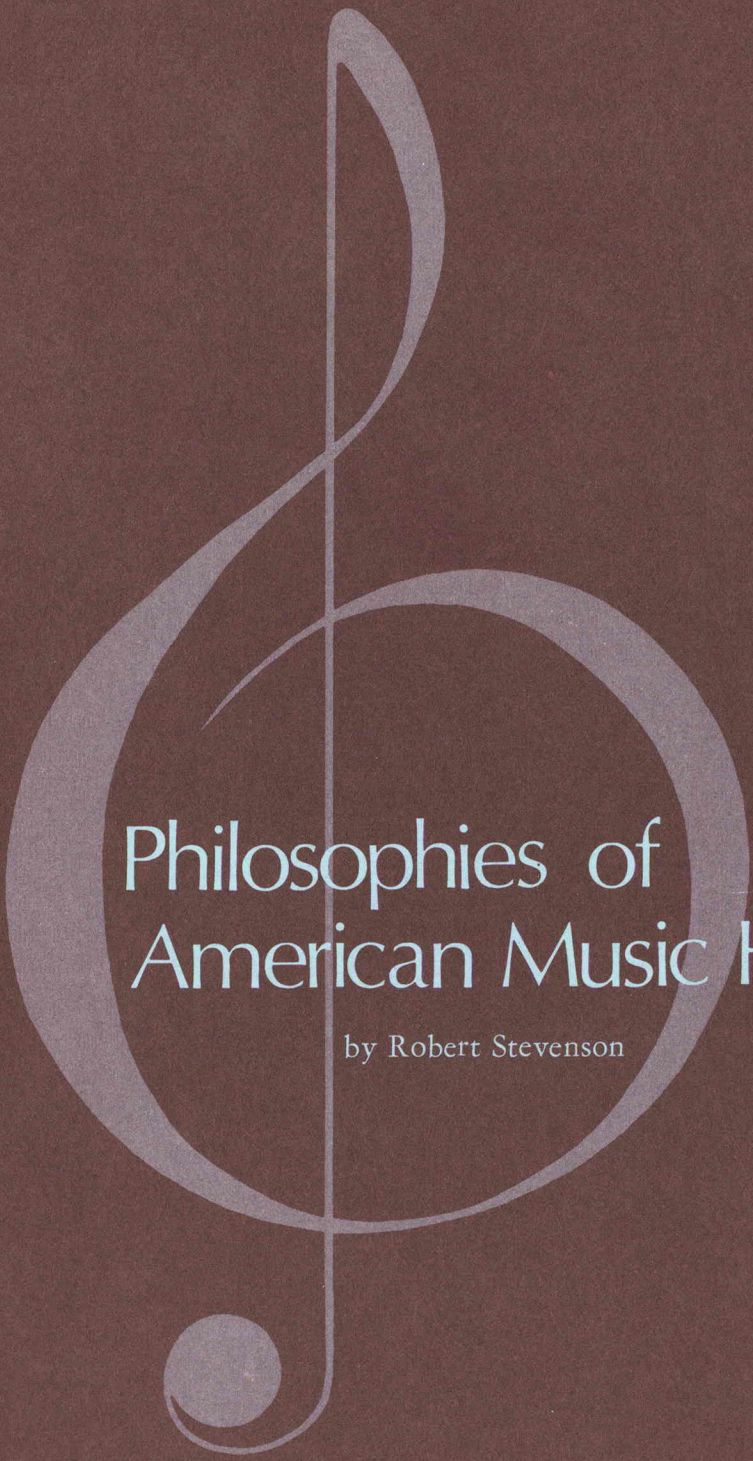

Philosophies of American Music History

by Robert Stevenson

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LOUIS CHARLES ELSON was born on April 17, 1848, and died on February 14, 1920. He was educated in Boston, his native city, and in Germany. As a teacher at the New England Conservatory of Music and as music editor for Boston newspapers, he exerted a great influence for music in this country over a period of many years. He also served as musical correspondent for several European and South American papers, and he enjoyed distinction as a lecturer to the public as well as in the classroom. As author, composer, and editor, he had a career of great significance in America's musical development.

In 1945 the Library of Congress received a bequest from the late Mrs. Bertha L. Elson, widow of Louis Charles Elson, to provide lectures on music and musical literature in memory of her husband. Professor Stevenson's lecture was one of the series made possible by Mrs. Elson's generous bequest, which also supplied funds for this publication.

Philosophies of American Music History

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

When Harold Spivacke kindly suggested a Louis C. Elson lecture dealing with the present topic, the first question that entered my mind was the exact meaning of the phrase "philosophies of music history." The catalog of the large music collection in the New York Public Library lists 934 titles under the subject heading "philosophy and aesthetics." [1] However, only one recent book in English bears the title *Philosophies of Music History,* and that book is Warren D. Allen's reworking of his Ph. D. dissertation accepted by Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1939. When the book is examined to discover how Professor Allen understood the term "philosophies" in his title, this portmanteau word turns out to have approximately the meaning given it under 4(a) at page 1698 of the Merriam-Webster dictionary, third edition, where "philosophy" is defined as "the sum of an individual's ideas and convictions."

Beginning with "The Lutheran Pioneers" Seth Calvisius, Michael Praetorius, and Wolfgang Printz, Allen offers his readers quick, convenient summaries of the "ideas and convictions" held by each of the chief European music historians. These are grouped chronologically. How convenient to the general reader can be such a series of capsule book reviews needs no better proof than the reprinting of Allen's *Philosophies of Music History* by Dover so recently as 1962. However, instead of summarizing the "ideas and convictions" of each principal American music historian from Ritter to Chase—thereby treading in Allen's exact footsteps—perhaps we can best gain an overall view of American musical historiography by addressing ourselves to the following questions.

> Where does a specific historian feel that music in his area begins and ends? Out of the total music experience in his area, what facets appeal to the historian in question as worthy of chronicle in his book? What criteria for determining musical value does the historian accept, and why? How important does the historian consider primary documents and original editions to be, as opposed to merely secondary sources? What kind of public does the historian envision—one of musical cognoscenti or a broad lay public? Is the historian teleologically minded, or, in other words, does he envision American music history as moving forward to some recognizable goal? If so, is the goal toward which history leads understood to be always higher and better than anything that has preceded it?

In answer to the first question—what is their musical alpha and omega?—Latin American historians differ sharply from any of their colleagues writing United States musical history. No self-respecting Latin American would dream of beginning with the music brought over tardily by Cortés, Pizarro, Valdivia, Pedro de Mendoza, Juan de Garay, or Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Instead, they all start with the music of the aborigines: for example, the Araucanians, Aztecs, Incas, Mayas, Quichés, or Tupinambás.

This generalization can be easily tested. One need but glance at the histories of Argentine, Bolivian, Chilean, Colombian, Ecuadorean, Mexican, or Uruguayan music written by Vicente Gesualdo, José Díaz Gainza, Eugenio Pereira Salas, José Perdomo Escobar, Segundo Luis Moreno, Gabriel Saldívar Silva, or Lauro Ayestarán to validate the assertion.[2] But, on the other hand, all historians of music in the United States insist on beginning ethnocentrically with the white man, and, more to the point, with the Pilgrims of 1620. This was where Lowell Mason began when publishing a pioneer history of American music up to his day in the January 9, January 23, and April 17, 1839, issues of *The Boston Musical Gazette;*[3] it was where George Hood began in 1842; and it continues to be the starting point for every subsequent history: Frédéric Louis Ritter's in 1883, 1890, and 1895, W. S. B. Mathews' in 1889, Louis C. Elson's in 1904, 1915, and 1925, Arthur Farwell and W. D. Darby's in 1915, Henry C. Lahee's in 1922, John Tasker Howard's in 1929, 1930, 1931, 1939, 1946, 1954, and 1965, and Gilbert Chase's in 1955 and 1966. Not the music of Squanto, Powhatan, or Pocahontas, but the psalm tunes sung by John Alden and Priscilla occupy chapter 1 of every hitherto published history of United States music.

Is this the case for lack of reliable eyewitness data on early aboriginal music along the eastern seaboard? By no means. William Strachey's *The historie of travell into Virginia Britania,* published at London so early as 1612, already contains some intriguing contemporary information concerning the musical usages of Virginia tribes. A picture book appeared in Frankfurt-am-Main even earlier, in 1590. Called *The Trve Pictvres and Fashions of the People in that Parte of America now called Virginia discowred by Englishmen sent thither in the years of our Lorde 1585 . . . . Diligentlye collected and Draowne by Ihon White who was sent thither speciallye and for the same purpose by . . . Sir Walter Ralegh,* this collection of 23 plates contains two of distinct musical interest: "Their manner of prayinge with their Rattels about the

fyer" and "Their danses whych they vse at their hyghe feastes." Each plate is accompanied by a description of the ceremony. In the same year that Jamestown was founded, Marc Lescarbot took down text and music of three melodies sung by a medicine man of the tribe living on the east shore of the Bay of Fundy. These were published in Paris in Guidonian syllables a decade later [4] and in staff notation in 1636.[5] Also in 1636, so famous a theorist as Marin Mersenne republished three Tupinambá melodies collected by Jean de Léry around 1557, and to these three South American tribal melodies added, at page 148 of his *Traitez de la voix, et des chants, Liure Troisiesme, Des Genres . . . de la Musique* (*Harmonie vniverselle,* vol. 2), a North American Indian dance tune forwarded by a royal captain doing New World duty. Three staff-notated Iroquois songs published in Paris in the May 1754 *Journal étranger* reappeared eight years later in Marpurg's *Historisch-kritische Beyträge,* suitably annotated.[6] Tribal melody reduced to staff notation by William Beresford, supercargo of the *Queen Charlotte* during a visit to the southeastern Alaska coast, was published in London in 1789.[7]

What seems to have been the first general history of music in the English language to include a separate chapter headed "America" was William C. Stafford's octavo survey [8] published in Edinburgh in 1830. In chapters I and XI of this book he cites Isaac Weld's *Travels Through the States of North America . . . During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, John Stockdale, 1799, p. 412–415), Basil Hall's *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh, Cadell and Co., 1829, vol. 3, p. 291–292), and a collection of indigenous melodies gathered around 1825 by George Back as his authorities when referring to tribal music in northern Michigan, Alabama, and elsewhere. Of course, Stafford's comments nowadays sound scanty and ethnologically naive. However, these deficiencies do not obscure his laudable intentions. Here is a book that, in 1830, began with the

Aztecs in Mexico and that mentioned the Creeks in Alabama. With all the data on aboriginal music collected from John White in 1585 to George Herzog, Bruno Nettl, Gertrude Kurath, David McAllester, and Alan Merriam [9] in our own generation, why is it, one asks, that general histories of United States music written by our own historians give tribal music such a cold shoulder? A Scottish book published in 1830 was interested. Any Latin American historian would today begin with tribal music. But not a United States historian.

As clear an answer as any can be found in *Music in America,* edited in 1915 by Arthur Farwell and W. Dermot Darby. According to them, American Indian music from time immemorial has hardly ever achieved "even the mildest form of artistic expression or design. . . . If for no other reason, the songs of the Indian, because they express the emotions of man at a lower and totally foreign stage of culture, cannot enter into assimilation with our own." Continuing in like vein, the 1915 Farwell and Darby history claimed that the Indian material rescued by Farwell himself, by Frederick R. Burton, and by others deserved attention only because Farwell, Burton, and their colleagues had clothed the naked melodies in beautiful vestments. To quote Farwell and Darby's dictum at their page 282: "What appeal such arrangements have to our ears depends entirely upon the harmonic texture or a readjustment of the melody according to European ideas, not upon its intrinsic value."

Since the American Indian, then and now, remains "an indigenous foreigner," his music merits but two pages among 478 in the Farwell-Darby history. Frédéric Louis Ritter in 1883 ignored the indigenes completely. Louis C. Elson in 1904 gave them eight pages among 386,[10] John Tasker Howard in 1929 spared them 10 pages among 944, Gilbert Chase in 1955 allotted Indian tribal melody one chapter (20). But he withdrew that chapter in his second, revised, edition. In no United States book whatsoever does indigenous music enter the story until the late 19th century, when such

an art-composer as MacDowell began to make Indian music respectable by harmonizing melodies recorded in Theodore Baker's 82-page German doctoral dissertation, *Über die Musik der nordamerikanischen Wilden* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1882).

Now that the different launch pads for histories of music written north and south of the Rio Grande have been noted, no one need be surprised if they splash down in markedly different return-to-earth areas. Latin Americans compensate for taking off before the white man arrived by returning to earth before their own generations. Vicente Gesualdo of Argentina and Eugenio Pereira Salas of Chile both halted their two-volume flights so far away from the turbulent present as 1900. The only book bringing Chilean music up to 1951 is by the émigré Spaniard Vicente Salas Viu. Like such other emigrants as Hans J. Koellreuter (1915–), Kurt Pahlen (1908–), Otto Mayer-Serra (1904–68), and Rodolfo Holzmann (1910–), Salas Viu (1911–67) reached the Western Hemisphere an already formed adult. For surveys of Latin American contemporary music as a whole, one cannot consult any native-born Latin American—unless Gilbert Chase, born in Havana, Cuba, in 1906, is called a Latin American. His *Introducción a la música americana contemporanea* (Buenos Aires, Editorial Nova, 1958) and Nicolas Slonimsky's still useful *Music of Latin America,* translated into Spanish as *La música de América Latina* (Buenos Aires, El Ateneo, 1947) are the only books filling the gap between 1900 and 1950. The sole dictionary of contemporary as well as historic Latin American music and musicians [11] observes somewhat the same rule, since it was compiled not by any such native of Latin America as Vicente Mendoza of Mexico, Andrés Pardo Tovar of Colombia, or Carlos Vega of Argentina, but instead by the German-trained immigrant Otto Mayer-Serra, who claimed for his European teachers Hermann Abert, Curt Sachs, Johannes Wolf, and Erich von Hornbostel.

How different are the ending dates deemed proper by United States historians can be quickly measured by comparing only the

successive editions of the two leading texts, *Our American Music* [12] and *America's Music.*[13] Rather than publishing expanded revisions of his already bulky *Our American Music* in 1939, 1946, 1954, and 1965 to improve material in the early chapters, Howard did so in order to update the material on each living composer and to introduce newly emerging talents. Similarly, Chase's more notable changes in 1966 included a fresh final chapter introducing the new lights of the 1960's, a revised chapter order reducing Ives to his proper chronological sequence, and a recasting of certain other material on living composers and issues. Latin American historians would probably defend themselves for failing to keep up to the minute by saying that recent events belong to the journalist, not the historian. United States writers could counter by rhetorically asking which is the more important, Copland or MacDowell, Milton Babbitt or Lowell Mason, Charles Wuorinen or Ethelbert Nevin?

Like Touchstone berating Audrey in *As You Like It,* composers and critics in the United States have usually felt early Americana to be "A poor thing." As authority for deprecating Daniel Read and his ilk they have invoked the first writers who discussed our colonial and federal heritage: George Hood, John Sullivan Dwight, and William S. Porter, among others. Porter, who acknowledged Lowell Mason's supervision, decreed in 1834 that the Billings-Holden school had bequeathed nothing better than "light and impious trash." Continuing in like vein, Porter wrote these lines: "The great body of American psalm tunes which, a few years since, were extensively used, and which abound in miserable attempts at fugue and imitation, are entirely beneath criticism: they have noise and that is all." [14] To explain the depths to which New England music had fallen around the time Händel moved to London, George Hood mentioned such problems as the doctrinal and political quarrels raging throughout the Colonies, the Indian wars, and the constant difficulty in acquiring tune books from England.[15]

Unlike many writers who followed him, Hood put himself to the trouble of consulting original documents. How much time it cost him to collect only the original materials needed for his chronicle of "psalmody" in New England, beyond which subject he did not permit himself to stray, can be judged from these statements: "The matter has been gathered by much labor, time and expense from different parts of the Union, and frequently in very small portions. The labor has been almost incredible. To show something of its difficulty, there are six consecutive lines that were unfinished more than one year" (page iv). If these were the pains that a 250-page octavo containing no musical examples and attempting but little analysis cost Hood, obviously the difficulties plaguing later writers bent on verifying their assertions from original documents have not diminished.

In an earlier version of the present lecture, the dangers of relying on secondary sources were illustrated at some length. Two current books were scanned for errors caused by dependence on secondary sources. One of the books was Wilfrid Mellers' 543-page *Music in a New Found Land* (London, Barrie and Rockliff, 1964). A prolific author with over 2,400 book pages to his credit, not to total the pages of his articles and music published through 1965, Mellers apparently approached the United States with the same confidence in easily available secondary sources that would be appropriate in handling European secondary sources. However, a Louis C. Elson lecture should not be used for what some might deem criticism of a respected foreign author.[16] Discretion likewise induces me to pass by in silence the second of the two books originally intended as exhibits A and B of the traps set by secondary sources.

Could a general history of music in the United States ever have been written had each author been forced to plough through original sources? is a legitimate question for anyone to ask who conceives of general histories as primarily texts for classroom use rather than as doctoral dissertation surrogates. And why should textbook

authors be expected to consult original sources, anyway? How many have at their disposal a lifetime for research at the American Antiquarian Society, the various State historical societies, and our largest libraries? Granted that these are hard questions to answer, still someone must do the basic research. Ideally, even a textbook author ought to be willing to sully his hands with the dust of documents. Bad as was Ritter's pioneer history, at least he showed himself willing to examine some documents personally. His own library abounded in rarities, as the *Catalogue of the Musical Library of the Late Frédéric Louis Ritter, Mus. Doc. of Vassar College,* reveals. His 878 books and 401 musical works ranged from the Parisian full score of Rameau's 1733 *Hippolyte et Aricie* to Daniel Read's *The American Singing Book* of 1785, *The Massachusetts Compiler* of 1795, and various other psalmbooks of the Tans'ur breed. For his pains in quoting James Lyon textually, he was rewarded by being copied literally by Arthur B. Hunt in 1923[17] and again by John Tasker Howard in the various editions of *Our American Music,*[18] neither of whom seems to have put himself to the bother of looking any more closely at this first monument of America's musical past than did the deplored Ritter himself.

In contrast with Howard, those writers who have made signal contributions to United States musical history in recent years include a growing number of scholars who refuse to rest content with anything less than original documents and editions, among whom Ralph Daniel, Richard Crawford, Donald McCorkle, Irving Lowens, Allen Britton, and Vinson Bushnell make a representative list. In Latin America, names such as Eugenio Pereira Salas, Vicente Gesualdo, Francisco Curt Lange, Lauro Ayestarán, Luiz Hector Corrêa de Azevedo, Gabriel Saldívar, and Régis Duprat come immediately to mind. But of none just listed can it be said that their books were written with the immediate expectation of extensive use as a classroom text.

The choice of one's public cannot but color every sentence in the classic textbooks on United States music history. Few will deny Chase's two editions the merit of being much the best, viewed as literature. Not only is each chapter graced with many an apt quotation, but for felicity of phrase, perspicuous overall design, and sense of movement, Chase cannot be matched. The three grand divisions in his 1955 edition carry these headings: Preparation (through page 145), Expansion (233 pages), Fulfillment (293 pages). Fulfillment, the last and best for which the first was made, does not include MacDowell, Parker, Chadwick, or Foote. They belong instead to the previous division. However, "The rise of ragtime," "Singin' the blues," "The growth of jazz," Gershwin, Copland, Harris, do belong to Fulfillment. The last chapter, 31, headed "Composer from Connecticut," exalts Ives. Last and best, he fulfills the American musical dream. While no one will quarrel with Ives' greatness, even Chase himself seems to have winced under the strain of such teleology when he set about preparing the revised 1966 edition. At all events, Ives reverts to his proper chronological status in 1966.

What Chase does not lose in 1966 is his always impeccable, right, musical taste. Just as the composer of *The Rosary, Mighty Lak' a Rose,* and *Narcissus* rates not even a line revealing dates, place of birth or death, in 1955 or 1966 editions, so also the composers of *The Lord's Prayer* (Albert Hay Malotte, 1895–1964), *On the Road to Mandalay* (Oley Speaks, 1874–1948), *America the Beautiful* (Samuel A. Ward, 1847–1903), and at least 20 other American pieces included in James J. Fuld's *The Book of World-Famous Music, Classical, Popular and Folk* (New York, Crown Publishers, 1966), find never an entry in 1955 or 1966 editions of *America's Music. I Love You Truly, The End of a Perfect Day, Mother Machree, Listen to the Mocking Bird, Let Me Call You Sweetheart, Happy Days Are Here Again, Happy Birthday to You, Home on the Range,* and *Trees* may all be America's music known to millions, according to Fuld. But the question of right musical

taste denies composers of pieces like these any place in *America's Music* of Chase, who would even have removed the chapter on MacDowell from his second edition, had he been allowed to do so.

Who decides correct musical taste? The worst indictment that Charles Burney's mouthpiece could bring against Sir John Hawkins' five-volume *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776) was Hawkins' incorrect taste. According to the reviewer, whose ridicule of Hawkins sent Dr. Samuel Johnson into gales of laughter and caused him to spill his tea on his breeches, Hawkins had the effrontery to prefer tradesmen's music to Farinelli and Elizabethan madrigal to the latest London opera. To gather data on obscure people whose bodies would better have been left mouldering in their graves, Hawkins even ransacked cemeteries for the dates on the tombstones of Mundy and other similar nonentities. Hawkins' Gothic taste, once exposed to the polite public's view, "justly" condemned his unsubscribed volumes to lie mouldering in the dust of the publisher's warehouse. Burney's part in assassinating his rival has been duly documented in Roger Lonsdale's *Dr. Charles Burney, a Literary Biography* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965), chapter 5.[19]

No one writing histories today doubts that correct taste plays just as crucial a role in determining success with the critics in 1969 as it did when Hawkins wrote. In contrast with Chase's always correct taste, all other historians of American music history, north or south of the Rio Grande, pale. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, or the University of California at Berkeley offer neither graduate nor undergraduate courses in American music history, according to current catalogs.[20] But if they did, Chase's sophistication would make his overall survey the only probable text. In the interim, while the introduction of American music history into a wider selection of our leading universities is being awaited, a few general cultural histories of Latin America and of the United States have begun to include brief tidbits concerning music. Thus, Samuel

E. Morison's [21] *Oxford History of the American People,* one of the more widely adopted university textbooks, identifies Oliver Holden, composer of *Coronation* (1793), as a South Carolina composer (p. 292). Germán Arciniegas' 594-page *Latin America: A Cultural History* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1967) fails to mention Carlos Chávez, Silvestre Revueltas, or Alberto Ginastera. Arciniegas does reveal that South American Indians played the quena, but not that the continent of the Incas gave us the first New World opera, the first printed polyphonic music, the first printed music setting of an indigenous language text, the first *mestizo maestro de capilla,* and also the first truly great immigrant composer, Domenico Zipoli.

If these facts seem too strictly musicological for a general cultural or political history, what kinds of hitherto unused anecdote could be included in Morison's next edition, or in Arciniegas'? The following three anecdotes might perhaps merit a place in a history such as Morison's or Arciniegas':

On April 19, 1778, John Adams attended a Concert Spirituel at the Tuileries.[22] Only the week previous, Mozart had made his Parisian debut at a Concert Spirituel conducted by Le Gros.[23] Reader interest might even today make possible a reprinting of the exact program heard by John Adams, especially if Mozart could be drawn into the picture.

On Sunday, August 1, 1784, Francisco de Miranda, the famous Venezuelan patriot who played a part in the American Revolution, recorded in his diary that the music in one Connecticut town was the best in all of North America. At a singing school concert held from 3 to 4:30 that afternoon, three choirs sang a cappella more majestically and beautifully than he had anywhere else heard music rendered on the continent. In his own words: [24]

> . . . cantaron sus Salmos y Antiphonas mui bien—el metodo es que un maestro de musica instruie á todos las señoritas en su Casa, y á los jove-

nes tamb^{n}, y despues cada uno lleva su libro á la Yglesia, forman tres Coros en la galeria superior, y con la direccion del dho maestro que hace de maestro de Capilla cantan en tono de musica mui bien, aunque sin organo, ni ningun otro instrumento de acompañamiento, la Composicion de la musica, igualm^{te} que el Canto &c. es el mas solemne, y eclesiastico que he oido hasta ahora en el continente este . . .

(They sing their psalms and anthems very well indeed. Their method is as follows. The singing master instructs all the young ladies at his house and also the young men. Then they each take their book to church and in the upper gallery range themselves in three choirs. The singing master, who now becomes their conductor, leads them in the extremely fine singing of some part music unaccompanied by organ or any other instrument to support solo or ensemble. Truly this is the most solemn and ecclesiastical music that I have as yet heard on this continent.)

Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, the Polish patriot and opera librettist who accompanied Kościuszko to the New World, visited Mount Vernon after George Washington's retirement from the presidency and on June 14, 1798, sat with him while one stepgranddaughter, Eleanor Parke Custis, played the harpsichord. On the previous May 21, while visiting what became 2618/2620 K Street in Washington, he also sat with George and Martha Washington while another of her granddaughters played "very well" [25] the enormously popular *Battle of Prague* by Frantisek Kočžwara, the composer who was strangled by the notorious London prostitute Susan Hill. A week later Niemcewicz met the first "music master" of Georgetown College, Herman de Monte, who in addition to setting himself up as the newly founded capital's first composer and winning recognition thereby as a local genius, claimed to make his pupils sightreaders of anything in five months.[26] Niemcewicz's other musical encounters in the United States promise equally good newspaper copy.

With these anecdotes, our survey of general music histories and of general cultural histories ends. If asked what philosophy of American music history we ourselves prefer, it would be a philosophy that extended hospitality to all sorts and conditions of men,

including even composers of pieces like *Narcissus, The Lord's Prayer, Sobre las olas, Cielito lindo,* and *La golondrina.* It would not exclude the composers of tunes heard so frequently as the ones associated with *O Little Town of Bethlehem, We Three Kings of Orient Are, Carry Me Back to Old Virginny,* or *Aloha Oe.* If a chronological order must be preserved, why not begin for a change with Florida or New Mexico, rather than Plymouth? Hawaii and Alaska, now members of the Union, deserve area coverage. The concept of hub and spokes of the wheel places Louis Moreau Gottschalk in "the exotic periphery," so far as John Sullivan Dwight's followers are concerned. But why not Gottschalk as hub and Dwight as spoke? In a philosophy all-inclusive enough for 1969, Horatio Parker would receive the same kind of attention that English historians give Stanford, or Parry, or even Elgar. P. T. Barnum managed Jenny Lind in America, and it is just this mixture of the incongruous that has always given music in America its typical flavor. We need a philosophy of our national music comprehensive enough to permit the coexistence of Carrie Jacobs Bond's successes and Roger Sessions' *Montezuma,* Alaskan Eskimos and Minnesota Swedes, John Frederick Peter and John Cage, Lowell Mason and Ned Rorem, *When the Saints Go Marching In* and *The Yellow Rose of Texas, Hora Novissima* and the *Chichester Psalms.*

All of this and more must surely have been the music which Walt Whitman anticipated when he wrote:

> I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear,
> Those of mechanics . . . The carpenter singing . . .
> The mason singing . . . The boatman singing . . .
> The shoemaker . . .
> The wood-cutter's song, the plowboy's . . .
> The delicious singing of the mother, or of the young
> wife at work, or of the girl sewing or washing,
> Each singing what belongs to him or her . . .
> Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs.

Notes

[1] The New York Public Library Reference Department, *Dictionary Catalog of the Music Collection* (Boston, G. K. Hall & Co., 1946), vol. 23, p. 356–400.

[2] Vicente Gesualdo, *Historia de la música en la Argentina, 1536–1851* (Buenos Aires, Editorial Beta S.R.L., 1961); José Díaz Gainza, *Historia musical de Bolivia: época precolonial* (Potosi, Universidad Tomás Frías, 1962); Eugenio Pereira Salas, *Los orígenes del arte musical en Chile* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1941) and *Historia de la música en Chile, 1850–1900* (Editorial del Pacifico S.A., 1957); José Perdomo Escobar, *Historia de la música en Colombia* (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1945; 3. ed. Editorial ABC, 1963); Segundo Luis Moreno, "La música en el Ecuador" in *El Ecuador en cien años de independencia,* vol. 2 (Quito, Imprenta de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios, 1930); Gabriel Saldívar, *Historia de la música en Mexico* (Mexico City, Editorial "Cultura," 1934); Lauro Ayestarán, *La música en el Uruguay,* vol. 1 (Montevideo, Servicio Oficial de Difusíon Radio Eléctrica, 1953).

[3] The last installment in this series of historical sketches reappeared improved and enlarged in *The Musical Reporter,* 1:297–304 (July 1841) with the title "William Billings."

[4] *Histoire de la Novvelle-France,* 3d ed. (Paris, Adrian Perier, 1618), p. 728–729. In P. Erondelle's English translation, *Nova Francia Or the Description* (London, Andrew Hebb [1609]), see Guidonian syllables on p. 164–165.

[5] Gabriel Sagard Théodat, *Histoire dv Canada* (Paris, Claude Sonnius, 1636), insert between p. 312 and 313.

[6] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, "Anmerkungen über drey Lieder der Irokesen," *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik,* V. Band. Fünftes Stück (Berlin, G. A. Lange, 1762), p. 341–346.

[7] See Beresford's letter 38 dated August 15, 1787, in George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World; but More Particularly to the North-West Coast of America . . . in the King George and Queen Charlotte* (London, George Goulding, 1789), insert between p. 242 and 243. The music found its way into a Dutch translation of the book, *Reis naar de Noord-West Kust van Amerika* (Amsterdam, Matthijs Schalekamp, 1795), between p. 210 and 211. Norfolk Sound, where the music was collected, lies at 57°3″ N 135° 36″ W.

[8] *A History of Music* (Edinburgh, Printed for Constable & Co., 1830).

[9] See Jaap Kunst, *Ethnomusicology,* 3d ed. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1959), p. 129–130, 150–151, 162–163, 164, 168–169.

[10] In *The National Music of America and Its Sources* (Boston, L. C. Page, 1900), p. 271, Elson wrote: "The American Indian has never been essentially musical. The subject has been thoroughly investigated by Miss Alice Fletcher, Mr. John C. Fillmore, Mr. H. E. Krehbiel, and Dr. J. Walter Fewkes. To the works of these authorities we refer our reader; as for any direct influence upon American musical art to be exerted by a music that is on the lower savage plane, we have grave doubts; as well expect the Esquimaux, or the Bushmen of Australia, to become the foundation of the opera of the future." In a footnote he added that "The Indian, of course, would find his music unrecognisable" in MacDowell's *Indian Suite,* op. 48.

[11] Otto Mayer-Serra, *Música y músicos de Latinoamérica* (Mexico, Editorial Atlante; New York, W. M. Jackson, 1947).

[12] John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music; Three Hundred Years of It* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1931, 1939, 1946, 1954). A later edition appeared in 1965 under the title *Our American Music; a Comprehensive History from 1620 to the Present.*

[13] Gilbert Chase, *America's Music, From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York, Toronto, London, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955; 2d ed., 1966).

[14] *The Musical Cyclopedia* (Boston, James Loring, 1834), p. 322–323.

[15] *A History of Music in New England, With Biographical Sketches of Reformers and Psalmists* (Boston, Wilkins, Carter & Co., 1846).

[16] To cite only examples from "The Pioneer and the Wilderness," chapter 1: Example 1 does not open in Timothy Swan's 1801 *New England*

Harmony, p. 56–57, with a soprano solo, but instead tutti. Swan neither wrote F♯'s nor implied them anywhere. The penultimate note in example 1, which Mellers considers important, is a mistake. Example 2 accords no better with what Swan actually published. Mellers' example 3 reveals its errors when compared with p. 61 of Swan's *New England Harmony.* In example 4 tenor and treble are switched. Neither example 4 nor example 5 comes from "Morgan's" *Philadelphia Harmony,* but instead from a collection gathered by Andrew Adgate (p. 92–93). Simeon Jocelin's appoggiatura at p. 80 of *The Chorister's Companion,* published at New Haven in 1788, has been misinterpreted as explicit Lombard rhythm. Misattributing a piece actually by the Italian Felice de Giardini (1716–96), Mellers makes *Blendon* a testimony to early American style.

[17] "A Treasure Chest of Song from America's Dawn," *Musical America,* 37:3, 36 (January 27, 1923).

[18] *Our American Music* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1965), p. 48, marks the latest use to which he puts Ritter.

[19] See especially p. 204, 214 (Johnson's tea), 211 (carpenters, bakers, and other low folk), and 223.

[20] According to the *Bulletin of Yale University Graduate School,* Series 64, no. 14, July 15, 1968, p. 127–128. Yale's sole history of music course devoted to a specific country is 117b, Russian Music.

[21] Commenting on texts, the "81-year-old dean of American historians" complained recently that "Most history textbooks are smooth as grease . . . they avoid the conflicts and disorders that have taken place in our past. They bore students." (*New York Times,* Monday, December 16, 1968, p. 34, cols. 3–5)

[22] *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams,* edited by L. H. Butterfield (Cambridge, Belknap Press, 1961), vol. 2, p. 303.

[23] Not to Mozart's great satisfaction, however. See Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, Gesamtausgabe* (Kassel, New York, Bärenreiter, 1962–), vol. 2, p. 345, letter to his father dated May 1, 1778. For the date of the concert, see Ludwig von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts* (Wiesbaden, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1964), p. 308.

[24] *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda,* edited by William Spence Robertson (New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1928), p. 81.

[25] Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Podróże po Ameryce, 1797–1841* (Wrocław/Warsaw, Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Badań Literackich, 1959), p. 132;

translated by Metchie J. E. Budka with the title *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree* (Elizabeth, N.J., Grassman Publishing Co. [Vol. 14, Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society], 1965), p. 85.

[26] *Podróże po Ameryce,* p. 141; translation, p. 93.

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