# GEORGE W. CHADWICK AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN *TE DEUM*

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Do we all holy rites;
Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum;*

William Shakespeare
*King Henry V*, 4.4.127-28

**ABSTRACT**

Often called the "Dean of American Composers," George W. Chadwick (1854-1931) was a prolific composer and influential educator. His orchestral, instrumental, vocal, and choral works were widely performed prior to World War I. More recently, his orchestral and instrumental works have enjoyed renewed interest. Among a wealth of his papers donated by his heirs in 2001 to the New England Conservatory, where he served as director for thirty years, were two unpublished *Te Deum* manuscripts; *Te Deum laudamus* dated 1874 and *Te Deum in D* circa. 1885. This discovery prompted a re-examination of Chadwick's sacred choral works, an area many scholars have neglected despite the quantity and quality of his contributions to the field. This study finds that the 1874 *Te Deum* is the earliest extant composition by Chadwick.

The nineteenth-century American church *Te Deum* repertory is also unexplored territory. This study identifies 180 nineteenth-century American church *Te Deums,* examines over 100 in detail, and develops a list of style traits for these works in order to place Chadwick's *Te Deums* in their proper context. A group of four prominent New England composers and their church *Te Deums* receive particular attention; James Cutler Dunn Parker (1828-1916), Dudley Buck (1839-1909), Chadwick, and Horatio Parker (1863-1919). The examination of the lives and works of these men reveals that Chadwick's organ teacher in 1873, Dudley Buck, played a more significant role in Chadwick's early life as a composer than previously thought. In addition, the evidence

indicates that Chadwick's unorthodox religious beliefs influenced his sacred choral output.

## Preface

Scholarship in American music has blossomed in the past quarter century. This has brought renewed interest in nineteenth-century American music and the members of the "Boston School" or the "Second New England School" of composers that includes John Knowles Paine (1839-1906), Arthur Foote (1853-1937), Horatio Parker (1863-1919), Amy Cheney Beach (1867-1944), and George Whitefield Chadwick (1854-1931). Musicologist Judith Tick wrote in 2002 that "the full measure of their collective legacy has yet to be taken."[1] She also wrote that Chadwick's work is being reappraised and approached with fresh curiosity. Chadwick was not only one of the principal composers of the Boston School but also an educator, administrator, organist, and conductor.

The stimulus for this study came in 2001 while I was investigating the sacred choral works of George W. Chadwick. Despite Chadwick's choral output of 140 works for church, school, concert hall and singing society, few scholars have examined his choral output in any detail. The major published research on the works of Chadwick includes Victor Yellin's biography, *Chadwick, Yankee Composer* (1990) and Bill Faucett's two bio-bibliographic works, *George Whitefield Chadwick: His Symphonic Works* (1996) and *George Whitefield Chadwick: A Bio-Bibliography* (1998). Unpublished works include Gay Gladdin Pappin's dissertation *The Organ Works of George Whitefield Chadwick* (1985), and Charles Freeman's 1999 dissertation *American Realism and Progressivism in Chadwick's The Padrone and Converse's The Immigrants.*

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[1] Judith Tick, "George Whitefield Chadwick: Symphony No. 3 in F (1894)," in *Boston Symphony Orchestra [Program]* (Boston: Boston Symphony Orchestra, Inc., 2002): 7.

Among these works, only Yellin's biography and Faucett's *Bio-Bibliography* treat Chadwick's choral output, while Freeman discusses the treatment of the chorus in Chadwick's opera. Yellin provides the most focused and detailed discussion of Chadwick's choral music but devotes only six pages to the discussion of one choral work, *The Lily Nymph* (1895). The only other choral work in Yellin's study is *Judith,* which is more properly classified as a stage work since it was conceived as a staged dramatic presentation. While he mentions that both sacred and secular choral music are a large part of Chadwick's output, he does not examine these two aspects of choral music in detail. Faucett lists Chadwick's many choral works and provides bibliographic information. He does not, however, discuss or analyze any of these works. In addition to my search of the Chadwick literature, my personal conversations and correspondence with leading Chadwick scholars, including Steven Ledbetter, Bill Faucett, Charles Freeman, Andrea Dykstra, E. Douglas Bomberger, and Marianne Betz, indicate that, to their knowledge, no one has taken up the task of examining Chadwick's oeuvre of sacred choral music.

Although I began this investigation to examine the whole body of Chadwick's sacred choral works, a new discovery prompted a narrower focus. In 2001, the New England Conservatory's (NEC) Spaulding Library had just received a wealth of newly donated Chadwick documents that were not yet fully processed for public use. For nearly seventy years many of Chadwick's papers were in storage, and few scholars had access to them. Chadwick's heirs gave these papers to the NEC and according to the Conservatory's website,

> While, the Conservatory possessed some materials from Chadwick's tenure, the majority of this collection was donated to NEC by Mrs. Theodore Chadwick II in

> 2001, after it was discovered in a storage room in Cambridge, MA. Some of the items stored with the family correspondence series were not originally part of the collection. These include family photos, copies of newspaper clippings, the Chadwick medal and the silver bowl. These materials were donated to the Conservatory Archives in 2001 by Jane Hyde, wife of Chadwick's grandson, George, on behalf of Chadwick's descendants.[2]

Among these archives were two manuscript scores of *Te Deums*, one an undated *Te Deum in D* and a second *Te Deum Laudamus* dated 1874. These works did not appear in any work lists, and further investigation revealed that they were unknown works. Moreover, there was no record that Chadwick ever commented on composing any *Te Deums*. Later research in one of Chadwick's sketchbooks, dated 1885, revealed sketches for the *Te Deum in D,* suggesting that this work was probably composed no earlier than 1885. This is significant because these two works fall on either side of Chadwick's musical study in Germany from 1877–1879—a seminal event in his life as a composer. Two settings of the same text, one written before and one after his European training, held great promise to enhance the understanding of Chadwick's development as a composer, especially with regard to his sacred choral works. This narrowed the focus of my study from Chadwick's complete sacred choral output to these two *Te Deum* manuscripts.

The purpose of this dissertation is twofold. One purpose is to bring to light these two unpublished, newly discovered *Te Deums* by Chadwick. The works are for four-part mixed chorus, soloists, and organ accompaniment. This study presents modern editions of each work from the manuscripts, analyzes these works, and compares and contrasts them

[2] "George W. Chadwick, Provenance," New England Conservatory of Music, http://necmusic.edu/archives/george-w-chadwick (accessed March 8, 2011).

with *Te Deums* by his American contemporaries. By placing these works in their historical context it is possible to trace Chadwick's development as a composer and to understand what influences shaped his compositional style with regard to choral music.

As a consequence of this primary investigation, this dissertation fulfills a second, and equally important function; it examines a previously unexplored repertory of nineteenth-century American church *Te Deums*. These works were published widely in America and England during the second half of the nineteenth century and represent a body of works popular with parishioners in churches in the Anglican tradition. These brief liturgical works designed for church choirs with organ accompaniment and usually of modest difficulty, differ from concert *Te Deums* that were usually larger works intended for special occasions and often written for chorus with orchestral accompaniment. To date, however, no study has examined the American church *Te Deum* in detail for style traits or common characteristics. My study takes on this task in order to place Chadwick's newly discovered *Te Deums* in their proper context.

Locating copies of scores of nineteenth-century American *Te Deums* proved a major challenge. Searching numerous online library catalogs across the country yielded little fruit. These works were published in octavo format for use in churches and became the property of choral music collections in church libraries. As tastes changed, many of these nineteenth-century works became dated, fell into disuse, and were discarded by the churches that once used them. Few ever found their way to cataloged library collections. There seemed little hope of finding a collection of nineteenth-century *Te Deum* scores sufficient in size to provide the proper context for understanding Chadwick's *Te Deums*.

Fortunately, the United States Congress established the Library of Congress as the sole agency in charge of copyright registration and deposit in 1870. At that time, anyone seeking to copyright printed material, including music, had to submit a complete copy of his or her work to the Copyright Office along with the application for copyright. All previous submissions that had accumulated prior to 1870 were included in the act and, as a result, 400,000 music items by American composers flooded into the Library of Congress Copyright Office. This transformed the Library's music holdings from works by Europeans to works primarily by Americans. Since no Music Department existed in the Library at that time these stacks of music languished and remained unprocessed for years. The Library of Congress established the Music Department in 1897 and over the years members of the staff selected works by notable composers, or works considered the most significant, from the Copyright Office depository to add to the Library's classified collection. The bulk of the music, however, remained neglected in the Copyright Office until the 1950s.

In 1978 the Music Division (formerly Department) collaborated with the Copyright Office to microfilm this storehouse of music, placing it on 447 reels of microfilm known as "Microfilm M 3500." None of this microfilmed material ever found its way into the Library of Congress catalog so many researchers never knew of it. The contents of this microfilm have since been digitized and placed online under the heading *Music for the Nation*. This online collection now covers music from the years 1820-1885. It represents a unique repository of printed music of all genres from nineteenth-century America. Thousands of sacred choral works are available including approximately 180 *Te*

*Deums*. Locating this material was a major discovery and was essential to the completion of this study.[3]

This investigation uses musical analysis to investigate the corpus of nineteenth-century American church *Te Deums*, including those by Chadwick. The technique used is that outlined by Jan LaRue in his book *Guidelines for Style Analysis*.[4] These guidelines reduce the works to their component data elements in order to collect sufficient data to determine patterns that occur among the various *Te Deum* settings. I chose the following elements from LaRues's *Guidelines for Style Analysis* as the most applicable to the choral *Te Deum* repertoire under investigation:

*Sound* – timbre, range, texture, dynamics, text influence.

*Form* – gross form, processes, details, types, and text influence.

*Harmony* – large-scale tonal relationships, interior key schemes, characteristic harmonic motifs, modality, chord vocabulary, alterations, dissonances, progressions, sequences, modulatory routes, harmonic and tonal rhythm, counterpoint, and text influences.

*Rhythm* – meter and tempo, dimension of activity, texture, syncopation, patterning, and text influence.

*Melody* – new or derived material, function, characteristic, and text influences.

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[3] "Music for the Nation: American Sheet Music 1870-1885," Music Division, The Library of Congress, Sept. 22, 2002, < http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/smhtml/ > (Accessed March 9, 2011).

[4] Jan LaRue, *Guidelines for Style Analysis* 2nd ed. (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1992), 2-22.

The data collected using the criteria above revealed distinctive traits or style elements among the *Te Deums* examined. This type of analysis is used advisedly, however, since the objectivity it provides may obscure equally important subjective aesthetic and artistic considerations. Eric Sams notes this shortcoming in his criticism of LaRue's technique when he states that,

> To analyse something, surely, is to say what it is really like, underneath its surface appearance. Taking pieces to pieces may help to show how a work works, and hence what it is worth. . . . But when pulverized to musical atoms and their equivalent verbal items, the gold might just as well be dross. What the resulting formulas have to do with either the substance or the value of this or any music remains, to me at least, wholly obscure.[5]

In this present study, however, LaRue's analytical technique is used to compare and contrast works within a repertory objectively and identify their stylistic characteristics. Observations are not limited to RaLue's guidelines and other considerations are used when considering the aesthetic value of a work. An additional advantage to using this analytic system is that Stanley Michael Wicks's dissertation, "*Te Deum:* Analysis of Selected Twentieth-Century Settings by American and British Composers" (1995), also used LaRue's style analysis. By using the same analytic technique, the findings of this present study, combined with the findings in Wicks's study, will enable researchers to compare and contrast the American *Te Deum* repertories from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Primary sources for this investigation include Chadwick's memoirs, letters, sketchbooks, manuscripts, published compositions and writings, as well as contemporary

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[5] Eric Sams, "Loose Ends" review of *Guidelines for Style Analysis,* by Jan LaRue, *The Musical Times*, 122/1658, (Apr. 1981): 243-244.

interviews, recollections, letters, sound recordings, and published writings made by others about Chadwick and his music. From this body of data, interpretations and conclusions are made about Chadwick's approach to sacred choral music and characteristics of his style.

**Description of chapters**:

Chapter one is a biography of George Whitefield Chadwick (1854-1931) with an emphasis on his sacred choral music and church employment. The decade of the 1880s Chadwick began writing choral music for churches, publishing approximately ten sacred choral works from 1880–1889. He wrote the *Te Deum in D* during this time. The following decade saw the greatest productivity in this genre with no fewer than eighteen anthems and larger sacred choral works published. This study examines Chadwick's involvement in church music and finds that his religious and philosophical views influenced his sacred choral compositions with regard to performing forces and selection of text.

Chapter two presents a brief historical overview of the musical treatment of the *Te Deum* text, with special emphasis on its use in nineteenth-century America. The *Te Deum* is an ancient sacred text that has been set to music for over a thousand years. The text contains doctrinal statements and, while primarily focused on praise, the *Te Deum* includes a variety of moods and emotions. This makes the text ripe for musical expression. For this reason, composers throughout the centuries have turned to it, often to commemorate important events that involve expressions of public praise and

thanksgiving to God as well as for regular use in liturgy. The discussion also briefly examines *Te Deums* by selected nineteenth-century American composers.

Chapter three is a discussion of four New England church composers—J.C.D. Parker, Dudley Buck, George W. Chadwick, and Horatio Parker—all of whom produced *Te Deums*. This quartet of New England composers were all musically trained in Germany, were significantly involved in church music, and interestingly, all worked with, or were influenced by, pastors who were widely noted not only for their rhetoric but for their impact on America's social and cultural development.

Chapter four pulls together the evidence presented in the previous chapters to draw conclusions concerning Chadwick's unfinished *Te Deums*. It also seeks to evaluate critically their musical merits and suggest reasons why their creator abandoned these works.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No enterprise of scholarly writing is ever a solo effort. The very nature of scholarship requires building upon the knowledge of others. Most writers only know these "others" through the pages of the books and articles consulted in the research effort; some are contemporaries but, for those of us in the historical fields, many have long since passed. Fortunate is the writer who can count among his acquaintances scholars who can inspire, guide, and assist during the research and writing process. Such was my good fortune in my doctoral committee and my colleagues and the University of Hawaii at Mānoa. Their constant encouragement, wise counsel, and confidence in me, when I often despaired of finishing this project, will always be appreciated.

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The staff of the Spaulding Library at the New England Conservatory of Music, where Chadwick taught and served as director for over thirty years, helped me incredibly as I conducted my research. Indeed, they were responsible, in part, for the entire project. Jean Morrow, Library Director at the NEC, learned I was interested in exploring Chadwick's choral music from a conversation we had at the Music Library Association Annual Meeting in Los Vegas, Nevada in 2000. When I later arrived in Boston to conduct research, not knowing where to begin, she handed me a manila envelope saying, "Here is some choral music we found while processing the new donation of Chadwick papers. See if any of it is useful to you." Among the contents of that envelope was the manuscript of his *Te Deum in D*. From that humble envelope this dissertation was born. I thank Jean for her great assistance in giving me free reign when searching for materials at the NEC. Equally helpful were staff members Maria Jane Loizou, Collection Management Librarian, and Maryalyce Perrin-Mohr, Archivist/Records Manager, for their support. They went above and beyond in meeting my every request for Chadwick material. For the materials on George F. Bristow, my thanks go to David Griggs-Janower,

music director of the Albany Pro Musica and the Catskill Choral Society. He was most gracious in supplying the entire score of Bristow's *Praise to God* when I had practically despaired of ever finding a copy of this interesting and unusual work.

A large part of this project involved making modern editions from Chadwick's manuscript scores. I used Sibelius software to create these scores and it was no small challenge to learn this new technology. My thanks go to Dr. James Hearon for his assistance with the complexities of the Sibelius program and creating the scores, especially Chadwick's *Te Deum laudamus* (1874). I also thank Eugene Alexander for his assistance with formatting the musical examples.

Also essential to my work on this project was the assistance of the University of Hawaii Libraries staff. Interim University Librarian, Paula Mochida, was gracious in approving my sabbatical leave to work on research and writing. Naomi Chow and her team in the Interlibrary Loan department were tireless in canvassing Libraries across the country to acquire the material I requested and delivering it in a timely manner. Grateful thanks goes to the wonderful staff and friends at Sinclair Library who never failed to make sure the unit continued to function smoothly despite my absences to concentrate on completing this endeavor. Special thanks goes to my colleague, Barbara Kudo, who had to endure hours of stories of the latest discovery I made in the obscure world of nineteenth-century American sacred music, and who cheerfully managed to appear keenly interested. Her tenacity in prodding me to finish this project is nothing short of amazing.

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# CHAPTER 1

## George W. Chadwick and His Life with Sacred Choral Music

### Early Life

The year 1854 witnessed a number of notable beginnings. The Republican Party was founded on March 20 that year in Ripon, Wisconsin. The first black university in the United States, the Ashmun Institute, was established. In France, *Le Figaro* began publication as a weekly. In Prussia (later Germany) the composer Engelbert Humperdinck was born, while in the neighboring Austrian Empire the composer, theorist and folklorist, Leoš Janáček was welcomed into the world. In Ireland, the playwright, poet, and author Oscar Wilde was born. Back in America, the future "March King," John Philip Sousa was born, as were two future music critics, Henry Krehbiel and Henry T. Finck. Both these critics would later write commentaries on the music of European and American composers. Among the American composers about whose music these critics would write was the composer who shared their birth year, George W. Chadwick.

What Chadwick later wrote about his own birth reveals much about the man. In the opening of his memoir he writes:

> And so I was born between the 13th and 14th of November. Was it too late? When I think of the tremendous interest in organ playing and choral singing in the early sixties, and the men of mediocre talent and half-baked educators who were the leaders in Boston at that time, it seems as though I might have won an honorable position without being obliged to struggle and fight quite so [hard] for it. On the other hand, perhaps I came too soon, for the time is coming, and perhaps before very long, when it will no longer be the style for newspaper reviewers to speak patronizingly of American composers who have the courage to write themselves down and have acquired the requisite technique with which to do it, when American orchestral conductors will have symphony orchestras to conduct and perhaps will even be preferred to heavy Teuton (toot-ons) who think their mission

> is to evangelize the country. . . . But whether it was too soon or too late, at any rate, I was born and was not even consulted.[6]

These remarks not only reveal Chadwick's sardonic wit and dry humor but also his frank, direct manner when offering his opinion, especially about music. His honest, rather blunt personality appears not only in his prose but also in his music and became a distinctive trait. Chadwick's protestations about the timing of his birth may not have been warranted, however, and the location of his birth could not have been better with regard to his career in music. He may not have recognized this, but others with the benefit of greater hindsight did.

Nicholas E. Tawa points out that the best place for a mid nineteenth-century American to build a musical career was in New England, and the closer to Boston the better. He indicates five essential conditions that are required to create the proper environment for the upbringing of a native composer of art music.

> First, during childhood and adolescence budding composers needed family or friends to precipitate an interest in music as a career. Somehow or other, a determination to continue on a musical course, despite possible financial difficulties and social disapproval, had to exist. On balance, the artistic, cultural, and intellectual community needed to approve and encourage the production of music. Sponsorship by influential or affluent individuals was necessary. A spirit

[6] George W. Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1854. This excerpt comes from a collection of writings, letters, clippings, and programs Chadwick compiled and wrote with few consecutive page numbers or titled divisions. The memoirs are unpublished and are located in the Spaulding Music Library at the New England Conservatory of Music, Boston. Only a date separates one section from another. Chadwick started to put the materials together for his children sometime around 1909 and continued adding to it for many years. Some sections of the narrative were written in Chadwick's own hand while others were typewritten by his wife, Ida Mae. It is not uncommon to find a dated letter followed by Chadwick's recollection about the event written many years hence. For clarity, whenever this source is cited, letters will be referred to specifically in the notes indicating recipient and date. Reference to programs or other dated material will be similarly indicated. Those portions of the document written as remembrances are referred to as "memoirs" and dates for the events referred to will be indicated as precisely as possible. Where dates can be estimated through some evidence that will be noted. When such evidence does not exist, the fact that the comment comes from a later time period is indicated. Chadwick did not date this first quotation from the scrapbook, but it is most certainly a twentieth-century reflection on his birth.

> of collegiality among the few composers there were would give strength and encouragement to each. The availability of competent musicians willing and able to perform whatever new American works were created, and of audiences willing to listen, were of paramount importance. Finally, a means to a livelihood, preferably through music, was certainly a desideratum.
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> Until the mid-nineteenth century, the conditions outlined above were not met anywhere in the United States.[7]

Tawa also indicates that conditions changed around the 1850s in New England. He notes the rich literary and intellectual environment in New England and particularly in Boston. In literature there were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry David Thoreau. In art there was John Singleton Copley. By the last half of the century observers such as Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Longfellow, and the conductor Theodore Thomas would all agree that Boston was the birthplace of art music in the United States.[8] So it would seem that Chadwick was born neither too soon nor too late, nor in the wrong location, though speculations on changing such events are moot.

Shortly after Chadwick was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, only thirty miles north of Boston, his mother, Hannah, died from complications of the birth. Because of this, Chadwick was sent sixty-seven miles to the north to live with his paternal grandfather, James, in Boscawen, New Hampshire. He remained there with his grandfather until the elderly gentleman died in 1857. George, now aged three, was returned to Lowell to live with his father, Alonzo Chadwick, and stepmother Susan [nee Collins] whom Alonzo had married two years before. According to Victor Fell Yellin, this early episode of abandonment probably played a part in the strained relationship

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[7] Nicholas Tawa, "Why American Art Music First Arrived in New England," in *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918,* ed. Michael Saffle (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 142.
[8] Tawa, "Why American Music," 143-44.

Chadwick would have with his father.[9] This complicated Chadwick's training since it removed one of the five conditions for developing a composer mentioned above, namely that of familial support.

Like many young men across America during the nineteenth century, Chadwick grew up in the church. For him this meant the Congregational Church, one of the most prevalent denominations in New England. There he learned the scriptures, hymns, and liturgies of the church at an early age. This was an era when church attendance was *de rigueur* for most Americans. It was a major part of the social fabric of society. For some, the church was a central part of their lives, and the teachings of the church provided their spiritual and moral compass. For others the church was merely part of the trappings of respectable society and served largely a social function. But either way, the church exerted a considerable force in American life, and by mid century that force was changing from what it had been when the nation was founded. Earlier, church music was often a rarity. The Puritan roots of many American congregations lingered on for many generations and church fathers looked upon music with suspicion, viewing it as an entertainment and distraction from the proper reverence the worship service required. Congregations often sang poorly, if indeed one were lucky enough to attend church where singing was encouraged. Many volunteer choirs did not fare much better since their members often had little more training than the rest of the congregation. Where the choir did possess some musical facility, there was the danger that this only served to

[9] Victor Fell Yellin, *Chadwick, Yankee Composer* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 12-14.

widen the gap between music listener and music maker, and some accounts suggest that this silenced the congregation even more.[10]

According to Chadwick's own recollection, however, the music of the churches of his childhood presented a more encouraging musical environment. This adds further support to Tawa's assertion that the Boston area was the place to be if one sought musical nourishment.[11] In a lecture before the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1913, Chadwick commented ". . . in those days every village had its church and every church its choir, and in that church and choir the social as well as the religious interests of the place were largely concentrated."[12]

Chadwick's accounts of days spent pumping the organ bellows seem to indicate he leaned more to the social side of the church experience rather than the spiritual. He recounts a tale in which he would cease pumping the organ bellows just in time to prevent the organist from resolving a dominant-seventh or subtonic-seventh chord that cries out for resolution even to the unsophisticated listener.[13] Such mischief is indicative of what many of his friends and associates would recall as his playful, good humor. As this study will demonstrate later, that playfulness spilled over into his compositions, including his *Te Deum in D*.

Chadwick soon moved from pumping the organ bellows to sitting at the console. Chadwick's older brother, Fitts Henry, played the organ at church and gave the young

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[10]Elwyn A. Wienandt and Robert H. Young, *The Anthem in England and America* (New York: The Free Press, 1970), 302.
[11] Tawa, "Why American Music," 143-44.
[12] David P. DeVenney, *Source Readings in American Choral Music*, Edited by James R. Heintze, vol. 15, *Monographs and Bibliographies in American Music* (Missoula, MT: The College Music Society, 1995), 95.
[13] Chadwick, "Memoirs," March 18, 1908.

George his first music lessons. Fitts Henry's lessons served his younger brother well, and in 1870 he supplanted his teacher as church organist of the Lawrence Street Church.

During Chadwick's early life, music as a career choice did not possess the reputation that it enjoys today. In nineteenth-century America, music and other performing arts were not seen as a proper means for a respectable gentlemen to make a living. A man might partake in these endeavors as a dilettante but not a professional; otherwise his virtue and respectability might be questioned. The church, however, provided safe haven for the man who delighted in music making. The church's role in society ensured that gentlemen and ladies who sang or played within its confines not only maintained their mantle of respectability but often had it enlarged by doing so. Thus it was that Chadwick's early musical training continued, though his father would have prefered his youngest son turn his hand to business or commerce, particularly the insurance business that the elder Chadwick had pursued quite successfully. Alonzo Chadwick was a bit of a musician, playing trumpet in the town band, but this was never more than an avocation. While church employment may have lent respectability to a musician, it also provided shelter for some musicians of lesser quality. Church music committees often lacked the musical knowledge needed to make informed hiring decisions to select talented organists and choir directors. Chadwick was certainly not among such a group, for his abilities were more than adequate, but this condition may explain his reference to "men of mediocre talent" and complaints from other commentators on the uneven quality of music making in American churches.[14]

[14] Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1854.

Chadwick recalled his experience with choral music at the 1869 Peace Jubilee held in Boston as one of his earliest experiences with music outside the church. Organized by the popular bandmaster Patrick Gilmore (1829-1892), this was an historic gathering of musicians. According to Yellin, one should not underestimate the role this event played in shaping Chadwick's musical career. Yellin believes that the sonorities of the large massed choral and orchestral forces of this seminal event caused Chadwick to choose music as a career.[15] If true, it would help explain Chadwick's interest in the grand ceremonial and celebratory possibilities found in the *Te Deum,* the focus of this study. Tawa notes that the Peace Jubilee is yet another indication of Boston's maturing musical culture. Such events pointed to the improving prospects for those with aspirations to a musical career.[16]

Events such as the Peace Jubilee were symptomatic of another cultural force at work in Victorian American society. This is a phenomenon N. Lee Orr calls American Triumphalism. "As a national sentiment, American Triumphalism encompassed the broad view that the nation's way of life, thought, religion, economics, and politics would inevitably triumph over other historical systems and peoples."[17] This sentiment produced writings, music, and art that celebrated the national virtue and denied the possibility of national failure. Today, such a concept may seem naïve or arrogant, but it was a powerful ideal in its day. This concept provides an important context for understanding the choice of musical subjects by Chadwick.

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[15] Yellin, *Chadwick*, 17.
[16] Tawa, "Why American Art Music," 50.
[17] N. Lee Orr, *Dudley Buck* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 92.

By his teenage years, Chadwick was pursuing further training in music when and where he could but was reluctant to do so openly, probably concerned about his father's dim view of such pursuits. He dropped out of school in 1871 and entered his father's insurance business. There may well have been ulterior motives for this move, aside from his father's insistence, since it allowed him to take frequent trips to Boston where he could take music lessons from some of the best teachers in the country. By 1872 he was studying at the New England Conservatory as a "special student," meaning he was not enrolled in a degree plan. This was the start of a life-long association with this venerable institution, which he would eventually direct from 1897 to 1930. At the New England Conservatory, Chadwick studied organ with George E. Whiting (1840-1923), piano with Carlyle Petersilea (1844-1903) and theory with Stephen Emery (1841-1891). In 1873 Chadwick took organ lessons with the celebrated composer and organist Dudley Buck, who had just joined the Conservatory faculty.

Originally from Hartford, Connecticut, Buck had recently been displaced by the fire of 1871 from Chicago to Boston, where he became the organist at St. Paul's (Episcopal) church and taught organ and harmony at the New England Conservatory. He recalled that Buck was a "good teacher, gave me Bach to play, and showed that he expected that I was going to do something."[18]

This student-teacher relationship is noteworthy for several reasons. One is that Buck had studied three years in Germany and a year in Paris from 1858-61. In Germany he studied at the Leipzig Conservatory and later traveled with Julius Rietz (1812-1877) to study with him in Dresden. Rietz was teacher to Salomon Jadassohn and Arthur Sullivan.

[18] Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1872.

Buck found him an agreeable teacher who nurtured his love of Bach's music. He willingly followed Rietz from the grim, dictatorial instructors in Leipzig to Dresden. Buck no doubt recounted his experiences in Europe to his pupil, which added to Chadwick's desire to study abroad. This may also account for his interest in the Leipzig Conservatory, since Buck did not enjoy his studies there, however, one is left to wonder what comments the two may have exchanged about that institution. Also, Buck had become well known not only as an organist but also as a significant composer with many choral works to his credit. He was able to carve out a comfortable living for himself and his family. In fact, while in Chicago he had built a beautifully appointed fourteen-room home and next to it constructed a 1000-square-foot, 200-seat auditorium with a three-manual Johnson organ and a Steinway upright piano.[19] Though all of this was lost in the fire, Buck quickly secured gainful employment in Boston at St. Paul's Episcopal Church and was soon connected with the musical elite of the city such as John Sullivan Dwight. Chadwick could not help but notice the fame and economic success Buck enjoyed as a result of the popularity of his choral and organ music. This type of life could surely rival the insurance salesman's life his father had planned for him and was much more to Chadwick's liking.

Chadwick had encountered Buck's work earlier at the second Peace Jubilee in 1872. This time the festival commemorated the end of the Franco-Prussian War, and was organized once again by Patrick Gilmore. Dudley Buck supplied a *Festival Hymn* for the event. In this extravaganza Chadwick was a participant rather than an observer. According to Chadwick, he played a variety of roles with the chorus. He sang bass,

[19] Orr, *Dudley Buck,* 42.

occasionally accompanied the chorus, and even had his first conducting experience. Also in the chorus was the nine-year old Horatio Parker, who would later become one of Chadwick's pupils and a lifelong friend. While Chadwick discounted the artistry of the Jubilee in general, he indicated that it was significant for its influence on the art of choral singing in America. "Artistically, this Jubilee was perhaps of little importance, but its effect on choral singing lasted for many years, and so I hope that I shall live to see another one and a reason for another one."[20] This comment is symptomatic of the attitude of American Triumphalism. Chadwick, along with other Americans, took the progressive view that the end of war was something that society would achieve as it advanced. After all, the previous Peace Jubilee had taken place only three years earlier. Chadwick could see that such events would need music, and more specifically, jubilant choral music, to commemorate the occasion. But there was yet a deeper understanding at work here. Art music was seen as a reforming influence in society and, as such, was replacing religion as a transformative force for good. To such progressive believers, music would not only commemorate peace, music would change hearts and thus would bring about peace.

In 1874 comes the first extant evidence of a composition by Chadwick. This *Te Deum Laudamus,* dated "Easter 1874," is a sacred choral work very similar in scope and style to the church *Te Deums* intended for liturgical services, especially those by his organ teacher Dudley Buck. Although the vocal parts are complete, the accompaniment remains unfinished with some parts either sketched in or missing. The manuscript was discovered among the Chadwick papers that were deposited in the Spaulding Library at

[20] Chadwick, "Memoirs" 1872. These remarks were not made at that time, however, and were reflections recorded when Chadwick compiled his memoirs in the early twentieth century.

the New England Conservatory in 2001. Before this, the earliest composition by Chadwick was thought to be a "Canon in E-flat." The "Canon" is since lost, but record of its existence comes from a listing on a Michigan Conservatory program dated 6 November 1876.[21] The discovery of this *Te Deum* is significant because by establishing an earlier date when Chadwick began composing music it suggests that Dudley Buck, his teacher in 1873, may have had more of an impact on Chadwick's decision to pursue a career as a composer than previously thought. Yellin, for example, makes no mention of Buck as Chadwick's teacher or influence. He states only in passing that Chadwick attended Buck's organ recitals as a youth. Bill Faucett notes that Chadwick took "occasional organ lessons" with Buck. More recent scholarship by N. Lee Orr, however, establishes a more important relationship between Buck and Chadwick. Orr remarks that "Buck was among the most influential organ teachers in the county, whose students included leading figures of the next generation of American musicians, including George Chadwick, Charles Ives (1874-1954), Clarence Eddy (1851-1937), Frederick Grant Gleason (1848-1903), Harry Rowe Shelley (1858-1947), and many others."[22] Orr also indicates that in a 1907 article, Chadwick reminisces fondly about composers he knew and worked among, but absent from that list was Dudley Buck. It is Orr's belief that Buck was not admitted to the "canon" of elite American musicians because he worked outside the academy (he turned down a position at Yale in 1887) and composed accessible music for the masses that was less technically demanding. While this may explain why Buck's association with Chadwick has been overlooked, this newly

[21] Bill F. Faucett, *George Whitefield Chadwick: A Bio-bibliography* (Wesport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 3.
[22] Orr, *Dudley Buck,* 52.

discovered 1874 *Te Deum* helps us reconsider the facts. By this time Buck had produced seven of his nine *Te Deum* settings. Since many *Te Deums* were published in America when Buck and Chadwick were working together, and both men were active in church music, it is not unreasonable to assume they may have discussed setting the text.

It was not long before the clandestine music lessons that Chadwick took at the New England Conservatory began to repay him professional rewards. Thanks to a series of fortuitous personal connections he was given a one-year appointment as director of music at Olivet College in Michigan in 1876. This appointment was far in advance of his academic credentials, for Chadwick had not graduated from high school and had not formally completed a degree plan at the New England Conservatory. At the age of 21, and looking even younger than his tender age, Chadwick took on the challenge of providing music instruction in a music program begun in 1874.

Father John J. Shipherd founded Olivet College in 1844. The college's guiding principle was to provide students with "the means of intellectual, moral, and spiritual improvement and to teach them the Divine art and science of doing good to others." From its beginning, the college's founders and leaders believed an education should be available to anyone regardless of gender, race, or ability to pay.[23] Chadwick sympathized with these progressive ideals, for he supported women composers and would later count several women among his composition students.

Chadwick accepted the challenge of directing music at Olivet College with the same vigor and determination he later brought to the New England Conservatory. At

[23] Olivet College, "History of Olivet College," http://www.olivetcollege.edu/about/history.php (accessed October 5, 2010).

Olivet he taught harmony, composition, and organ; gave organ recitals; and even taught voice and instruments that he had never formally studied.[24] While at Olivet he took on extracurricular activities as well. At the urging of his elder colleague Theodore Presser, later of music publishing fame (his music magazine, *The Etude*, began in 1883), Chadwick became a founding member of the Music Teachers National Association (MTNA). At the first meeting in Delaware, Ohio, Chadwick gave an address entitled "Popular Music—Wherein Reform is Necessary." This unvarnished presentation derided popular music of the day as "trash" and "inartistic." Yellin recounts the event including the exchange between the "Young Turk" Chadwick and the established and successful popular song composer George Frederick Root (1820-1895). In the account, Root comes off the elder statesman and Chadwick the zealous reformer.[25] But the account informs us of Chadwick's lifelong dedication—sometimes stubborn dedication—to his principles.

He never forgot, however, that he lacked the requisite training needed to lay the foundation for a solid career as a composer. His firm grasp on reality and lack of self-deception served him well. Even before starting the appointment at Olivet College, Chadwick had resolved to study in Germany to gain the training, experience, and polish he needed to pursue a career as a serious composer. He carefully saved the money he earned from his work at Olivet to fund his training in Germany.

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[24] Yellin, *Chadwick*, 23.
[25] Yellin, *Chadwick,* 25.

**Study Abroad**

In September 1877, after only one very busy year at Olivet College, Chadwick boarded the Hamburg-American liner "Gellert" bound for Germany. Germany was the preferred country of study for American musicians that the concert pianist Amy Fay would later refer to as "the marvelous and only real home of music."[26] Upon arrival Chadwick set about finding the music instruction best suited to his needs. He intended to study in Berlin with Carl August Haupt (1810-1891), an organist known for his fine extempore variations in the style of J. S. Bach. But following the initial interview Chadwick was advised to go to Stuttgart to study with Emmanuel Faisst (1824-1894), also a noted organist and teacher who founded a school of organ and a society for the study of church music. Chadwick did not like that idea so instead he went to Leipzig to enroll in the Conservatory there. Again he was advised differently, and a piano student at the Conservatory recommended that he study privately with Salomon Jadassohn (1831-1902).

Jadassohn had been a pupil of Franz Liszt (1811-1886), E.F. Richter (1808-1879), one of Dudley Buck's teachers, and Moritz Hauptmann (1792-1868). He considered himself first and foremost a composer, and he wrote works for piano, chamber ensemble, orchestra, chorus and solo voices. Of his over 140 numbered works, he is best known for those that feature his skill at counterpoint, specifically canonic writing. His penchant for solid craftsmanship was a trait he sought to impart to his students. As an admirer of Liszt

[26] Amy Fay, *Music Study in Germany* (Chicago: Jansen, Mclurg & Co., 1881), 348.

and Wagner his teachings in harmony delved into chromaticism and enharmonicism and emphasized chordal meanings.[27] Among his students were Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924), Frederick Delius (1862-1934), Edvard Grieg (1843-1907), and Sigfrid Karg-Elert (1877-1933).

Chadwick recognized Jadassohn as an accomplished artist and fine teacher. He wrote to his friend in America, Charlie Saunders, that Jadassohn was "regarded here as [the] next man to Reinecke."[28] Reinecke, along with Jadassohn, championed the young composer from Boston. Chadwick, however, praised Jadassohn as an encouragement to him and a great help in gaining the kind of systematic instruction he felt he needed. He thought it most useful when Jadassohn commented "you write well and very characteristic music but you must write some more counterpoint." Chadwick went on to state that

> He asked me if I knew anything about orchestration—I said no but had written some—He asked me to play a phrase on the piano for a clarinet and then various questions about various instruments. Told me to study all the scores I could get hold of—which I had already commenced to do and ended by saying—"Gut! You bring me next *Sonnabend* a three part fugue for piano and a minuet for Orchestra!" . . . I can't tell you how pleased I was—not only with that but with the man—he is quiet but enthusiastic and I think he appreciates my position exactly—he showed me the score of his own orchestrated canons and various other canons of his—beautiful things too—I know that I have struck the right man.[29]

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[27] Janna Saslaw, "Jadassohn, Salomon," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 12: 746-7.

[28] Chadwick, "Letter to Charlie Saunders," October 20,1877. Carl Heinrich Carsten Reinecke (1824 -1910) was a German composer, conductor and pianist. After holding several teaching positions, he became the director of the Gewandhaus Orchestra concerts in Leipzig in 1860 and became professor of composition and piano at the Conservatorium. He was a teacher for 35 years and was known as one of the most influential musicians of his day. Reinhold Sietz, "Reinecke, Carl (Heinrich Carsten)," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed. edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 21: 157-8.

[29] Chadwick, Letter to Charlie Saunders, October 20, 1877.

During this time in Leipzig, Chadwick continued his interest in sacred choral music. While most commentators focus on his orchestral music and other instrumental writing, Chadwick's letters and diaries reveal that choral music was not neglected. In another letter to Charlie, dated Dec 15, 1877 Chadwick documents his thoughts on the choral music of the *Thomaskirche* in Leipzig.

> The Thomas Schule choir (Richter cantor) sing motettes every Saturday to which I always go. It is magnificent[.] I never would have believed that boy's voices could be developed to such a richness and fullness. The[y] sing generally something by one of the old cantors—much of the time previous to Bach and wind up with something by Richter, or Jadassohn, or Hauptmann or a modern writer. They sing the most difficult fugues for double choirs without accompaniment and without waver. Our poor American church music is more disgusting than ever after such ecclesiastic music.[30]

In this same letter Chadwick reveals that his interest in such services is more musical than ecclesiastical. "I haven't been to church service since I came to Leipzig for the reason that it takes place at ½ 9 [8:30] a.m. Too early for me as I sometimes don't get home from the night before till that time."[31] Chadwick was well known for enjoying convivial company with his friends, and such *Gemütlichkeit* likely kept him occupied until the wee hours of the morning and thus prevented his regular attendance at Sunday morning services.

In a letter dated January 4, 1878, Chadwick reveals his interest in the dramatic effects elicited by music. His description of the closing scene of a production of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* indicates that, at an early stage, he was captivated by dramatic action and methods by which music and orchestration can enhance that action. This understanding is important in the development of his choral compositional style in which he seeks to find

[30] Chadwick, Letter to Charlie Saunders, December 15, 1877.
[31] Chadwick, Letter to Charlie Saunders, December 15, 1877.

dramatic possibilities in the text and then use melodies and effective accompaniments to support and highlight the drama. The comments also provide an early example of Chadwick's directness in his criticisms and reveal his thoughts about the craftsmanship of Mozart and Wagner. Chadwick notes in a postscript

> ". . . by Jove I'll never say anything about Don Juan again—I can imagine the feelings of the first public that heard it with its new trombones etc. It was magnificently given—the commandant did not sing flat neither did the chorus flag nor the orchestra play the overture twice as fast as it ought to be—as has usually been the case when I have seen it before. It is an opera that one can enjoy musically without wondering what it all means or wading through Leitmotive. Don Juan does not fall on the stage when the Ghost takes his hand either—The ghost goes through the floor and the scene changes quicker than you can think from a dim—well furnished room to a glaring, steaming, horrible boiling sea of fire—with real fire spurting out here and there—Don J. starts for the side and is met by four or five demons—back to the other side and is met by several more who gradually surround him— . . . and end by pitching him head first into the fire which closes over him. Those devilish trombones all the time blasting like Germanic demons—Talk about Wagner. Here is as much effect and its all music!!![32]

In his next letter, Chadwick's remarks provide insight into his compositional thinking. Chadwick had started working on a sacred choral work with his friend, Charlie Saunders, writing the libretto. It was to be a large work, and the pair had hoped to use it to win the $1,000 prize offered by the Cincinnati Festival Association. The libretto was based on scripture, but in the end, as Chadwick later remarked, it proved to be too long and impractical. Despite the fact that the work was never completed, the exchange between the collaborators tells us what sort of details Chadwick attended to when setting text to music. For example, he remarked to Charlie "Long words in succession are hard to

[32] Chadwick, Letter to Charlie Sunders, January 4, 1878.

write effective music to and if you could find another sentence for the "overflowing of ungodliness" it will help me much--."[33]

The following passage indicates the sort of imaginative creativity Chadwick brought to bear on his work.

> One more thing—The recitative no. 6 is of course an indispensible [sic] affair but how can I write reverent music to such a dramatic incident?—on the other hand how can I write dramatic descriptive music to sacred words? From the fact that it is a simple narration of events a plain recitative would be appropriate as the narrator is not supposed to be indulging in an earthquake but the dramatic interest of the event demands something more—the idea has come to me that the recitative could be plain accompanied by the organ only while the orchestra has interludes in the interstices of the sentences—I fail to see the appropriateness of a change of voice for the angel—It seems to me that after the words "he is not here for he is risen" that the whole chorus ought to burst out with the Easter hymn (no. 8).
>
> I think that with about 3 trombones and a tuba and the music hall organ I should be able to make a small earthquake—How to make an earthquake that you can hear a singer in the midst of is more than Jadassohn has yet taught me—If I bring this work home with me in 1880 I shall be satisfied—I think that a baritone is better for the recitatives.

The work the two conceived may have suffered from some of the excesses of youth, but it proved a valuable learning experience for Chadwick, who was earnestly applying the craftsmanship he was developing in his lessons with Jadassohn to projects that captivated his imagination. It is noteworthy that his imagination was excited by the opportunity to prepare a sacred choral work. The $1,000 prize probably provided some excitement as well, but it eluded them and was won instead by Chadwick's old teacher, Dudley Buck, for his *Golden Legend*. Chadwick believed that Charlie Saunders' book, selected from the scriptures, was much too long and impractical.

[33] Chadwick, Letter to Charles Saunders, January 29, 1879.

As mentioned before, most commentators on Chadwick's music focus on his instrumental works or his large dramatic music such as his opera or his lyric drama, *Judith*. While the text of Judith comes from the Apocrypha, it is one of his few sacred works that has garnered much attention. From the writings of commentators such as Yellin and Steven Ledbetter, one might conclude that Chadwick took little notice of sacred music. This would, indeed, be a mistake. In a letter dated April 18, 1878, comes an account that indicates that Chadwick was keenly aware of sacred choral music and made careful observations about its structure and performance. This account also provides an insightful comparison between European and American performing forces.

> . . . 1st Bach's St. Johannus Passion Musik by the Bredelshe Verein in the Thomas Kirche, the first performance since 1872. I was more impressed by it than any performance whatever since I've been in Germany—This may have been owing to the fact that I was listening to Bach's music exactly as he expected to listen to it when he wrote it—in his own church—the one he labored so long and faithfully for—with his own organ to do the recitative accompaniment—It is not so stupendous a work in length or conception as the Matthäus Passion but it is wonderfully dramatic—the choruses are mostly all short distinct and impressive . . . . The evangelist all recitative accompanied by the organ. The chorales which are beautiful are of a reflective character contrasting strongly with the dramatic choruses and the simple recitatives—The first chorus is the most elaborate—The performance was remarkably good—The Vereins chorus of about 500 and gewandhaus orchestra make a strong combination—However the place to hear good oratorio and concert singing—both solo and chorus is in Boston—There is no bass in this place like Whitney, Womick, or Rudolphsen and the H & H [Handel and Haydn Society] are far superior in solidity as well as color to any Verein here—Last Sunday Spohr's Last Judgment and next Friday we have the Matthaus music.[34]

Here we see Chadwick's enthusiasm for the dramatic elements of sacred choral music and his attention to the details that Bach employs to bring the narrative to life. He notes the contrasts between the treatment of the choruses and the solos, the complex versus the

[34] Chadwick, letter to Charles Saunders, April 18, 1878.

simple, and the reflective nature of the music. From his admission that the Handel and Haydn Society chorus was as good as, or superior to, any similar choral organization in Europe, Chadwick confirms what other commentators, such as Tawa, have indicated about his native city, namely that it was an ideal location for developing a young musician.

In May of 1878, Chadwick remarked to Charlie Saunders that he took in yet another large choral work by Bach. ". . . On Good Friday I went to the Matthaus Passion music in the Thomas Kirche and found it intesnsely [sic] interesting—Not more so than the St Johnannus Passion although a much larger work."[35]

By 1879 Chadwick had given up on the sacred choral work he was writing with Charlie Saunders, but he had not given up on sacred choral music. Instead, he wrote to Charlie that he had an idea for another sacred choral work.

> I want something pathetic and dramatic at the same time and have about concluded to try a requiem mass.
>
> If I had a text like Goethe's Erlenkonig Tochter I'll bet I could make something—I had a great mind to translate it but that it probably is already done—I would not expect to make a grand solemn mass like Cherubini's or Mozart's nor yet an operatic and sentimental one like Verdi's but like Brahms' perhaps—the best thing he ever made.
>
> It is difficult for me to make a strict contrapuntal work like that and not relapse into counterpoint exercises—I would much rather try a symphony or suite in strict form where I could use a little more development—But I must go to work on it and I think that I shall probably stick by old Jadassohn until it is done at least.[36]

[35] Chadwick, letter to Charles Saunders, May 5, 1878.
[36] Chadwick, letter to Charles Sunders, March 14, 1879.

His comment about "more development" reveals an important compositional challenge for Chadwick with regard to sacred choral music. Even at this early stage in his career he recognized his need for larger forms to exercise his imagination and play out his musical ideas. The music published for Victorian American church services provided little space for larger works. The popular anthems and set pieces were rarely more than ten minutes in length; most were less than seven minutes. Clearly, Chadwick would either need to focus on larger choral forms that would live outside the sanctuary, or make compromises to accommodate the smaller forms. With regard to the *Te Deum,* it was very popular in America to set the text as a smaller anthem-like piece with organ or piano accompaniment, but the text also functioned well set as a larger work with full orchestra. As we shall see later, Chadwick's difficulty in choosing which format to pursue could explain why his *Te Deum in D* went unfinished.

This letter regarding a requiem was written at the same time he was planning his *Prüfung* composition, *Rip van Winkle* (1879), which was highly successful and brought him much positive press. It is significant that even while contemplating his orchestral "overture," a fluid form that was a very successful vehicle for him with future works such as *Melpomene* (dramatic overture,1887), *Aphrodite* (symphonic fantasy, 1910-11), and *Tam O'Shanter* (symphonic ballad, 1914-15), Chadwick was preoccupied with sacred choral music. Later in the same letter he writes "I am working slowly on a Psalm for choir and orchestra but I can't get into the spirit."[37] This is further evidence that sacred choral music was much on Chadwick's mind.

[37] Chadwick, Letter to Charles Saunders, March 14, 1879.

The idea of a requiem mass may have come from his attending a performance of Verdi's *Requiem.* But if so, it was not because he was enamored of the opera composer's treatment of the sacred text. After hearing the work twice he commented, "He [Verdi] means all right but his fugues are very cheap. I like the "Salve me" the best—The "Dies Irae" is ridiculous."[38] The comment about the "Dies Irae" probably refers to its theatricality. While theatricality might be expected of an opera composer, the issue of mixing sacred text and operatic music was a point of some contention by observers other than Chadwick. As early as the 1850s, tastemakers lamented the dearth of good church music and the many adaptations and arrangements of sacred texts set to operatic and instrumental music.[39] Later, a contributor to *Atlantic Monthly* in 1883 complained that *contrafacta* that combined the text of "O Love Divine, How Sweet Thou Art" with a duet from *Die Zauberflöte* or "Eternal Father, Strong to Save" with "Consolation" from Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* were distasteful in a worship service.[40] While Verdi's *Requiem* was not a *contrafactum*, the issue of operatic or instrumental works used in the worship service is common in all these cases. As already noted, Chadwick enjoyed a well-constructed opera such as *Don Giovanni,* and also enjoyed the sacred music of Bach, but he never confused the roles of one with the other. To him, sacred music had a separate and distinct role from music for entertainment.

The comment about Verdi's "cheap fugue" is also telling since Chadwick's Germanic training was focused on counterpoint and fugue writing. The oratorios of Handel and Mendelssohn had demonstrated the power a well-written fugue can produce

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[38] Chadwick, Letter to Charles Saunders, Nov. 21, 1878.
[39] Orr, *Dudley Buck,* 19.
[40] Joseph A. Musselman, *Music in the Cultured Generation* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971) 189.

in a sacred choral work. Chadwick found that, when weighed in the balance, the fugue from Verdi's *Requiem* was found wanting. He elaborates further on Verdi's *Requiem* as it compares to others of that genre in another letter from 1879:

> It is Palm Sunday and I have just come from a performance of Mozart's requiem in the Thomas Kirche by the Thomas choir and orchestra. I find it as impressive and grand as ever and much more interesting than Chrerubini's . How its simple, genuine dignity ca[lls] Verdi's schrieking [sic], blarting [sic], claptrap scarecrows into the shade Eh! I never [cared] worth a cent [for] th[at]. No genuine "Rex termendae" needs to split a man's [ear] or have his presence proclaimed by a brass band. Kings on paper or in German principalities (Saxony for instance) only resort to such measures – The real effect of Mozart's mass comes from the genuineness of the music rather than any technical, superficial dressing up of it by the orchestra – [41]

In June of 1879 he sent an associate to Munich to "look over the situation there in consideration of studying with Rheinberger."[42] Jadassohn suggested to Chadwick that he expand his knowledge though study away from Leipzig, but he recommended Chadwick work with the organist and composer Gustav Merkel (1827-1885) in Dresden. It was Chadwick's decision, in the end, to study with Rheinberger instead.

Joseph Gabriel Rheinberger (1839-1901) was a distinguished organist and professor of piano and composition at the Königliche Musikschule [Royal Music School] in Munich. He wrote a considerable amount of sacred music including twelve masses, three requiems, two *Stabat Maters*, and a Christmas cantata, *Der Stern von Bethlehem*.[43] His instrumental works include symphonies, chamber music and many piano pieces including four sonatas. But his most enduring contribution is his organ music, especially his twenty organ sonatas that rank as one of the most significant contributions to that

[41] Chadwick, letter to Charles Saunders, April 6, 1879.
[42] Chadwick, typed comments inserted following letter to Charles Saunders, June 23, 1879.
[43] Chadwick would later write his own "Christmas Pastorale" entitled *Noel* in 1909.

repertory since Mendelssohn. He also left a legacy as a rigorous teacher whose students, in addition to Chadwick, included Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921), Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari (1876-1948), Horatio Parker (1863-1919), and Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954).

While Chadwick paints Rheinberger as less than sterling as a pedagogue, he admits that he learned much about counterpoint from him:

> Rheinberger was not an inspiring teacher. He had absolutely no idea of the students' point of view and he was pedantic, not to say pig-headed to a degree. This was even more noticeable in the instruction on orchestration than in his counterpoint lessons. He never quoted anybody after the time of Weber; most of his examples being from Gluck, Mozart, or Beethoven. These we were obliged to write out on the blackboard and copy, even though we owned the score ourselves. He never mentioned Wagner, Berlioz, or Lizt [sic] and if he had, it would probably have been with contempt, but I learned much from him, especially about canonic writing, of which I had done very little, and about the regular development of a contrapuntal education.[44]

In these same reflections Chadwick notes that he regretted leaving Leipzig after his two-year stay. He mentioned that Joachim Raff (1822-1882) was in Frankfurt and was actually a greater master of the orchestra than Reinicke, Jadassohn, or Rheinberger. He indicated that Cesar Franck (1822-1890) was in Paris and he regrets that he did not get to study with him writing that "Perhaps it would have made no difference in the end, but I think so, and at least it would have obviated some of the rather formal [crossed out familiar] ideas which I had picked up in Leipzig."[45] Despite Rheinberger's considerable contributions to sacred music Chadwick makes no mention of sacred choral music in his letters or later commentary during this period.

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[44] Chadwick, typed comments inserted following a letter to Charles Saunders, June 28, 1879. While there is no date given for these comments, they must have occurred after WWI because Chadwick remarks that one of the towns referred to in his notes had played an important strategic role during the Great War.
[45] Chadwick, typed comments inserted following a letter to Charles Sunders, June 28, 1879.

In his last letters to Charlie Saunders written from Europe on this first trip, Chadwick provides a revealing summary of his training. It softens, somewhat, some of his earlier remarks and gives possibly a more reflective appraisal of his experience.

> I have profited much by Rheinberger's instruction in counterpoint as well as my own organ practice. Now that I am going away he seems to have found out that he was quite interested—has several times expressed his regret and spoken very highly of me to several other people here, I understand[.] He has not made such a pet of me as Jadassohn did however and I'm not sure but that it was best that he didn't, for with Jadassohn I got rather fond of my own way and that isn't good for <u>any pupil</u>.
>
> Thinking over the events of the past year in Europe I find that I did about the best thing I could have done in coming when I did although I might have prepared myself better than I did. . . . Surely I hav[n't] become any such pianist as I hoped to—for as near as I can see I don't play any better than before I came but it isn't my fault—the more I practiced the worse I play and so I meant to let the piano go to the devil. . . . With the organ I have enough repertoire to give good recitals and enough technique to add to my repertoire as fast as necessary and[,] furthermore[,] enough <u>love</u> for the instrument to use it kindly at least. As for composition[,] although I haven't produced a very large number of things what I <u>have</u> produced seems to <u>blow</u> for me pretty well and I have the satisfaction of knowing that what I learned <u>by</u> them must have to be learned over again—I never expected to make a name like Mendelssohn or Schumann or even like the living masters. I commenced too late for that—<u>they</u> never had a prosperous insurance business to seduce them from Art.
>
> Perhaps too[,] they rose up earlier in the morning than I am fond of. I have no capacity for making what the painters call "potboilers"—slinging off [a] thing by sheer force of technique—With me everything is the result of days—yes and nights, and weeks and months of steady thinking—I can write fast enough and good enough but of every 48 bars 32 are "schepps". Perhaps it won't always be so but I find that the slower I write the better.[46]

[46] Chadwick, letter to Charles Saunders, Feb. 10, 1880. For a broader and more balanced assessment of Rheinberger as a teacher see E. Douglas Bomberger, "Rheinberger, Boulanger, and the Art of Teaching Composition," *Journal of Music Theory Pedegogy* 12 (January 1998): 53-64. Bomberger posits that Rheinberger's teaching qualities are similar to those of the famous French teacher of composition, Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979). Both taught students a disciplined study of the masterworks, primacy of counterpoint, attention to detail and were uncompromisingly honest in evaluating their students' work. Moreover, both taught a host of American composers who traveled to Europe to study with them.

After only approximately five months of study with Rheinberger, Chadwick ended his formal music study in Europe and returned to Boston in March 1880.

**Career with sacred music**

Upon his return Chadwick opened a private teaching studio. His first church job was at St. John's Baptist church, which paid him $500 a year. He found the position unsatisfactory and when he was invited to play the organ at Clarendon Street Baptist Church the following year he was more than happy to do so. Not only did the position pay $750 a year, it provided him regular access to the best organ he had ever played in America.[47] In addition, the church had a vocal ensemble of "good singers" consisting of four men and two women.[48] These were probably paid singers the church hired to perform music a volunteer choir could not manage. This was common practice at the time though it came with much criticism. There are many contemporary comments against the practice, popularly known as the quartet or "quartette" choir. Among the complaints were problems with *prima donna* egos from professionally trained singers, and the operatic style of their singing that did not fit the reverence appropriate to a divine worship service. But perhaps the most compelling problem was the inability of the small ensemble to capture the massed sound a large group of singers can produce. A large chorus singing a sacred text focuses the listener's attention on the human condition rather than the individual. This is crucial to communicating the theme of many religious texts designed for corporate worship. In 1881, Chadwick took on Horatio Parker as a composition student. Parker went on to study in Germany as well, and made a major

[47] Chadwick, "Memoirs" entry dated April 22, 1881.
[48] Chadwick, "Memoirs" entry dated November 1881.

impact upon the American scared music repertory with numerous anthems, two *Te Deums*, and the oratorio, *Hora Novissima*.

Although he enjoyed the people at Clarendon Street Baptist Church, their musical taste was not aligned with Chadwick's. They wanted more evangelistic music, while he preferred a more artfully crafted sacred repertoire. He separated from the Baptist church amicably, and they paid him three months salary in advance of his leaving. In 1882 he accepted a position at Boston's Park Street Church (Congregationalist) that came with the added benefit of a quiet room he could use for composition. The Park Street Church had a notable history. It organized the missionary journeys to the Sandwich Isles (later the Hawaiian Islands) in 1819-20 and was the church where music educator and sacred music reformer Lowell Mason had worshipped. Also in 1882, Chadwick started work at the New England Conservatory of Music, teaching composition and instrumentation. He remained with the Conservatory until shortly before he died in 1931, having assumed the directorship in 1897.

In 1884 Chadwick resigned his post as organist at Park Street Church. His memoir recounts his move toward the Unitarians, a popular branch of the Congregationalists, at some length.

> He [Rev. Henry Bernard Carpenter] was a member of the Papyrus Club and had by his wonderful gift of oratory attracted quite a group of other members and other godless men to his church. His preaching was anything but spiritual not to say theological. It breathed a kind of pagan morality and was in the highest degree poetic and imaginative. He was thoroughly saturated with the poetic spirit and he knew of the great poems from A to Z. Oriental, Greek, Latin, and French were all at his finger ends and in his sermons he quoted from them much more freely than from the Holy Scriptures. A new church was built for him (or for the Society) and he was expected to attract many cultivated people who never went to church, which for a time he did.

> One night at the club I asked him who was going to be the organist at his new church. He did not know but hinted that he would like [to] have me. I was to begin in Sept. and write a piece for the dedication of the church to which Mr. Carpenter wrote the words.[49]

Chadwick formed a quartet choir at this church and commented that, "as long as this quartet kept together we had good music and many people came to hear us. . . . It was for this combination that all my church music for the next ten years was written and some of it like "God to whom we look up blindly," "Art thou weary," "Peace and light" is sung to this day."[50] This account provides several key bits of information about Chadwick's sacred choral writing. It tells us that he embraced the quartet choir and conceived his church music from 1884 to 1894 for that ensemble rather than for a chorus choir. It also reveals that Chadwick was part of the growing nineteenth-century theological movement away from the orthodox doctrine established in New England by the Separatists, such as the Pilgrims and Puritans, and moved toward a more progressive, secularized Unitarian doctrine that ignored the divinity of Christ and His redemptive death and resurrection. This change in belief would influence Chadwick's interest in the *Te Deum* and its clear affirmation of orthodox doctrine.

With the ever-increasing responsibilities of the New England Conservatory, and the stable income it provided, Chadwick removed himself from church employment sometime around 1893. His memoirs do not indicate a date when he ceased regular church employment but there is no mention of his church organ or choir obligations following his April 30, 1893, mention of his work at the Second Universalist Church. In this passage he noted that there he had a "better organ, a better quartet, the same salary

[49] Chadwick, "Memoirs," section dated 1884.
[50] Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1884. This is clearly a passage where Chadwick is writing at a later date and reflecting on the events of 1884. The dates for these three anthems are 1885, 1890, and 1895 respectively.

($1,000) and no extra services. They were very nice old fashioned [sic] people, all ready to be pleased. They liked to have me play quite a lot before and after service which I quite enjoyed."[51] A comment made by fellow composer Edward MacDowell (1860-1908) helps to corroborate 1893 as the end of Chadwick's church employment. In a note to his wife in the spring of 1893 MacDowell stated that "In the meanwhile Chadwick has been kicked out of his church along with Gardner Lawson—so he is looking out for something to do. It seems a shame that a man as well known as Chadwick should'nt [sic] command some kind of a decent position."[52] By 1894, the last mention Chadwick makes of his role in church music states that he was substituting for the ever-busy Horatio Parker, who was commuting between Boston's Trinity Church and his teaching post at Yale.

> It was arranged that he [Horatio Parker] was to continue as organist at Trinity which he did for several years (I think until 1900) . . . . He often got me to play the last hymn for him and sometimes turned over weddings and funerals during the week to me.
>
> I was very fond of the old organ in Trinity Church with its honest, noble organ tone. In this Church I played the wedding for Dr. Frank Watson, exactly one year after my own.[53]

While his church work may have ended, he did not, however, end his involvement with choral music. In addition to his work with the Conservatory chorus, he continued the directorship of the Springfield Choral Festival that he had taken on in 1890. Springfield, Massachusetts lies ninety miles east of Boston and had become a thriving town due to the Industrial Revolution centered around the town's Armory. The fortunes made in

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[51] Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1893.

[52] Letter, Edward A. MacDowell to Marian MacDowell, [April 1, 1893], MacDowell Collection Box 31, Library of Congress Music Division. The April 1 date of this letter and the April 30 date of Chadwick's memoir are at variance as to exactly when in 1893 Chadwick may have left second Universalist Church. Since Chadwick's memoirs were reflections written decades after the events the contemporary account by MacDowell may prove more reliable.

[53] Chadwick, "Memoirs, 1894. In this same section of his memoirs Chadwick mentions the birth of his second son, Noel, and indicates that the time he is writing these reflections is 1920.

manufacturing led to the construction of mansions, a new railroad terminal, and growth in the arts. By 1889 the city's music community had the resources to offer Chadwick $500, plus expenses, for the directorship of their choral festival. During his tenure with the Festival he made the acquaintance of artists such as the Venezuelan singer, pianist, composer and conductor Teresa Carreño (1853-1917), composer Victor Herbert (1859-1924), and writer Gertrude Stein (1874-1946) all of whom he counted among his friends."[54]

Chadwick recalls that in preparing for the Beethoven Ninth Symphony with the Springfield Festival Chorus in 1889, he and the chorus committee brought discipline to the chorus and averaged an 85% attendance at rehearsals. This indicates the level of seriousness toward singing he was able to achieve in the volunteer singers. His comments also reveal the amount of detail and care he took in preparing the chorus, along with the application of his Yankee practicality.

> In studying this work with the chorus, which we did mostly "one tone lower," I resorted to some practical changes in the parts which I considered perfectly

[54] Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1898. The inclusion of Gertrude Stein in this group is interesting and speaks to Chadwick's interest in other artists and art lovers, no matter how young. Stein was from Allegheny, PA (now part of Pittsburgh) and did not move to Massachusetts until 1893 when she attended Radcliffe College, so she would have been somewhere between eighteen and twenty-five years old during Chadwick's tenure at Springfield. She was always attracted to artists and probably sought out the conductor of the Festival at one of the performances. She would have shared with Chadwick a common interest in art. Stein and her brother Leo were avid art collectors and, thanks to the trust amassed on their behalf by their eldest brother Michael, they assembled a world-class private gallery of modern art from 1903-1914. Chadwick developed his interest in the graphic and plastic arts during the summer of 1879 when, according to statements by Chadwick's son, Theodore, and recorded by Yellin, he fell in with a group of artists visiting France. The mentor of the group was the American painter Frank Duveneck (1848-1919). Yellin develops the association between Chadwick and Duveneck, in his article "Chadwick, American Musical Realist," *The Musical Quarterly* 61/1 (January 1975): 79-84, suggesting this association led to Chadwick's life-long appreciation for art. Chadwick's memoirs confirm this meeting with Duveneck (written in 1919 but located between two letters to Charles Saunders dated Sept. 2 and Oct. 7, 1879). His memoirs also document his love of art. He states in an 1881 entry that he traded art lessons for composition lessons with the Boston painter John Appleton Browne (1844-1902) and comments on the similarity between music and painting in their mutual use of "light and shade, [and] value of simple line." This is but one of many references Chadwick makes to his knowledge of and appreciation for the graphic and plastic arts.

> legitimate, and which might well be used by other conductors if they have an average chorus. With a special chorus, that might not be necessary. A modern chorus should be definitely divided into sopranos first and second, altos first and second, tenors first and second, and basses first and second. It spoils the vocal quality for mezzo voices to sustain high notes and the more difficult they are, the more they will try to do it.
>
> Therefore, in the extreme high part of the Ninth Symphony, "Engel steht vor Gott" and other places, I had only the first sopranos and tenors on the upper notes, the second sopranos singing with the altos, and the second basses not singing at all.
>
> In this form, which is entirely practical, there is no perceptible loss of power, and it avoids some cruel efforts on the part of the lower sopranos and basses, at any rate, with our chorus, it was a perfect success.[55]

Chadwick had positive remarks about the Springfield Festival chorus in 1889 but, in reality, the nine-year association with the Festival created frustrations. The accommodations Chadwick had to make to compensate for the singers' limitations took its toll on him. The relationship between director and singers deteriorated to the point that in 1899 he left Springfield to accept an appointment as Music Director of the Worcester Festival, only forty miles west of Boston, where he prepared a number of major choral works including his own *Judith.*[56] In 1901, after the premiere of *Judith*, Chadwick gave up conducting the Worcester Festival as well.

Chadwick was now poised to solidify his place among American composers. He had the skills needed to compete with any of his musical contemporaries, he had a position in a musical institution that, while still developing, provided opportunities for the expansion of his musical and administrative skills, and he lived in arguably the most musical city in America. From this vantage point Chadwick embarked upon the most productive decades of his life until his death in 1931. He spent the summers composing in

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[55]Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1898.
[56] Faucett, *Bio-bibliography,* 6.

his second home in West Chop on Martha's Vineyard and the rest of the year teaching and transforming the New England Conservatory from a troubled music school into a stable and respected institution where America's symphonies and concert halls could reliably turn for professional talent.

During the years from 1880 to 1920, Chadwick produced an array of symphonic, chamber, vocal, keyboard, and large choral works that are well documented and are sure to occupy researchers and scholars for many years to come. They do not, however, concern this present study. Instead, having covered the events of Chadwick's life and training that bear upon his composition of sacred choral music, we turn to the birth and life of the text that generated his first extant attempt at composition, the *Te Deum*. The text also generated a later, more refined and polished work, in 1885 or later. Both works remained unfinished, though the composer lived many years past their creation. A closer examination of the use of the *Te Deum* text in the American choral tradition, and a review of Chadwick's other sacred choral works, may tell us why.

CHAPTER 2

## The *Te Deum* in America

### History of Text

*Te Deum* is an abbreviated title for the *Te Deum laudamus*, which translates to "We praise you, O God" and, as the *Oxford Companion to Music* notes, "constitutes the supreme expression of rejoicing in the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and other Christian Churches."[57] Worshippers have used this festival text for over a thousand years to give thanks and praise to God as part of established liturgy and special celebratory events both sacred and secular. It has proved most useful to generations of composers to celebrate ecclesiastical and state occasions. Such events include the consecration of a bishop, coronation of a king or queen, election of a pope, canonization of a saint, publication of a treaty of peace, and victory after war.[58]

Mystery and legend still shroud the birth of the text. Various accounts attribute the text to a spontaneous composition by St. Augustine (354-430) and St. Ambrose (c. 337-397) at the former's baptism in 387 A.D., to a collaboration of St Ambrose and St. Hilary of Poitiers (c. 300-368), or to Bishop Nicet of Remesiana (c. 335-414) in the fourth century. Another account suggests that the text is the creation of Hilary of Alers (c. 403-449) in the fifth century.[59] These conflicting stories of the text's origin combined with clearly defined sections of text lend credibility to Percy Scholes' hypothesis—that a number of writers from different

[57] Percy Scholes and Alex Lingas, "Te Deum laudamus," *The Oxford Companion to Music*, edited by Alison Latham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1261.
[58] Ron Jeffers, *Translations and Annotations of Choral Repertoire,* vol. 1 (Corvallis, OR: Earthsongs, 1988), 217.
[59] Charlotte Nawrocki Kirkendall, *Techniques of Choral and Orchestral Writing in the Te Deum Settings of Berlioz, Bizet, Bruckner, Dvorák, and Verdi* (D.M.A. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1990), 1.

locations and time periods contributed ideas and wording to the *Te Deum*.[60] Suffice it to say that the text was in common usage and became part of the Roman liturgy by the sixth century.[61]

The earliest extant manuscript of the *Te Deum* text appears among six canticles in Ireland in the seventh-century *Bangor Antiphonary* (680-691) where Psalm 112, the *Laudate, pueri Dominum* (a text that musicians have also set frequently), precedes it.[62] Within the Roman Catholic liturgy, the *Te Deum* served as a replacement for the last responsorial during Matins on festival days and Sundays. Later, reformers such as Martin Luther (1483-1546) and Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) incorporated the text into the new reformed liturgies. The Anglican Church used an English version of the hymn in the Morning Prayer Service in 1549 and there indicated that it should be sung during the service except during Lent. This means that the *Te Deum* appears as a regular part of the Service in the Anglican church more frequently than in the Roman rite. In addition, the Anglican Church also authorized the use of the *Te Deum* for festive occasions, as was the practice in the Roman Catholic Church. As a result of Anglican practice, one can expect to find the *Te Deum* in use in English more often than in other languages.

While the *Te Deum* originated in Latin and has been translated into many languages, for the purposes of this study the English version receives exclusive attention for textual analysis since the present investigation focuses upon two settings in English by George W. Chadwick. Appendix A presents the full text of the *Te Deum* in Latin and English. All future references to the text, especially with regard to verse numbers, will be based on the text found there. The use of English text in English and American churches produces significantly different rhythmic

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[60] Percy Scholes, "Te Deum laudamus," *The New Oxford Companion to Music*, edited by Denis Arnold (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).
[61] Kirkendall, *Techniques,* p. 1. While this study does not seek to examine all accounts of the text's origin, an extensive study of this topic may be found in Hugh Henry, "The Te Deum," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912).
[62] Stanley Michael Wicks, *Te Deum: Analysis of Selected Twentieth-Century Settings by American and British Composers* (D.M.A. diss., Arizona State University, 1995), 1.

patterns from a Latin setting. This fact takes on even greater importance in this study because Chadwick used rhythmic patterns generated by speech to produce his distinctive style of declamation.[63]

**Structure of the Text**

The Latin text consists of twenty-nine prose verses, sometimes counted as thirty depending on the manner of dividing the verses. The English translation has had some variations over time but the version found in the Book of Common Prayer is the most popular and the one most composers turn to when they set the English text. The complete Latin and English *Te Deum* texts are presented in Appendix A, and all references to verse numbers in this discussion relate to verses and numbers found in this appendix.

The text falls into three major sections, with each focused on a particular theme or source material.

Section A – God the Father

*Verses 1-11.* These verses praise God the Father and are referred to as the *Te Deum* proper. The "thrice Holy"[64] passage in verse 5 is a significant element of the text and, as this study will show, many composers take particular care in finding an appropriate musical setting of this divine utterance. Composers also find verses 7-11 fertile ground for musical invention where apostles, prophets, martyrs, and the whole church praise the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

*Verses 12-13*. When combined with verse 11, these verses form a doxology. This recognition of the trinity creates an effective transition to part two.

[63] Yellin, *Chadwick*, 190.

[64] The term "thrice Holy" in this study refers only to the use of the phrase "Holy, Holy, Holy" in verse 5 of the *Te Deum* and not to the "Thrice Holy," or *Trisagion*. The *Trisagion* has a distinctive history and use within both the Roman and Eastern Orthodox churches; its liturgical use is completely separate from the *Te Deum*.

Section B – God the Son

*Verses 14-20*. These verses proclaim Christ the King and recount the life of Christ from His incarnation, to his redemptive death for all believers, and ending with the Day of Judgment.

*Verses 20-23*. This group of verses offers prayers of petition to Christ.

Section C – Versicles from the Psalms

*Verses 24-29.* The concluding verses contain quotations from the Psalms, and petitions asking that the congregation be blessed, saved, and kept from sin.

**Musical Settings**

The first musical settings of the text begin with plainchant prior to the Gregorian period.[65] The earliest written source for the *Te Deum* melody appears about the twelfth century, though earlier written sources are still sought by scholars. By this time the chant melody for the first twenty verses was fairly well established.[66] The earliest known polyphonic setting of the text appeared in the 9th-century theoretical text, *Musica enchiriadis,* where a portion of the text is set using parallel organum at the fifth. As early as the 10th century, accounts suggest that the festive nature of the text invoked the use of instruments such as organ and bells.[67]

Binchois (c. 1400-1460) has left one of the earliest complete polyphonic settings using the simple texture of fauxbourdon.[68] His setting is among the first of an ever-increasing repertoire of polyphonic versions as the rise of polyphony swept over Europe during the fifteenth

[65] Kirkendall, *Techniques,* p. 8.
[66] Ruth Steiner, et al., "Te Deum," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 25:191-2.
[67] John Caldwell, "Te Deum: 3. Polyphonic settings," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 25:192.
[68] Caldwell, "Te Deum," *Grove,* 193.

century. Sixteenth-century contrapuntal settings, all based on the Gregorian melody, include works by Hugh Aston (c. 1485-1558), Costanzo Festa (c 1485-1545), Palestrina (1525-1594), Giovanni Anerio (1567-1630), Jacobus de Kerle (c. 1531-1591), and Jacobus Vaet (c. 1529-1567).[69]

The English Reformation had a profound impact on church music in the English-speaking countries where the Anglican Church held sway. This movement was more significant than the German Reformation because the new Anglican service included the *Te Deum* as part of the daily service; in contrast, the Lutheran service did not let the text play such an important role. The place of the *Te Deum* in the Anglican service is recorded in the *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral.* These statutes record decrees from the English King, in this case Henry VIII, and applied to all parish churches and cathedrals in the kingdom. Item 23 from 2 September 1547 established the place of the *Te Deum* in the daily service by stating, "they shall haue in the Cathedral churche euery day too Chapiters redde in Englishe, one of the new testamente and thother of the olde, one afore the place of *Te Deum* at matens, and the other aftyr *Magnificat* at Evensong."[70]

The development of the anthem, a new musical convention in the English church, also had an influence on the musical treatment of the *Te Deum* in England and, later, in America. Turning again to the *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral* we find a royal injunction from 1548 that sets forth rules for service music known as the anthem. These rules for setting the text mark a turning point in English choral music.

> They shall from hensforthe synge or say no Anthemes off or lady or other saints but onely of our lorde And them not in laten but choseyng owte the best and moste soundyng

[69] Willi Apel, "Te Deum," *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979), 834.
[70] *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, eds. Henry Bradshaw and Charles Wordsworth, vol. 2 (Cambridge: University Press, 1897), 590-91.

> to cristen religion they shall turne the same into Englishe settynge thereunto a playn and distincte note, for euery sillable one, they shall sing them and none other.[71]

This reform is significant for two reasons. It changed the language of the text for the service music from Latin, to English, and it focused on the clarity of the textual setting by requiring a note for each syllable. This statute created the anthem; a term still used to describe a popular form of church music today, and had a lasting influence on the character of sacred music in England that was later brought to America. The Cranmerian requirement that every syllable have a note, while often adhered to, did not become universal in English church music in settings of the *Te Deum* text. Notable exceptions include the "Great" *Te Deum* by Thomas Tomkins (c. 1571-1656) from his *Great Service*, where a ten-voice setting enjoys polyphonic complexity. William Byrd (c. 1540-1623) and Orlando Gibbons (c. 1583-1625) also supplied several *Te Deums* that incorporate sections of imitation and counterpoint. But extensive polyphonic settings remained infrequent in England until after the Commonwealth.[72] As this study will demonstrate, homophonic syllabic settings became common among *Te Deums* and continued well into the nineteenth century.

The seventeenth century also witnessed the development of the verse anthem, a form of anthem that plays an important role in the development of the *Te Deum*. Distinct from the motet or "full anthem," the verse anthem alternates verses of text between solo voices and the full choir, providing a welcome variety in texture. The solo verse was often an opportunity for ornamentation and increased variety. These techniques are well suited to provide variety to the many verses of the *Te Deum* with their varied moods. These verse anthem techniques were important in the development of *Te Deum* in America.

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[71] *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, 592-93.
[72] Oma Grier Davis, *A selected, annotated bibliography of Te Deums in the Library of Congress, and a History of this Hymn in Ceremonial Music since 1600* (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1967), 4 -7.

After the seventeenth century, choral settings of the *Te Deum* proliferated for liturgical and non-liturgical use. The Gregorian chant melody dominated less as a unifying force in these settings as the years progressed. Instead, excerpts from the text were used to generate either short, anthem-like settings intended for the liturgy, or extended works for chorus, soloists, orchestra or organ often written to commemorate special events. Notable composers of this latter type of *Te Deum* from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries include: Henry Purcell (1694), George Frideric Handel (three settings; the *Utrecht Te Deum* in 1714, the *Te Deum in A Major* in 1726, and the *Dettingen Te Deum* in 1743), and Carl Heinrich Graun (1757). While such *Te Deums* are musically and historically important works, they do not reflect the type of *Te Deum* one would hear in the average worship service neither in England, nor in the American colonies, nor the newly established United States of America. Instead, the shorter chanted, or anthem-like *Te Deums* composed for use as service music, became the models for the numerous *Te Deums* performed in nineteenth-century American sanctuaries; these settings undoubtedly informed the young George W. Chadwick as he began his career as a composer. It is important, therefore, to examine the eighteenth-century English anthem during the period of its greatest impact on American music history in order to understand the development of the *Te Deum* in America.

Elwyn A. Wienandt and Robert H. Young published one of the best studies of the anthem, *The Anthem in England and America* (1970). In their book, they examine the forces shaping the anthem in England at the close of the eighteenth century, which is the period when America was starting to import anthems. They note that the difference between sacred and secular music was beginning to break down and church music gradually reflected elements of opera and other dramatic entertainments. In eighteenth-century English church music melodic phrasing and ornamentations recall the aria or recitative. This is not surprising when one

considers the fact that, prior to this period, men such as Henry Purcell (1659-1695) and George Fredrick Handel (1685-1759) had occupied prominent roles in both sacred and secular spheres; furthermore, their choral works provided significant models for English composers who followed them. In addition, secular musical establishments attracted English composers with greater remuneration for theatrical works than they received for church music. Composers such as William Croft (1678-1727), Maurice Greene (1696-1755), William Boyce (1711-1779), and Samuel Arnold (1740-1802) were equally well known, if not more so, for their secular works rather than their sacred ones. The music they created for the sanctuary was informed by musical styles they found effective in their writing for other audiences. This phenomenon played out on American shores and, with rare exception, nineteenth-century American church composers, notably those who wrote *Te Deums*, published popular songs and ballads in addition to their churchly products.

Another change taking place in England was the growing importance of the parish church over the cathedral tradition. During the eighteenth century, factors such as industrialization, increased costs of maintaining large musical enterprises in the cathedrals, and the rise of non-Anglican churches in English society, all played a role in changing the sound of church music. Church music outside a handful of cathedrals such as St Paul's, St. James's, St. George's, and Westminster Abbey was slim and, in the case of many parish churches, was limited to the singing of metrical psalms if, indeed, there was any singing at all.[73] The parish church was varied in size and could be a lofty structure or a humble thatched-roof building. Likewise, the congregations varied, as did their services. A number of these parish congregations sought more aesthetic satisfaction from the service and began to incorporate more varied music into the liturgy. The lack of documentary evidence regarding the growth of parish music during this

[73] Wienandt and Young, *The Anthem*, 91-92.

period means that we may never know the details of exactly how this transpired.[74] But we do know from music publishing records that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, a market had opened up for anthems and other service music to meet the needs of amateur choristers in the parish churches. These were the works that had the greatest impact on American church music during the early nineteenth century. The anthems made modest demands on the singer, who could be a chorister or a member of the congregation.[75] They often reflected the tradition of one note to every syllable and had few melismas. Contrapuntal writing was used sparingly if at all. In the case of the *Te Deum*, sections were often chanted in the Anglican tradition, i.e. chant that follows the rhythm of natural speech and occurs in harmony, rather than solo or unison, as is found in most Catholic chant.

**The *Te Deum* comes to America**

While the *Te Deum* in Europe enjoyed popularity as a work for both sanctuary and concert hall in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in America the text was tied primarily to worship. This seems quite natural considering the goodly number of churches in the Anglican tradition in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century America, while the concert halls of America, especially in the antebellum period, were primarily confined to urban centers. America imported its *Te Deums,* largely from England. These were anthem-like settings designed for Anglican services and were brought for use in churches with the resources to perform them.

The *Te Deum*, or versions of it, also became known in America through a particular convention of American musical life, the singing schools. These singing schools were often, though not exclusively, related to improving singing and musical knowledge in churches. Often

[74] Wienandt and Young, *The Anthem*, 93.
[75] Wienandt and Young, *The Anthem*, 260. An account from Lowell Mason's diary of 1852 indicates that some English parish congregations sang anthems and had no choir. The anthems were limited in number and were rehearsed apart from the worship service.

taught by itinerant music teachers, they became immensely popular during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and produced a need for repertoire. To meet this need, compilations of choral music were published in great numbers through the first quarter of the nineteenth century. These collections popularized the anthem in addition to other choral products.

The American singing school movement began in the northeastern region of seventeenth-century America. It grew out of a concern for the poor state of congregational singing, which was largely taught by rote because few could read music. Ministers, many educated at Harvard, believed that basic music training and note reading could improve the quality of singing in churches and thus enhance the worship experience. This led pastor John Tufts to produce *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* (1721) the first manual for singing schools. Containing both a collection of tunes and an introduction to the rudiments of music, it became a model for hundreds of musical primers and anthologies that followed for the next hundred years. During the federalist period and thereafter, men such as William Billings (1746-1800), Daniel Read (1757-1836), and Lewis Edson (1748-1820) produced new singing school collections that included their own compositions. They provided hymn tunes, anthems, and canon-like works known as fuging tunes. These were published in oblong tune books that spread throughout New England as the itinerant music masters, or singing-school teachers, moved about the countryside like so many Johnny Appleseeds spreading the seeds of musical literacy.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the products of these American composers were considered the crude and unrefined compositions of self-taught men who possessed more enthusiasm for composition than talent. For example, Charles C. Perkins (1823-1886) wrote of Billings:

> [his] tunes and fugue-lings are what might be expected as the work of an uneducated man who knew little of the laws of harmony, modulation, of the preparation and

> resolution of discords, and who had had no opportunities of purifying his taste or correcting the false theories.[76]

To men such as Perkins, yet another musical reform was needed to provide further refinement and improvement in musical taste. This refinement of taste was of no small consequence to those who cared about music during that time. The Romantic concept of music as a force that could reform and refine society was very much at play among the influential members of American society. Men such as John Rowe Parker (1777-1844), musical chronicler and proprietor of the Franklin Musical Warehouse of Boston, and Boston historian and educator, Samuel Eliot (1821-1898) argued that the roots of the role of music as a transformative force in society lay in sacred music. They also saw that secular music played a role in affecting the moral and emotional state of the citizenry. But the dilemma lay in how to control this force in a free democratic society. The dynamic tension between the elite who wished to prescribe the type of music that would improve society, and the freethinking Americans who prized individualism above all else, would provide a constant strain for generations.[77]

Among this second wave of musical reformers in the early nineteenth century was Oliver Holden (1765-1844), an American composer who possessed a sophisticated musical taste informed by the European classical style. An example of his work is found in his hymn tune, *Coronation*, still found in many hymnals today. He was one of many compilers of musical collections for use by singing schools and choirs. His first collection, *The American Harmony* (1794) included four anthems of his own composing. His later collections, such as *Union Harmony,* and his editorial work in the sixth edition of *Laus Deo!*, continued the movement

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[76] Charles C. Perkins and John S. Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, Massachusetts* (Boston: A. Mudge, 1913; reprint, New York: Da Capo, 1977), 161.
[77] Michael Broyles, *"Music of the Highest Class": Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 216-17.

away from rough-hewn fuging tunes toward the more refined anthems and anthem-like works following English models.[78]

Following the example of Holden, John Hubbard (1759-1810) produced a volume of thirty anthems that was posthumously published in 1814 under the highly descriptive title of *A Volume of Sacred Music, containing Thirty Anthems, selected from the works of Handel, Purcel [sic], Croft, and other eminent European authors.* This collection brought both English cathedral and parish church music to the more sophisticated American congregations, primarily Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Baptist found in the eastern urban centers. These churches not only stressed good taste in hymnody, but also provided a regular place for the anthem and set piece in their services.[79] Most significant about this collection is that it introduced a version of Handel's Grand Dettingen *Te Deum*; made accessible to American choirs under the title *We praise thee, O God*. According to Weinandt and Young " . . . everything in the original version that might create a performance problem is removed. The anthem is pieced together from the first four movements of Handel's work; solos, involved choral passages, and, of course, the accompaniment are omitted so that a continuous block-chord structure results."[80]

While Protestant churches dominated nineteenth-century America, Roman Catholic churches existed as well. Charles I established Maryland in the colonies in 1632 as a haven for Catholics. They held the highest levels of political authority in Maryland, despite a persistent majority of Protestant immigrants, so Catholic communities grew in Maryland and neighboring colonies such as Pennsylvania. An Episcopalian bishop of Pennsylvania asserted that in 1781 he heard a *Te Deum* chanted in English in a Catholic church. This observer of music and worship,

[78] Weinandt and Young, *The Anthem,* 208-14.
[79] Weinandt and Young, *The Anthem,* 301.
[80] Weinandt and Young, *The Anthem,* 226-28.

William White (1748-1836) confirmed that the *Te Deum* was not only heard as part of worship in American churches but that it was also employed on celebrative and commemorative occasions.

> The first Roman Catholic church in the United States was St. Joseph's, Willing's Alley. . . . The Rev. Robert Harding took charge of the church in 1750 and the music of the services was under the care of a cultivated musician. The choir was composed of the best voices obtainable, and new voices were sought for whenever there was an opportunity. It has been stated that Lafayette, the Counts de Rochambeau and de la Grasse, and other French officers of the Revolution attended services at St. Joseph's.
>
> The church was illuminated on March 1, 1781, and a *Te Deum* was chanted, celebrating the ratification of the "alliance and perpetual union of the States." Monsieur de la Luzerne, the French minister, with his suite, was present.[81]

By 1800 the use of the *Te Deum* was becoming established in American churches in the Anglican and Catholic traditions but it predominated in the Anglican churches (Methodist and Episcopalian) due to its place in the Anglican liturgy. The *Te Deum* continued as an import from England until American composers of sufficient compositional skill and inclination began to produce settings for the urban, usually Episcopalian, churches in America. The earliest American composers to do so were often imports from Europe themselves. This group of composers produced works that were published mainly between1820 and 1860. By the last third of the nineteenth century, native-born composers began to supply the market with the refined sacred choral works in the prevailing Romantic style, including *Te Deums* that were coveted by musically sophisticated American congregations.

**The Nineteenth-Century American Te Deum Composers**

Most nineteenth-century American *Te Deums* were composed as service music for the church and not intended for the concert hall. Few were published prior to 1850 due to the high cost of publication and the limited number of church choirs that could afford them. But in 1842 the English publisher Joseph Alfred Novello (1810–1896) perfected the publication of

[81] Louis C. Madeira, comp. and Philip H. Goepp, ed., *Annals of Music in Philadelphia: and History of the Musical Fund Society from its organization in 1820 to the year 1858* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1896), 21-22.

inexpensive octavo editions. He popularized these editions in his *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* begun in 1844. Each monthly edition contained articles on music and supplied pages of new sacred and secular music, much of it choral, at a very low cost.[82] In 1852 the Boston publisher Oliver Ditson & Company became Novello's American representative. By 1876 the application of steam-powered lithography increased the printing speed for these octavos and the combined savings of paper, time, and labor reduced the cost of choral music by 800 percent.[83] Soon, every chorister could possess his or her own copy of a *Te Deum,* as well as a wealth of other anthems and set pieces the growing market demanded.

In order to understand the *Te Deum* settings of George W. Chadwick, it is essential to place his work in context. The foregoing history of the *Te Deum* text, and its musical treatment in England and America up to the nineteenth century, helps provide some background for understanding Chadwick's *Te Deums.* It is most important, however, to view Chadwick's settings in the context of those among whom he dwelt, specifically those American composers, whether immigrant or native-born, who produced *Te Deums* in America for American audiences. To date, no comprehensive study of the nineteenth-century American *Te Deum* exists. While it is not the intent of this study to present an exhaustive analysis of this repertory, for that would be worthy of a separate study unto itself, a review of the literature of sufficient size and scope must be attempted in order to judge the relative merits, or lack thereof, of Chadwick's *Te Deum* settings.

Before 1850, the majority of composers published in America were foreign-born. Among such immigrant composers were Benjamin Carr (1768-1831), Christopher Meineke (1782-1850),

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[82] *Musical Times* 52, no. 820, The Novello Centenary Supplement (June 1, 1911): 8. The *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* changed its name to *Musical Times* in 1903. It continues publication to the present day making it the longest continuously published music journal in England. It is now published quarterly rather than monthly.
[83] Orr, *Buck,* 25-26.

Samuel Jackson (1818-1885), John Rogers Thomas (1830-1896), and Hermann Kotzschmar (1829-1909). These composers are selected for discussion below because they were trail blazers in the history or the American *Te Deum*, provided some unique contribution to the genre, or were influential to the development of American music through teaching or publishing.

Native-born composers wrote the vast majority of *Te Deums* published after 1860. Moreover, there was a veritable explosion in the publication of *Te Deums* post-bellum. This not only indicates the incredible growth in the publication of *Te Deums* made possible by the low cost of printing octavo editions, but also reveals a concomitant growth in the market for such sacred music. Many of the composers who produced these products are forgotten today, but they represent the pageant of colorful personalities that shaped the American sacred music scene. They were versatile men and women, usually producing both sacred and popular secular material. Many were industrious, often filling a variety of roles in the musical community, some with an entrepreneurial flair valued by American culture. Musical talent or innovation may not always have matched their industry, but they nonetheless provided accessible musical products that met the needs of choirs of limited skill seeking to enhance the worship experience. Reviewing their products provides an understanding of what many nineteenth-century urban congregants heard on a Sunday morning.

**The Immigrant Composers**

Many of the first composers who participated in the American sacred music reform movement were immigrants who possessed the compositional skills to produce more polished and "correct" compositions. Prominent among this group of immigrant composers was Benjamin Carr (1768-1831), who was born in London and moved to Philadelphia in 1793, becoming one of that city's most noted musicians. His father followed him to America and established a thriving

music-publishing business in Baltimore the year after Benjamin arrived. In London, Benjamin Carr had learned the music trade and ran an instrument repair shop for over twenty years. He studied the organ with Charles Wesley and composition with Samuel Arnold.[84] In Philadelphia, he became a teacher of voice and piano, and organist and choirmaster at both St. Augustine's Catholic Church (1801-31) and St. Peter's Episcopal Church (1816-31). He established businesses in both New York and Philadelphia, but it was in the latter city that he made his reputation. "His amazing versatility as a publisher, editor, promoter, singer, pianist, organist, composer, teacher, and conductor, and his active leadership in civic musical affairs, including the founding of the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia (1820), led him to be called the "Father of Philadelphia Music."[85]

While Carr composed mostly secular music, he did produce eighty-five sacred works, one of which is his *Te Deum*. This work forms part of his *Masses, Vespers, Litanies, Hymns, Psalms, Anthems & Motetts composed, selected and arranged, for the use of the Catholic Churches in the United States of America* (1805), published in Baltimore. Like the rest of the collection, the *Te Deum* is written for three voices (two trebles and a bass, with organ accompaniment). The use of three voices suggests that the vocal resources of the Catholic churches were limited and lacked a full complement of men to fill both the tenor and bass parts. There is, however, an indication for a tenor solo at verse 16 (When Thou tookest upon Thee) but the tenor appears to join the bass (or baritones) in the choral sections. The use of chant to set verses 7, 8, and 9, with each verse cadencing in harmony on the words "praise thee" is a practice found in other *Te Deums* of the period and is continued throughout the rest of the century. The pleasing and somewhat dramatic

[84] Stephen Siek, "Carr," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 5:185.
[85] Ronnie I. Smith, "Carr, Benjamin," *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music,* edited by H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 1986), 1:360.

effect of mixing chant with more melodically inventive passages is a practical convention since both the Episcopalian and Catholic Churches used chant regularly, and such chanting would be easy for an amateur choir to execute. The organ part almost always doubles the voices and fills in the harmony. Except for a few brief organ interludes between some of the verses, and some antiphonal echoes between the organ and voices, the organ doubles the voice parts. Carr makes judicious use of chromatic tones for dramatic effect, but the work does not stray far from the tonic. At verse 26 (Vouchsafe, O Lord) another tenor solo appears in F major followed by a treble voice duet in C minor at verse 27 (O Lord, have mercy upon us). Interestingly, the opening four measures of Carr's *Te Deum* set the first verse of the text with the exact same rhythmic pattern as Chadwick's *Te Deum in D*. A common approach to declamation seems to link these two composers despite their different eras and musical training. Melodic phrases are imitated among the voices but without fugal or canonic development. A concluding "Amen," unusual among *Te Deums*, is added to the text and provides a final bit of invention as the treble voices sustain the final "Amen" over a moving bass line.

Carr's *Te Deum* makes effective use of minimal musical resources to create an accessible but effective work and is one of the earliest such settings of the *Te Deum* published in America by a composer living in the country. Tasteful solos, organ interludes, inventive choral passages with contrapuntal interest, and smooth key changes provide variety and interest. Chromatic touches and occasional use of ornamentation in the organ part provide the work with a refined elegance. While none of these compositional techniques are unusual by European standards, they do represent a very early appearance of a more developed compositional style in America. As this study documents, a number of these techniques appear regularly in American *Te Deums* throughout the rest of the century. Carr's published compositions, such as this *Te Deum*, show

how English church music could influence American sacred music. Also in the same collection is Carr's *Mass in Three Parts*, the first significant mass setting in the United States; indeed, it could be the first major choral composition by an American composer.[86] It is significant, therefore, that a *Te Deum* is included in this collection, as it may represent the earliest *Te Deum* wholly composed in America.

That the musical elements Carr employs in his choral works in this collection are modest, uncomplicated, and limited in invention should not suggest that he lacked competence to write something more sophisticated. His set of piano variations entitled *Gramachree* (1806), written only one year after his choral collection was published, contains more advanced techniques such as elaborate cadenzas and virtuosic passagework placing great demands on the performer.[87] But American church choirs could not meet such demands, and for Carr to produce a collection intended for practical church use requiring even semi-professional quality singers would be sheer folly.

The musical refinement that Carr demonstrates in his *Te Deum* and other sacred works in this collection is just what American music reformers had hoped for. Gone are the "crudities" of the works by the singing-school composers with their unprepared dissonances, awkward modulations, and rough-hewn melodies. While Carr's work made no musical innovations by the European standards of the day, it heralded a new day for American sacred music, and other composers followed in his path. Immigrant composers first t; five of them are selected for further discussion below. Each of the five published at least one *Te Deum* prior to 1860. These antebellum immigrant composers came from various locations in Europe with different music

[86] David P. DeVenney, *Varied Carols: A Survey of American Choral Literature* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 9.
[87] Ramon Salvatore, review of *The Dawning of American Keyboard Music* by J. Bunker Clark in "Music of the Nineteenth Century" special issue, *American Music* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 118.

training, and their sacred works, represented here by their *Te Deums*, provide an idea of the variety of talent and level of sophistication available to houses of worship during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Christopher Meineke (1782-1850) was a German-born American pianist, organist, and composer who settled in Baltimore in 1800. He traveled back to Vienna from 1817 to 1819 where he met Beethoven (who commented favorably upon Meineke's piano compositions). In addition to many songs and piano works, Meineke composed church music; including his *Te Deum* of 1821. The reviewer for *The Euterpeiad* (March 2, 1822) acknowledged the score's appeal "to a higher class of musicians than are everywhere found in our country."[88] Such comments show how critics encouraged greater refinement in musical taste, and tried to move listeners away from the works of the early singing school composers. The musical opinion makers of this period in America were anxious to point to a composer such as Meineke, who had garnered praise from the great master, Beethoven, and to hold him up as a model for others to emulate.

Another immigrant composer who produced a *Te Deum* was Samuel Jackson (1818-1885), who came to America from England and settled in New York with his family in 1825. This church organist and proofreader for G. Schirmer (New York) published his *Te Deum in E-flat* in 1851 with William Hall & Son.[89] He was a committed music reformer and led a committee that edited a collection entitled *Sacred Harmony, a Collection of Music, Adapted to the greatest variety of meters now in use, and, for Special Occasions, A Choice Selection of*

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[88] J. Bunker Clark and David Hildebrand, "Meineke, Christopher," *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanly Sadie, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 16: 292.

[89] The full score is available at the Library of Congress's *American Memory*, *Music for the Nation* website: <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mussm&fileName=sm2/sm1851/491000/491710/mussm491710.db&recNum=0&itemLink=D?mussm:28:./temp/~ammem_cCCJ::@@@mdb=aasm,ftvbib,berl,lbcoll,rbpebib,tccc,cwband,coplandbib,musdibib,papr,fine,dcm,flwpabib,afcreed,cowellbib,toddbib,afcnyebib,lomaxbib,afcwwgbib,raelbib,hurstonbib,gottlieb,molden,aipn,omhbib,vv,mussm,dukesm,amss,varstg&linkText=0>

*Sentences, Anthems, Motets and Chants* published in New York in 1848 by George Lane and Charles Tippett. His committee thought that their new publication reflected the progress in musical taste in America and that the public would embrace including tunes of European masters.[90] Despite the progress in taste purportedly shown here, the volume did not sell well, and only one edition was ever printed. This is notable since similar collections were popular, and multiple editions were not unusual.

Despite the lack of popular success for his collection, Jackson's *Te Deum in E-flat* is imaginative and displays a level of creativity and skill lacking in many contemporary *Te Deums*. For example, while homophony predominates, his use of contrapuntal writing exceeds that usually found in American *Te Deums* prior to 1860. A seventeen-measure fugal section at verse 14 (Thou art the King of Glory) adds textural interest and a sense of drama. Likewise, shifts to the minor mode are used to paint the text in passages such as the "sharpness of death." The key of E-flat major continues throughout the work except for verse 26, where the text is set in F minor. These techniques are not remarkable when compared to concert music of the time, but they are less common in sacred music where the limitations of performing forces were a major factor.

John Rogers Thomas (1829-1896), born in South Wales, became a noted singer and composer. He first came to America as part of the Sequin English Opera Company. He took a lively interest in American popular musical forms and joined Bryant's Minstrels, a group that performed on Broadway. He eventually settled in New York City.[91] His popular songs include "She was a Beauteous Flower" (1858), "Annie of the Vale" (1852), "Goodbye, Farewell" (1853),

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[90] Fred Kimball Graham, *"With one Heart and One Voice": a Core Repertory of Hymn Tunes Published for Use in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, 1808-1878* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 11.
[91] Charles Eugene Claghorn, *Biographical Dictionary of American Music* (West Nyack, NY: Parker Publishing Co., Inc, 1973), 436.

"Beautiful Isle of the Sea" (1860), "The Patriot Flag" (1861), "Rose of Killarney" (1876) and "Golden Hours" (1875). Among his sacred works is the collection *Thomas's Sacred Quartets and Anthems for the use of Choirs and the Home Circle* (1874) published in Boston by Oliver Ditson and consisting of 154 pages of hymns and anthems Thomas selected, composed and arranged. Thomas frequently used solo, or quartette (ad lib) performing forces indicating his practical approach to composition that was probably appreciated by church musicians with limited vocal resources. He produced several *Te Deums* (all in major keys), one in B-flat, one in E-flat, one in F, another in G that is part of his full service in G, and one in C, which is part of his Morning Service in C. They were published in both America and England.

An advertisement from the *Musical Times* for a collection entitled *The Church Choralist* containing anthems and services—including two of Thomas' *Te Deums* (one in E-flat and the other in G) among a host of other anthems and services by various contemporaneous composers, including Dudley Buck—touts the works it contains as "high class, but easy" and goes on to state that "Choirmasters in search of music of original and pleasing character, melodious and attractive, without being overcrowded with chromatic passages, will find this collection worthy of attention."[92]

Such advertising reveals that composers such as Thomas and Buck were writing for performers who wanted attractive music that did not present too great a challenge. It is also interesting to note that, since the *Musical Times* was speaking primarily to an English audience, English parish churches faced the same musical difficulties as American churches and that American composers were reaching a similar market at home and abroad. The term "high class" is telling if somewhat elitist by today's standards. Promising tasteful music to choirmasters with groups of limited musical abilities was clearly a company's marketing ploy. Still, American

[92] *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 27, no. 516 (February 1, 1886): 113.

composers, whether immigrant or native-born, were faced with the artistic challenge presented by this market-driven reality. Such limitations did not weigh so heavily upon the European composers who were producing larger sacred choral works, *Te Deums* included, because their scores were often conceived for the concert hall rather than the choir loft.

Another immigrant who helped meet this need for accessible but attractive church music was Hermann Kotzschmar (1829-1909). He left Germany in 1848 and settled in Maine, where he became an influential teacher and noted American composer and educator. John Knowles Paine studied organ, piano, harmony and counterpoint with him.[93] His *Te Deum*, composed in 1866, is a tuneful work accessible to amateur choirs. Like other American church composers before him, Kotzschmar clearly understood the American musical marketplace. Solo sections provide an opportunity to highlight the talents of the lead singers, quite probably a paid quartet. The brief organ introduction presents the same musical theme as the first choral statement, sung in unison to the text of "We praise Thee O God."

In addition to the moderately easy homophonic choral parts of modest range, the accompaniment is not a challenge for the organist either. But there is enough variety in harmony, rhythm, and occasional ornamentation to hold the listener's attention. The contours of the melody—almost always in four-measure phrases—are pleasing if somewhat predictable at times. Kotzschmar does surprise, however, especially in verses 4 and 5. He restates the phrase "continually do cry," and on the word "cry" at measure 34, when the listener expects a cadence on a B-flat major chord, he instead inserts a B minor diminished-seventh chord sung *sforzando*. The dissonance is sustained as the chord echoes back and forth between choir and organ (using tremulant on the swell organ) for the thrice "Holy" before resolving to the tonic F major

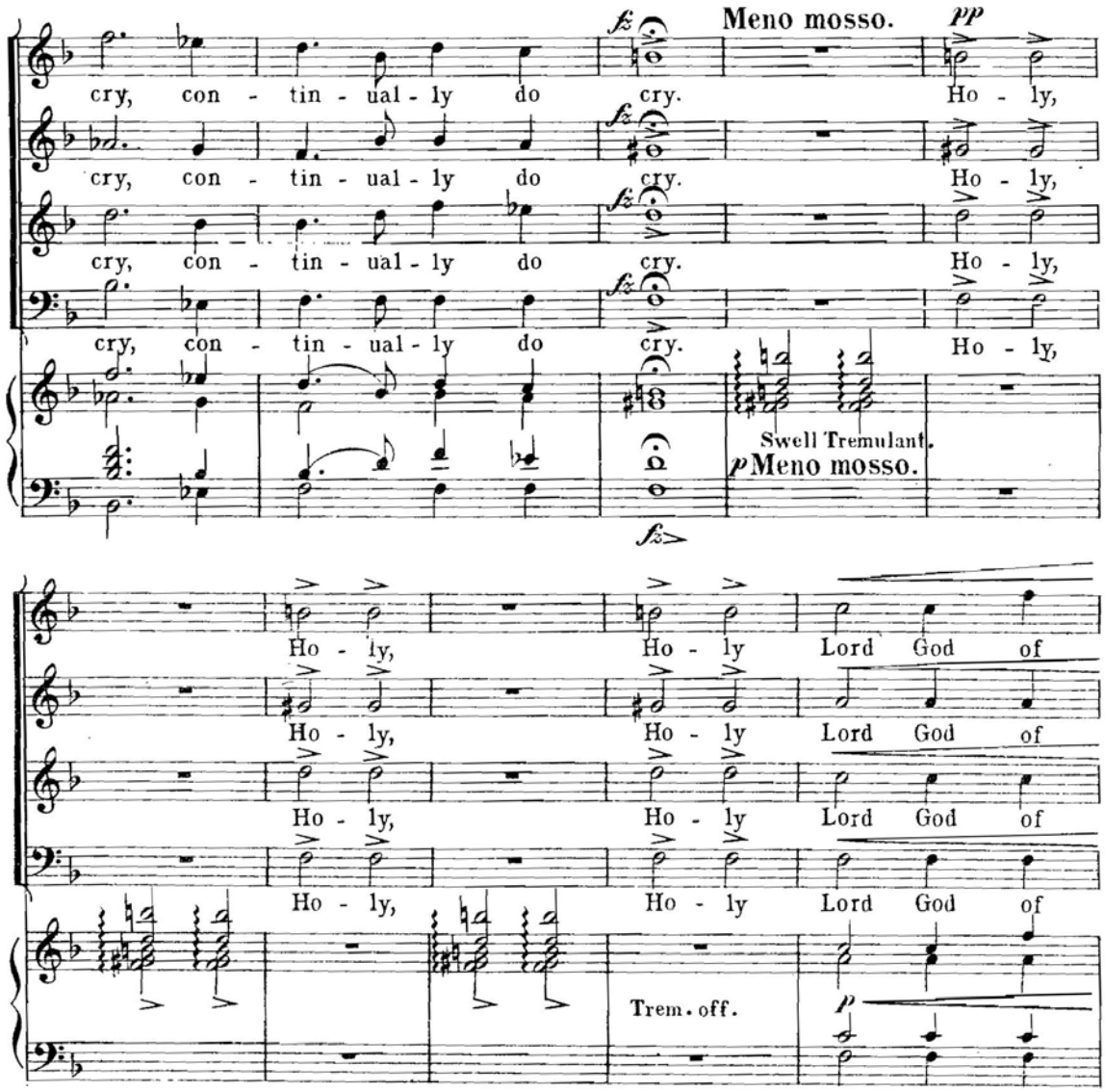
[93] Kenneth C. Roberts Jr. and John C. Schmidt, "Paine, John Knowles," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 18:902.

(Example 2.1). This chromatically altered chord adds to the drama as the voices of the heavenly hosts are about to utter "Holy." His use of chromatic alteration to paint the text is sparing and never sinks into sentimentality. Kotzschmar only occasionally repeats the text and does not insert musical interludes between sections keeping the work short to fit the constraints of the worship service. He consciously adopts a style suited to the limited musical resources of many smaller American houses of worship in the late nineteenth century.

Gustav A. Scott (b. 1827) was another German-born American musician who composed a *Te Deum.* He is selected for discussion here because, unlike most of the other composers discussed in this chapter, who built their careers east of the Mississippi, Scott settled in San Francisco and became a prominent musician there. In the 1850s he made several concert tours as a pianist, one with Louis Moreau Gottschalk and another as the accompanist to the noted Spanish dancer Lola Montez. While he earned an outstanding reputation as a musician of both sacred and secular music, he is best known for his work with sacred music.

Born in Hanover, Germany, his uncle was Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837) the famous composer and pianist. He received solid musical training early in life from the noted opera composer Heinrich August Marschner (1795-1861) and the pianist Ernst Ferdinand Wenzel (1808-1888), a friend of Robert Schumann and teacher to Edvard Grieg. While still an adolescent, Scott moved to America and then taught music in New York for several years before moving to California in 1851 where he taught many students. He held concurrent posts in San Francisco as organist at Calvary Presbyterian Church for twenty years, First Unitarian church for fourteen years, and the Jewish synagogue for twenty-two years. In 1860 he founded the Handel and Haydn Society of San Francisco and the Howard Choral Union, the latter comprised of over

**Example 2.1. Hermann Kotzschmar, *Te Deum*, mm 32-41**




three hundred singers.[94] He was a tireless supporter of musical activities in San Francisco such as the Mercantile Library Festival, where he organized a thousand singers for one of the largest musical events ever held in the Bay area up to that time.

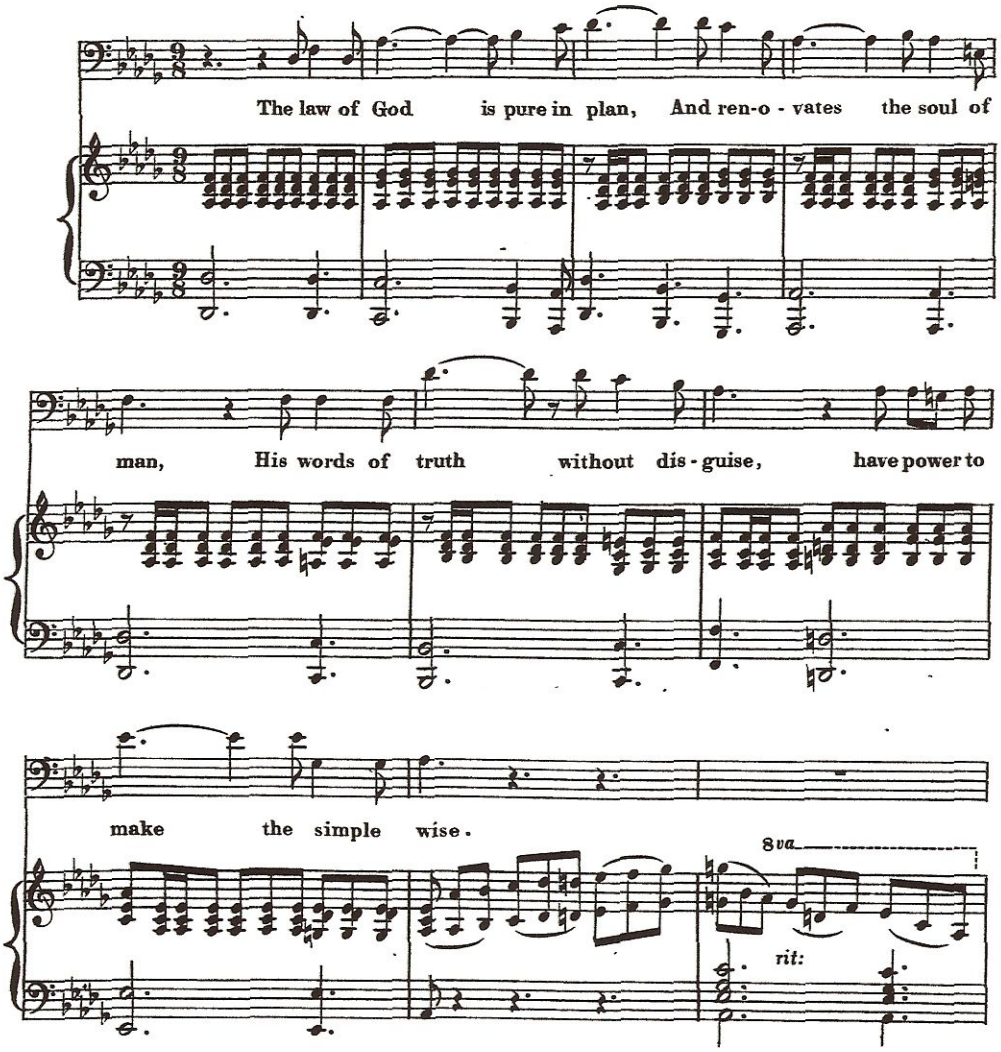
His European training and command of musical materials are revealed in his anthem setting of Psalm 19:1-8 under the title "The Law of God is Pure" (1879) for bass solo and mixed

[94] *The Bay of San Francisco: the metropolis of the Pacific Coast and it suburban cities: A history*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Lewis Publishing Co, 1892), 522-23.

chorus. This attractive anthem in D-flat major is dedicated to the Congregation Ohabai Shalome and can be used for Jewish or Christian services. The compound meter of 9/8 generates a lilting melody line over an animated accompaniment infused with Romantic harmonies. This anthem has a timeless quality that modern audiences would find effective (Example 2.2).

Like so many settings of the *Te Deum* in nineteenth-century America, Scott's *Te Deum* of 1862[95] makes limited demands on the singers and is clearly designed for the amateur choir. The

**Example 2.2. Gustav Scott, "The Law of God is Pure," mm 1-10**

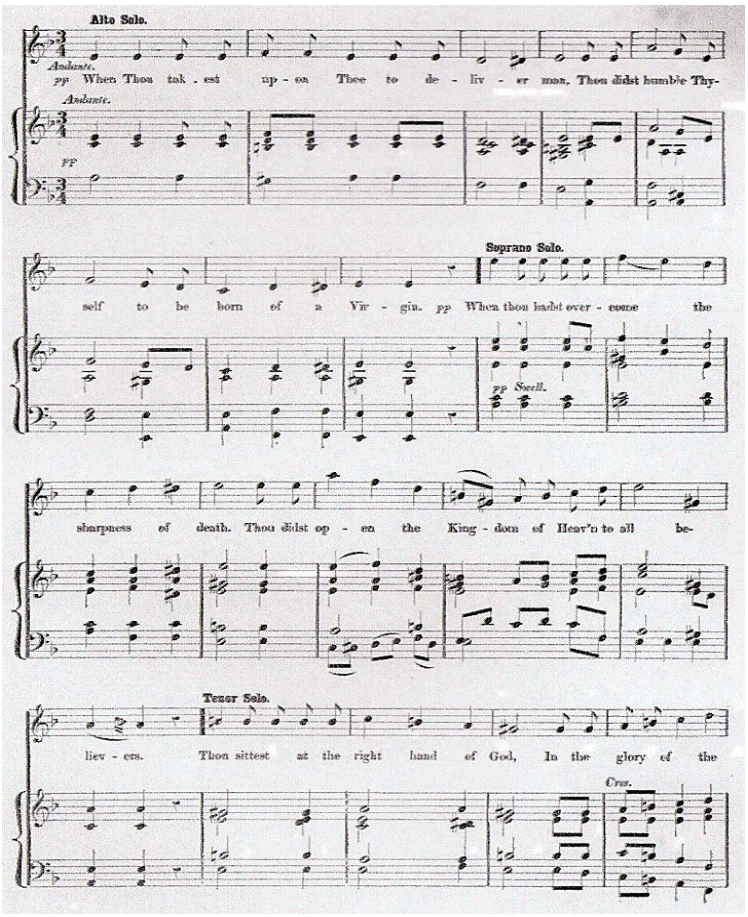



[95] The full score can be viewed at the *California Sheet Music Project*, 19th-Century Sheet Music Printed in California < http://www.mip.berkeley.edu/cgi-bin/csmp?002027> (accessed April 1, 2011).

organ part, on the other hand, opens with a robust and showy sixteen-measure introduction with fanfares and triplet flourishes. It would seem that Scott's impressive compositional and keyboard skills needed to make a statement despite the limitations of the vocalists. The vocal sections are largely homophonic settings with only occasional melismas. Mild chromaticism provides text painting, especially in passages such as the soprano and tenor solos in verses 16 and 17 where the chromatic shadings in both the melody and harmony help invoke the incarnation and the "sharpness of death" (Example 2.3) For the most part, the accompaniment doubles the choral vocal lines. Scott sets lines 7, 8 and 9 using chant much as Benjamin Carr and many other American composers had done before him. By this time, using chant or chant-like settings of these verses had become a convention among American composers of the *Te Deum*. In Scott's setting the texts "the glorious company of the Apostles," "the goodly fellowship of the Prophets" and "the noble army of Martyrs" are each chanted in unison and followed by a cadence in four-part harmony with a scalar flourish in the organ. He uses chant again in setting verse 20 (We therefore pray thee). Scott set lines 26
(Vouchsafe, O Lord), through line 28 (O Lord, let thy mercy), as a duet for soprano and tenor. This is slightly different from many other American *Te Deums* that most often set this text as a solo.

The immigrant composers discussed above answered the call of musical critics and tastemakers to produce a repertory of more sophisticated and refined sacred choral works that still fell within the performing capabilities of American amateur choirs. They also provided models for native-born composers who sought to move away from the old singing school and fuging tune traditions. American-born composers of sacred music produced *Te Deums* with increasing frequency as the nineteenth century advanced. By the second half of the century

**Example 2.3. Gustav Scott, *Te Deum laudamus*, mm. 85-104**




American-born composers were turning out *Te Deums* with great regularity. The table found in Appendix C lists chronologically over 180 *Te Deums* by these composers. Appendix D is a selected list of over 100 *Te Deums* examined for this study, arranged alphabetically by composer, and provides facts about their publication, key, performing forces and brief commentary. Several of these composers and their *Te Deums* are discussed in greater depth below to help illustrate the contributions of these American-born composers to the *Te Deum* repertory.

**American-born Composers**

Harrison Millard (1830-1895) composed a total for four *Te Deums*. Though a native-born American, he was among the many American musicians who studied in Europe, but unlike most of his compatriots, Millard did not study in Germany, as did Dudley Buck, George Chadwick or Horatio Parker. Instead, he studied in Italy from 1851–1854 and focused on cultivating his tenor voice rather than composition. He returned to Boston and commenced a singing career. He fought for the Union in the Civil War and was seriously injured at the battle of Chickamauga in 1863. Following the war he settled in New York, where he worked in the U.S. Customs office and became active as a church musician and composer. According to William Treat Upton, "he composed numerous songs which were in vogue for their day but which left no lasting impact on the repertoire of American song. His melodies, while tuneful, were not memorable, and his accompaniments were simple and added little harmonic interest to the tune."[96] His talents would seem well suited for his collection of original hymns and songs titled *The Chaplet* (1869) and intended for use in Sunday Schools. Although composed for a juvenile audience, however, none of the contents of *The Chaplet* possessed the naïve charm or achieved the subsequent popularity of his contemporary and fellow European-trained musician, William Bradbury, had with similar products. Bradbury also wrote sacred music for juvenile audiences, and his tune to "Jesus Loves Me" (1862) remains a favorite among children in Sunday Schools to the present day. Nicholas Tawa was less critical in his appraisal of Millard's contributions, noting that "He composed about 350 songs, some revealing Italian characteristics, others blending European and popular American styles . . . . Several of his songs were well received, including "Viva l'America,"

[96] William Treat Upton, *Art-Song in America: A study in the development of American music* (Boston: Oliver Ditson and Co, 1930), 68–69.

"Under the Daisies" (1865), "Waiting" (1867), "Longing" (1870), "When the Tide Comes In" (1875), and "Baby Mine" (1878)."[97]

An examination of his *Te Deum in C* (1880)[98] and *Te Deum in G* (1885)[99] reveal how he applied his European training to the demands of American sacred choral music. The *Te Deum in C* is an above-average work from the period with regard to use of musical resources such as counterpoint, inventive accompaniments, and expressive melodic material. The choral parts are largely homophonic but incorporate counterpoint in an effort to increase interest. Notable examples include the canonic entrances of each voice part in the key of A minor at measure 109 (verse 19, We believe that thou shalt come to be our judge). Counterpoint appears again at measure 129 (verse 25, And we worship thy Name), this time in oblique motion where the soprano and tenor lines are static and the bass and alto have a contrapuntal rising line. These simple devices added imaginative touches and interest for the listener who was accustomed to the static Anglican chant. The *Te Deum in G* uses similar devices, though is it indicated for "Motette Choir" rather than a larger choir of mixed voices. The predominantly homophonic parts are interrupted by occasional two- and four-note melismas. The organ accompaniment occasionally strays from doubling the voices to add an arpeggio, some passing tones or a neighboring tone. As usual, more elaborate figurations accompany the soloists, and the solos employ wide leaps and chromatic tones making them more expansive than the choral parts with regard to range and color. An interesting call-and-response passage occurs between the soprano solo and the three lower voices at measures 112-116 (verse 19, We believe that thou shalt come

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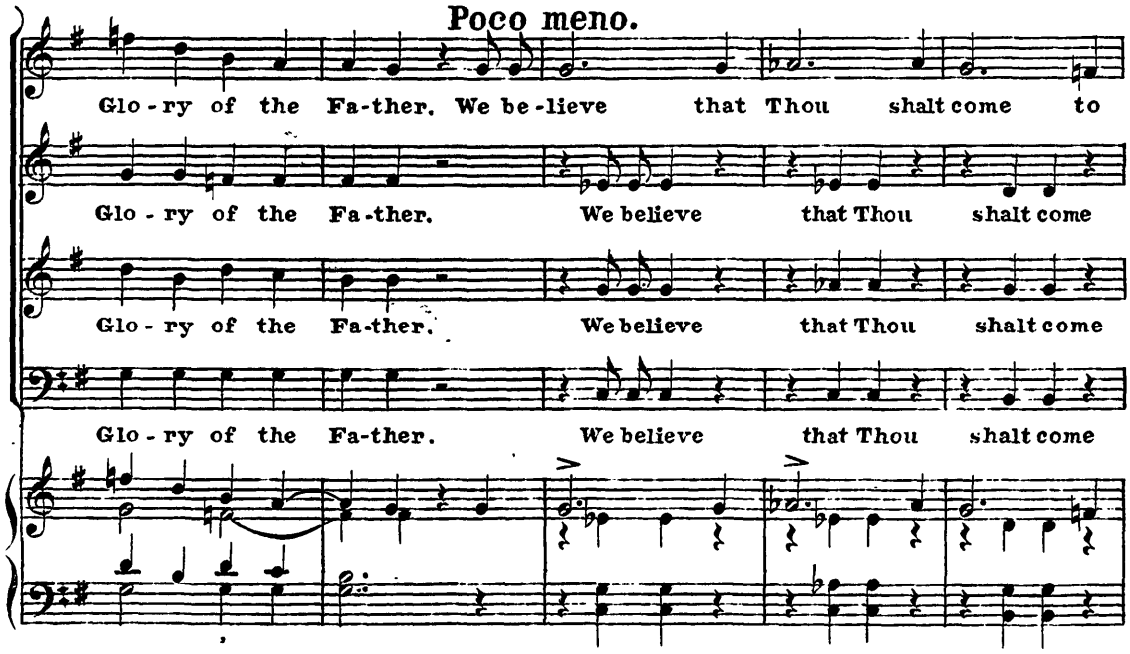
[97] Nicholas Tawa, "Millard, Harrison," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2085377 (accessed October 20, 2010).

[98] The full score is available at the Library of Congress *Music for the Nation* website < http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mussm&fileName=sm/sm1880/12900/12988/mussm12988.db&recNum=0&itemLink=D?mussm:2:./temp/~ammem_ltYg::&linkText=0>

[99] The full score is available at the Library of Congress *Music for the Nation* website < http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?mussm:1:./temp/~ammem_Pjlm::>

to be our judge). This is reminiscent of the call-and-response found in African-American work songs and spirituals. If Millard's *Te Deum* is, indeed, informed by the American work-song tradition it may be an example of the "blending of European and American styles" Tawa refers to. If so, it is one of the few examples of African-American musical influences found in a nineteenth-century American *Te Deum* (Example 2.4).

**Example 2.4. Harrison Millard, *Te Deum in G*, mm. 94-98**




Charles Hommann (1803-1866) is notable among American composers as one of the first to train exclusively in the United States.[100] His father was a German musician who came to America in the 1790s. He started his career in his hometown of Philadelphia, where he taught piano and violin and was the organist of both St. James's Church and the Dutch Reformed Church. He moved to Brooklyn, New York around 1855 and remained there to the end of his life. He wrote a Symphony in E, a prizewinning Overture in D, string quartets, organ voluntaries, several piano works including a rondo, a piano arrangement of *Cavatina and Variations* (by

[100] Joanne Swenson-Eldridge, "Hommann, Charles," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 11:673.

Hunten), *Juvenile Gallopade* (intended for children), *Circassian March* (piano duet, 4-hands), choral music and works for voice and piano.[101] His chamber works are finding a new audience thanks to the publication of scholarly editions of his orchestral and chamber music by A-R Editions as part of the Recent Researches in American Music series.[102]

Hommann's choral works have, to date, been unexplored, and this brief examination of his *Te Deum in C* marks a first in that field of endeavor. Hommann abandons traditional English and American conventions in his setting of the *Te Deum*.[103] By the second half of the nineteenth century American *Te Deums* would frequently—and often suddenly—change tempo, key, meter, dynamic and performing sources to reflect the change in mood of the text. Hommann ignored these conventions and any other device that would fragment the work. The entire work is in C major, only briefly modulating to related keys—often via secondary dominants—or to the minor mode, but these are only momentary excursions. While there is some text painting, such as the use of the minor mode at verses 16 and 17 in representing the incarnation and death of Christ, it is minimal and does not interfere with the work's unity. The duple meter is constant, and the full choir sings throughout with one exception. From verse 11 to verse 17 the composer indicates that, provided fine singers are present in the choir to form a quartet, they may sing these verses as a solo quartet; but if good soloists are not present in the chorus, then the full choir should continue to sing all parts. This is the complete opposite of the paid quartet choir tradition where the composer usually places emphasis on the soloists rather than the full choir.

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[101]Swenson-Eldridge, "Hommann," *The New Grove,* 11:673.

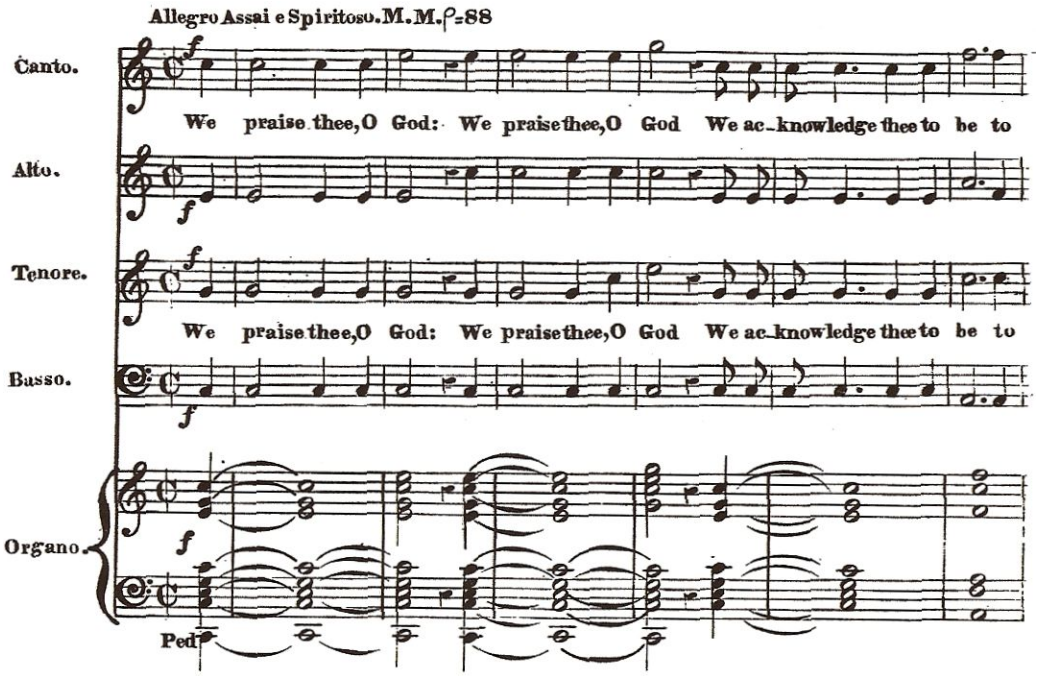
[102] To date, A-R Editions has produced two critical editions of Hommann's instrumental works containing extensive critical notes and historical background on Hommann; John Graziano and Joanne Swenson-Eldridge: *Charles Hommann: Chamber music for Strings* (Madison, WI, A-R Editions, 1998), and Joanne Swenson-Eldridge: *Charles Hommann: Surviving Orchestral Music* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 2007).

[103] The full score is available at the Library of Congress, *Music for the Nation* website < http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mussm:@field%28NUMBER+@band%28sm1848+441980%29%29>

By not dividing the work into so many discrete sections, Hommann produces a more organic work and is able to develop it much as he would an instrumental work where the demands of the text would not limit him. The overall plan to the work is movement from stasis and simplicity to vigorous movement and greater complexity.

The work begins with a simple homophonic setting of the text built on the C-major chord. The organ holds long chords as the voices recite the text in a chant-like setting. Gapped movement in the treble voice merely outlines the C-major chord (Example 2.5). By verse 3 (to thee all Angels cry aloud), the voice parts gradually have

**Example 2.5. Charles Hommann, *Te Deum in C,* mm. 1-7**




more melodic contour, and the harmony is focused more on the dominant. At the "thrice Holy" in verse 5, the voices cadence on the dominant in short exclamations of "Holy" separated by repeated flourishes in the organ. In the last phrase of verse 5 (Lord God of Sabaoth) the organ bass line rises chromatically via a repeated figuration arriving at the dominant at the end of the phrase.

By verse 10 and onward the vocal parts display greater independence employing gapped melodies, staggered entrances, and short motives passed in imitation between voice parts. Later, at verses 18 and 21, canonic entrances create fugue-like passages. Imitative, fugue-like entrances appear again at verses 24 and 29, and parts of the verses are repeated to allow more time for the composer to work out his musical ideas.

Hommann's rethinking of how to set the *Te Deum* is masterful and innovative. His unified approach allows him greater space to express his musical ideas in a relatively short span of time. The movement from a static exploration of the C-major chord to greater contrapuntal movement with tasteful modulations provides forward motion to the work. The work climaxes in a thirty-two-measure fugue at the last verse (O Lord, in Thee have I trusted, Let me never be confounded, mm. 248-280) creating a powerful drive to the conclusion and the triumphal return to stasis on the final C-major chord (Example 2.6). Hommann's *Te Deum* reveals a talented composer full of ideas that differ from his contemporaries. His choral and vocal works bear further investigation.[104]

Francis Boott (1813-1904) was another American who studied in Italy rather than Germany. He was born in Boston and graduated from Harvard in 1831. When his wife died he took his only child, Elizabeth (called Lizzie), to Florence, Italy where he studied music with

[104] The full score is available at the Library of Congress *Music for the Nation* website http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mussm&fileName=sm2/sm1848/441000/441980/mussm441980.db&recNum=1&itemLink=r?ammem/mussm:@field%28NUMBER+@band%28sm1848+441980%29%29&linkText=0

**Example 2.6 Charles Hommann, *Te Deum laudamus in C*, mm. 270-285**

be con-found-ed nev--er nev--er nev-er nev-er be confounded let me

be con founded nev--er nev--er nev-er nev-er be confounded let me

never never be con--found-ed let me

thee have I trust-ed let me nev----er be con-found-ed let me

p dim:

nev-er be con-found--ed let me never be confounded let me never be con-found-ed.

p dim:

p dim:

nev-er be con-found--ed let me never be confounded let me never be con-found-ed.

p dim:

p

Luigi Picchianti.[105] Boott's success in American business allowed him to enjoy a comfortable life in Italy. He and his daughter—who was becoming a promising young artist herself—entertained numerous Anglo-American intellectuals at their residence, Villa Castellani, including authors William and Henry James, Elizabeth and Robert Browning, and Isa Blagden.[106]

Boott composed mainly vocal music for various genres including a number of sacred choral works such as his *Mass*, *Te Deum*, a cantata titled "The Song of Zechariah," "*Miserere,"* and anthems. His interest in choral music prompted him to establish an annual prize at Harvard University for the best 4-part vocal work written by a Harvard student. He funded the prize with a $10,000 bequest. According to the Harvard Music Department web site the award is still bestowed each year.[107]

Boott's *Te Deum* (1884)[108] is selected for discussion from among the many others of this period because it contains some unique qualities that make it stand out from the rest. To begin, it opens with a tenor solo, which is unusual among nineteenth-century American settings. The solo melody forms an arch; a rising four-measure phrase sets the first half of the verse with the second half starting with an upward octave leap followed by a descending line to the tonic. This dramatic octave leap and descending line is a motive that returns throughout the *Te Deum*. The

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[105] John C. Schmidt, "Boott, Francis," In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.eres.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2083841 (accessed October 22, 2010). The story of Lizzie, and her father's *Te Deum,* make an interesting dual "connection" to G. W. Chadwick. Lizzie studied art in America and Italy and became a promising young artist. While in Italy, a young bohemian artist came to stay with the Bootts at their residence, Villa Castellani, in the fall of 1879. The young artist was Frank Duveneck, who had just completed a summer with a group of expatriate artists in France where he also met up with Chadwick before the composer returned to his studies in Munich with Rheinberger in the fall. Lizzie and Frank fell in love and, much to her father's dismay, the two were wed in 1886. They enjoyed only two years together because Lizzie died in 1888 at the age of 42. So it was that Chadwick and Boott were "connected" through their association with Frank Duveneck and the fact that both composers produced *Te Deums*.

[106] For a discussion of Lizzie Boott Duveneck as a painter see Martha J. Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt," *American Art Journal* 13, no. 1 (Winter 1981): 17-46. Of the literary figures mentioned above, Henry James took particular interest in Lizzie and championed her work.

[107] Harvard University, http://www.music.fas.harvard.edu/news.html (accessed Oct. 20, 2010).

[108] The score is available at the Library of Congress *Music for the Nation* website < http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mussm:@field%28NUMBER+@band%28sm1884+20651%29%29>

use of motives as a unifying element was uncommon in *Te Deums* and serves as a hallmark of superior examples of this genre. The choir enters with points of imitation echoing the opening tenor solo. The first three words of the verse (We praise Thee) are repeated three times, which is also unusual. There are numerous repetitions of the text where the composer emphasizes and develops musical material as much as—if not more than—the meaning of the text. Sopranos present the statement of a fugato to set verse 2 (All the earth doth worship thee). As each voice enters, the other voices continue to sing the rest of the verse, and with the overlapping text the listener can no longer decipher each word. While this type of polyphony is common in larger settings of the *Te Deum*, especially those intended for the concert hall, it is much less frequent in the shorter *Te Deums* used in the English and American liturgies since it violates the sixteenth-century statute for setting texts in the Anglican church. Boott returns to a homophonic setting in verse 4 and the octave leap motive returns and is repeated three times with a new voice part added at each repetition. Verse 5 receives similar treatment. While verses 6, 7, and 8 are treated in a slightly more conventional manner, the solos overlap the tutti choir so that the solos emanate from the midst of the choral texture. It is unusual in *Te Deums* of this period to set these verses with overlapping phrases rather than the traditional homophony. Also notable is the treatment of verse 8 (The goodly fellowship of the Prophets) that repeats portions of text and sets them to a melismatic sequence that is passed between bass and soprano. Applying the textual divisions (A,B, and C) discussed earlier in this study, the close of the A section in Boot's setting occurs at the end of verse 14, which is unusual since this verse is usually part of the B section of the text. Instead, Boott starts the B section with verse 15 using a soprano solo over a sparse chordal accompaniment. The B section is completely dominated by solos and closes at the end of verse 23. The full choir does not reenter until verse 27 and continues to the conclusion over a vigorous

and full organ accompaniment. The limited use of the choir from verse 15 to nearly the end of the *Te Deum* is highly unusual and suggests that Boott felt constrained by the limits of the choral singers and sought more freedom of expression made possible by the talents of the paid soloist and organist. Boott was comfortable with the solo voice, having written many songs both sacred and secular.

A discussion of the American *Te Deum* would incomplete without mentioning the contributions of George Fredrick Bristow (1825-1895). Bristow was one of New York City's leading musicians of the nineteenth century; he was a conductor, composer, teacher and performer who championed the cause of American music. He wrote symphonies, two operas, a cantata, chamber music, keyboard works, solo songs, and sacred and secular choral music.[109] Bristow learned music first from his father, a clarinetist, and later studied piano with Henry Christian Timm (1811-1892), counterpoint, harmony and orchestration with George Macfarren (1813-1887), and violin with the famed Norwegian violinist and composer, Ole Bull (1810-1880).[110] His skill at the violin earned him a place in the first violin section of the New York Philharmonic. He was only seventeen when he joined the orchestra in 1843, and he remained a member until 1879. German musicians dominated the Philharmonic and the orchestra's Eurocentric repertoire during this period became a point of some contention for the American-

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[109] Bristow was a great champion of American music, but he did not believe his music needed to exhibit any American musical affectations such as American folk tunes, Indian songs or other identifiable musical characteristics to make it American. He contended that he was an American composer and that was enough to make his music American. In addition, he chose American subjects and texts as inspiration for his dramatic and choral works. A prime example is his opera *Rip Van Winkle,* op. 3 (1852), which is American in title and story line but European in musical content. The story of Rip Van Winkle was, coincidentally, the same inspiration for Chadwick's prize-winning overture written in 1879 at the Leipzig Conservatory.

[110] Delmer D. Rogers, "Bristow, George Frederick," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 4:360. Sir George Macfarren was a Scottish-born, English composer and professor of music. His health and eyesight were poor even in his youth and worsened with age. In 1847-48 he came to America to seek treatment from an oculist to no avail. His physical limitations did not diminish his musical output or his ability to teach. He was a professor at the Royal Academy of Music before and after his visit to America. Ole Bull was well known in America and visited it often for concert tours. He even tried to establish a Norwegian community on over 11,000 acres he purchased in Pennsylvania, but the venture failed when it was learned that the land was better suited to timber than farming.

music advocate Bristow.[111] He was a supporter of music education and his yeoman's work in the New York school system to increase music literacy parallels that of Lowell Mason's work in the Boston schools. He was also a church musician serving as organist and choir director at New York's St George's Chapel (Episcopal) from 1854-1860.

Bristow's most significant contribution to the American choral repertory is his *Oratorio of Daniel* (1867). This oratorio is frequently compared to Mendelssohn's *Elijah* and deservedly so considering that both re-tell a dramatic Old Testament story, are similar in length and musical forces, and employ a similar nineteenth-century, Eurocentric musical vocabulary to great effect. Bristow's favorable comparison to Mendelssohn by both twentieth-century critics is all the more noteworthy considering the fact that he never studied music in Europe.

Bristow composed four *Te Deums*, three for ecclesiastical services and one concert work. His first *Te Deum* is part of his Morning service, op. 19 from 1855. The other two church *Te Deums* are his op. 54 in C major (1879) and his op. 58 in F major (1881).[112] They are all approximately 200 measures in length, normal for American liturgical *Te Deums*, and contain attractive melodies of four and eight-measure phrases. Bristow's melodies often use repeated sequences set at different pitch levels. The solo melodies in particular employ these sequenced melodic phrases. A contrapuntal technique Bristow used, primarily in the full choral sections, was setting diatonic melodies of quarter or eight-notes in contrary motion often while another voice sustains a pitch in oblique motion. This is a simple but effective device that he often used in the closing sections of a work where he desired a full sound with great motion, as in the final

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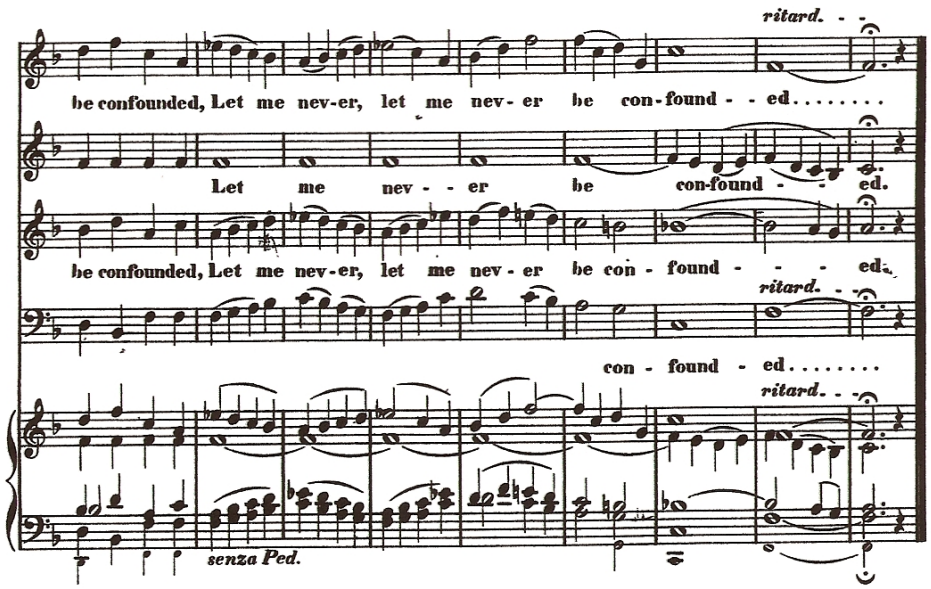
[111] The relationship between Bristow and the German-dominated New York Philharmonic was very stormy at times. In 1859 the relationship was so strained over the lack of American music programming by the orchestra that Bristow resigned for nearly two years. For a full account of this episode see Douglas William Shadle, *Music of a More Perfect Union: Symphonic Constructions of American National Identity, 1840-1870 (*Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2010), 114-119.

[112]The full score of Bristow's T *Te Deum in C* is found at the Library of Congress *Music for the Nation* website < http://memory.loc.gov >

**Example 2.7 George F. Bristow, *Te Deum in F* op. 58, mm. 176-192**




verse of his *Te Deum in F* (Example 2.7). Of the church *Te Deums,* his op. 54 in C major is the more contrapuntally conceived, employs more inventively figured accompaniment, and makes the greatest use of soloists.

Bristow's op. 33 entitled, *Praise to God* is a large concert work of 117 pages and written for chorus, soloists and orchestra. It was composed in 1860 for the New York Harmonic Society, a chorus that Bristow conducted. The first seventy-three pages are a setting of the *Te Deum* text followed by a forty-four-page setting of the *Benedictus*. The *Te Deum* portion is divided into eleven movements for chorus, solos (bass, tenor and soprano), duets for tenor and bass, and alto and tenor, and a concluding movement for quartet and chorus. Because of the work's length the text is frequently repeated, providing maximum space for Bristow to work out his musical ideas,

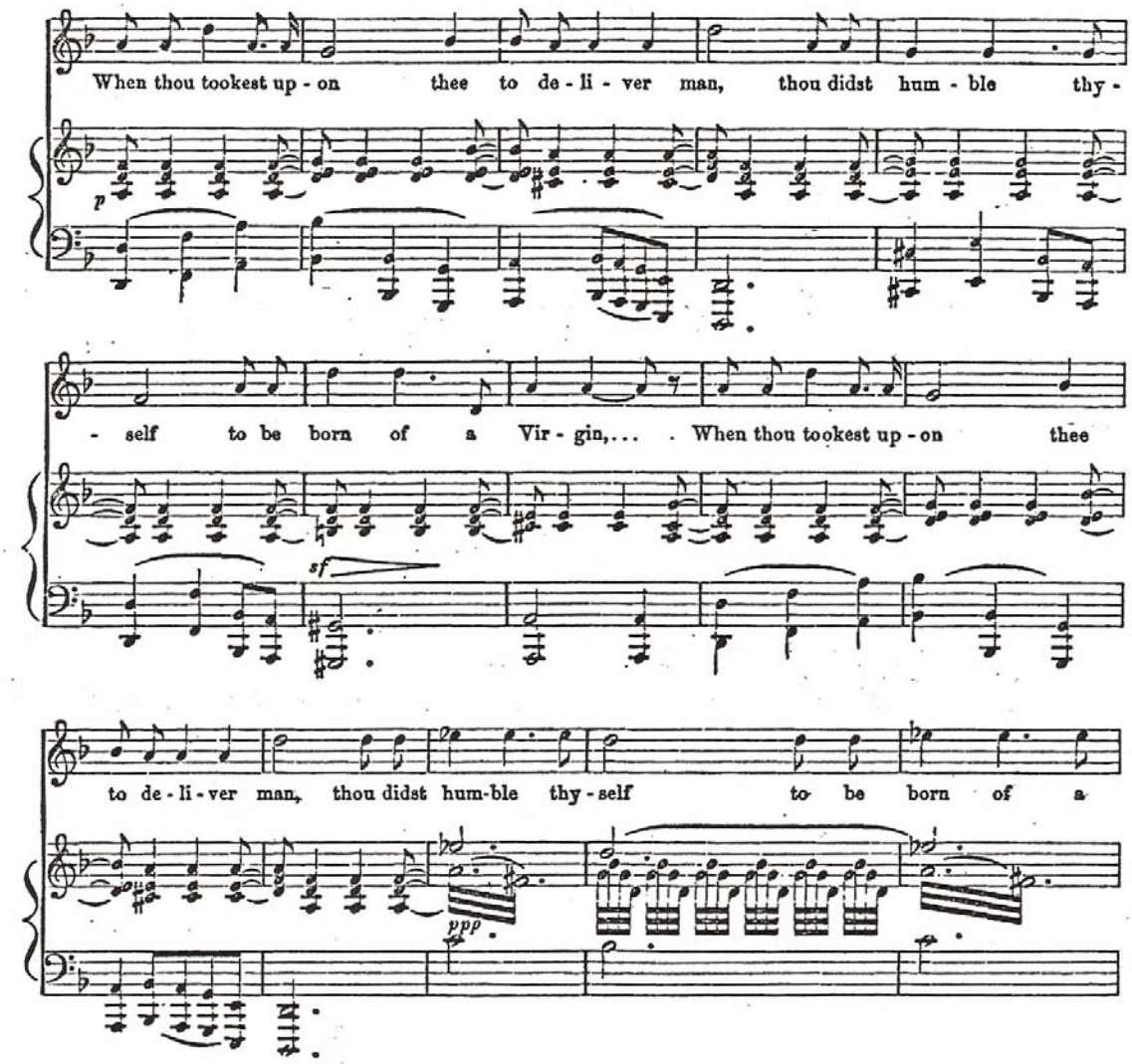
though some critics believe his musical ideas suffer from over exposure.[113] The *Te Deum* opens with an extensive orchestral introduction. The second movement chorus contains a fugue on the words "All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting" followed by yet another fugue-like section, though not a true fugue, as well as homophonic declarations of praise over a vigorous orchestral accompaniment. The solo arias and duets are lyrical, with the duets favoring parallel thirds and sixths but not to the point of over sweetness. The accompaniments to the solos and duets are reminiscent of those found in mid nineteenth-century Italian opera arias (Example 2.8). Each choral movement contrasts imitative contrapuntal sections with homophonic passages. The final movement mirrors the opening choral movement by presenting a full fugue, this time to the words "O Lord in thee have I trusted." Bristow's *Praise to God,* is a well-crafted and enjoyable work that merits further study and performance. [114]

**Stylistic Traits of Nineteenth-Century American *Te Deums***

Examining the *Te Deums* above, along with those found in Appendix D, allows us to identify common traits in this genre with a high degree of reliability. After identifying the most common traits of these *Te Deums,* it is possible to recognize works outside the norm, or those of exceptional quality. To examine all the *Te Deums* in Appendixes C and D in great detail is not only outside the scope of this discussion, but is also unnecessary to our understanding of the key element. The stylistic traits identified below provide the context and perspective needed to evaluate the works discussed in chapter three.

[113]Rodgers, "Bristow," 4:361.
[114] As of the writing of this study David Griggs-Janower, the editor of A-R Edition's *The Oratorio of Daniel,* is preparing a modern edition of the score to *Praise to God*.

**Example 2.8. George F. Bristow, *Praise to God*, No. 8, soprano solo, mm 44-58**




## General Comments about Stylistic Traits

Nineteenth-century American *Te Deums* are usually brief, lasting only five to ten minutes (approximately 175-200 measures) in order to fit into the liturgy of the church without expanding the length of the service. Instrumental introductions, if present, are also brief, sometimes consisting of no more than a chord to set the key. An introduction of four to eight measures is not uncommon, and it may present melodic material that is repeated by the entrance of the voices. This material may be used as a theme throughout the entire work, but this is rare. Text painting is

common and usually occurs in verses 5 (thrice “Holy”), 13 (“Also the Holy Ghost: the Comforter”), 17 (“When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death”), 24 (“Day by day: we magnify thee”), and 26 (“Vouchsafe, O Lord: to keep us this day without sin”). In these instances the text painting usually takes the form of a shift of mode and tempo—major to minor in slow tempo for somber moods, and minor to major in quick tempo for joyful expressions—and in the case of the thrice “Holy” non-harmonic tones or altered chords are used to enhance the dramatic effect.

**Texture**

The texture of the choral parts is predominantly homophonic with the text clearly presented with one note to each syllable. Melismas are usually brief, consisting of two to four notes. Overlapping texts are rare prior to 1850. Contrapuntal writing among the voices is limited to brief sections but becomes more frequent during the latter half of the century. Accompaniment is usually for organ, though piano is sometimes indicated. The accompaniment usually doubles the voices in the choral sections and becomes more florid and expressive in solo sections. Common accompaniment figurations in the solo sections include repeated chords, broken chords, and arpeggios. Variety in texture often comes from contrasts between full chorus and soloist, chorus, and ensemble (duet, trio, or quartet of solo voices), antiphonal choirs (decanis and cantoris), or chorus and organ (piano).

**Rhythm**

Since this genre grows out of a chant tradition, natural speech patterns of the text usually generate the rhythm. Dotted rhythmic patterns are very common. Tempi often vary from verse to verse depending on mood of the text. Brisk tempi predominate with slower tempi reserved for the verses of a somber mood. Slow tempi such as Adagio are used but are much less frequent.

**Harmony**

Major keys predominate, though some settings in minor modes do exist. Modulation to closely related keys is common and usually occurs with change of text; movement to the relative minor is common as is modulation to the sub-dominant and dominant. During the last half of the century harmonic progressions, key relationships and altered chords become more chromatic in keeping with the prevailing Romantic aesthetic; secondary dominants, diminished-seventh, and augmented-sixth chords become common.

**Form**

Most nineteenth-century American *Te Deums* are through-composed with little or no thematic unity due to the nature of the text. Some employ motives that may reappear in some verses or in the interludes between verses to provide greater unity. Where motives are used they usually appear at the opening and closing choral statements. Because of the tripartite structure of the text, some composers create an ABA or ABACA form through the use of key, motive, or thematic material. These examples stand out from the norm and usually denote works of particular interest and craftsmanship.

**Melody**

Melodies for the chorus are predominantly diatonic with occasional leaps of a third, fourth, or fifth. Ranges for the choral parts rarely exceed an octave. Solos are normally more melodically involved, employing wider leaps, melismas, ornaments, and chromatic tones. Some are highly expressive and inventive, these are less common and indicate a work of greater interest and higher craftsmanship.

Understanding the general characteristics of the nineteenth-century American *Te Deum* marks a milestone in the study of nineteenth-century American sacred music. Thanks to the

Library of Congress and its *Music for the Nation* website, nearly two hundred scores of *Te Deums* by American composers, awaited discovery. The robust scope of this collection made it possible to collect sufficient data to draw reliable conclusions about the American church *Te Deum*. But other genres in this collection that use standard sacred texts, like the Benedictus and Jubilate, await further study; examination of them, and other repertories, will enable us to re-evaluate the music that once graced the sanctuaries of nineteenth-century America. While many of these works have fallen out of fashion, some may speak to today's congregations. This study has shown that, for those willing to labor in the field of nineteenth-century sacred music, much is left to harvest. Hopefully, others will investigate this valuable part of America's music history.

# CHAPTER 3

## Chadwick's Te Deum in Context:
## Four New England Composers and Analyses of their *Te Deums*

This Chapter examines *Te Deums* produced by a unique group of composers. All were active during the second half of the nineteenth century, they all worked in Boston churches at some point in their careers, they all studied in Europe, some with the same professors, all worked with one another, and three of them enjoyed teacher-student relationships. This group includes John Cutler Dunn Parker, Dudley Buck, George W. Chadwick, and Horatio Parker (no relation). All these composers, with the exception of Chadwick, created *Te Deums* that were published for use in a liturgical worship setting. Because of the common threads that bind these four men, a comparison of their *Te Deums* provides possibly the best context for understanding the newly found works by Chadwick.

### J. C. D. Parker

George W. Chadwick's 1885 *Te Deum in D* was dedicated to James Cutler Dunn Parker. No documentary evidence explains the reason for this dedication, but it was common to dedicate musical works to honor a good friend, esteemed colleague, or other respected person. From what we know of the these two men it is highly likely that, in Chadwick's eyes, Parker met all of these qualifications.

J. C. D. Parker was born in Boston in 1828 to a family whose roots went deep into New England's history. The first Parker came to America in the latter part of the seventeenth century. James's father, Samuel Hale Parker owned a retail music store and music printing firm and was active in Boston's musical life. The future music publisher,

Oliver Ditson, apprenticed in Samuel Parker's business and the two became business partners in 1836.[115]

J. C. D. Parker attended Boston Latin School but studied music privately since Boston Latin did not offer music classes at that time. He learned music quickly, and his first published musical work appeared when he was only thirteen years old. This piano piece, entitled *Cornelia Waltz,* was one of only three piano works he ever composed.

Parker attended Harvard and earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1848. Although he enjoyed music, he went to work in a law office to study the law since music was not considered a socially acceptable profession for a gentleman. But after three years he abandoned the legal profession and determined to study music. This decision led him to study in Germany where he felt he would obtain the best musical education. He sailed for Germany in 1851 aboard the steamer "Washington" to train at the Leipzig Conservatory.

The city of Leipzig itself offered much to young music students. Home to the famous *Gewandhaus* orchestra, a rich concert life, the publishing firm of Breitkopf & Härtel, and one of Europe's finest universities, it had also hosted J. S. Bach, Robert Schumann, and Felix Mendelssohn.[116] By the time Parker set off for Europe, the Leipzig Conservatory was only nine years old, but it had already become a mecca for students of music from across Europe and was beginning to attract students from the United States.

Felix Mendelssohn founded the Conservatory in 1843 by convincing the city fathers that a fortune left to the city of Leipzig by a wealthy Supreme Court Justice should go to establish a conservatory of music. This meant that the Conservatory was

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[115] James L. Caldwell, "The Life and Work of James Cutler Dunn Parker" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1968), 7.
[116] E. Douglas Bomberger, "The German musical training of American students, 1850-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1991), 40.

well funded and could attract some of the finest musicians to teach its students. The fact that the school was planned and guided by Mendelssohn only enhanced its reputation. The school emphasized training in all branches of music "viewed as science and art," which included first theoretical teaching, and then practical instruction. Theory included harmony, counterpoint, fugue, composition (vocal and instrumental), analysis, and conducting. The winter curriculum covered history, aesthetics, and acoustics. The practical or applied studies included only voice, piano or organ. Special arrangements were required to study any other instrument.[117]

Parker commenced his theoretical studies with Moritz Hauptmann (1792-1868) and Ernst Friedrich Richter (1808-1879). Hauptmann, highly regarded as a teacher and theorist, had published the significant treatise *Die Natur der Harmonik und Metrik* (1853), where he attempted to provide a philosophic explanation for the forms of music. He was the cantor at the *Thomasschule*, a position J. S. Bach had also held. His compositions, many of them sacred works, were known for their symmetry and workmanship rather than innovation. Richter was also a noted theorist and author of three important works: *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (1853) that was adopted as the official textbook at the Conservatory, *Lehre von der Fuge* (1859), and *Lehrbuch des einfachen und doppelten Kontrapunkts* (1872). Each was a slim, practical volume popular with young students eager to understand the science of music. He also composed instrumental works and a wealth of sacred choral works including motets, two masses, and a *Stabat Mater*.

Parker's practical studies in piano were with Louis Plaidy (1810-1874) and Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870), and organ with Johann Gottlob Schneider (1789-1864). Plaidy

[117] Bomberger, "German Training," 47-48.

was first and foremost a piano pedagogue who had written two books on teaching piano. Moscheles was an accomplished pianist and excellent teacher whom Daniel Gregory Mason recalled as unsurpassed in his playing of Bach.[118] From a musical family, Schneider was one of Germany's most celebrated organists and was known for his gift of improvisation. He championed the works of J. S. Bach and would end each lesson with a performance of Bach's fugues or choral preludes. He counted both Mendelssohn and Liszt among his pupils.[119]

While in Leipzig, Parker began work on a string quartet, whereupon a correspondent to *Dwight's Journal of Music* commented favorably upon the project. Although the journalist did not discuss the work, he found it remarkable that a young American could compose a work in such a challenging genre.[120] Despite such encouragement Parker never completed the quartet.

Parker returned to Boston in September 1854 and continued his studies at Harvard, where he earned the Master of Arts degree in 1856. While still completing his master's studies, he started his teaching career by opening his own private studio. With his extensive training, good social connections, and solid pedagogy his reputation soon spread and brought him many students. With his success he was able to find time to write a book, *Manual on Harmony* (1855), and compose several small works. In 1864 Parker was appointed organist and choirmaster at Trinity Church (Episcopal), located on Summer Street in Boston.[121] He continued in that post until 1891. He became the organist

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[118] Bomberger, "Musical Training," 53.
[119] Franz Gehring, et al., "Schneider," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd ed., edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 22:553.
[120] Caldwell, "Parker," 12.
[121] The church was destroyed in the Great Boston Fire of 1872. A new edifice, erected in Back Bay, still stands and is a registered historic landmark.

for the Handel and Haydn Society in 1857 and accepted the post of professor of piano and theory at the New England Conservatory shortly after it opened in 1867. He continued to work at the Conservatory for thirty-seven years, and it was there that George W. Chadwick studied with Parker around 1873.

In addition to his church work, Parker organized an amateur vocal ensemble called the "Parker Club" or the "Parker Vocal Club." This group of up to twenty vocalists performed several times each year, usually at Boston's Chickering Hall, and their concerts received regular notices and reviews in *Dwight's Journal of Music*. The reviews nearly always found much to recommend in these performances, praising their repertoire, preparation, expression and passion for the choral art. They performed both sacred and secular repertoire by European and American composers. European composers represented included Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Gade. The American composer performed most frequently was Parker himself. Parker's part songs were composed specifically for this talented amateur ensemble, which provided him with another outlet for music making outside of his church position.

Sacred choral works predominate in Parker's work list. Forty of these, intended for church use, stemmed from his role as a church musician. Commentators on his works uniformly describe them as conservative. John Sullivan Dwight noted, "His taste and influence have been wholly classical and most uncompromising."[122] Louis Elson characterized his style as a happy medium between the classical and the popular that combines "graceful melody with sufficient counterpoint to lend dignity to his work."

[122] Charles C. Perkins and John Sullivan Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston, Massachusetts* (Boston: A. Mudge, 1913; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), vol 1, 511.

Elson goes on to state that he never attempted the intricate style of Horatio Parker (no relation).[123]

Parker's sacred choral output began around 1875 and reached its peak in the early 1880s. His first large choral work, a cantata for alto solo and chorus entitled *Redemption Hymn* (1877), was performed by the Handel and Haydn Society. His secular cantata, *The Blind King* (1883), led to the sacred cantata *St. John* (1890) and then to his oratorio for solo voices, chorus and orchestra, *The Life of Man* (1894). Among his shorter works, many are service music intended for church use. All his *Te Deums* fall into this category. Five of his ten published *Te Deums* appeared in 1880. The numbering of the works indicates, however, that he wrote most of them over a period of time and published them all at once in 1880. In addition to his *Te Deums,* he wrote other works for the Episcopal service including four *Jubilate*, five *Benedictus*, a Christmas anthem, four Easter anthems, a *Kyrie*, and a *Deus misereatur*. These church works coincided with Parker's tenure at Trinity Church, Boston. Indeed, the environment at Trinity Church may account to some degree for elements of Parker's style. Since both J.C.D Parker, and later Horatio Parker, held positions as organist and choir director at this influential church, and since at least one scholar, Linda Clark, maintains that the aesthetic and theological milieu at Trinity Church had a significant influence on the music making there, it is necessary to examine briefly the environment in which these composers lived and worked while employed there.

[123] Louis Elson, *History of American Music*, rev. 1925 by Arthur Elson (New York: Macmillen Co., 1925) 230. It is interesting that these two German-trained Parkers, who were unrelated, should both hold the same position of choirmaster at Trinity Church, Boston in such close succession. J. C. D. Parker ended his term in 1891, and Horatio Parker took over in 1893 and remained there nine years before stepping down in 1902.

The rector of Trinity Church during most of J.C.D. Parker's time as choirmaster was the influential Phillips Brooks (1835-1893). He took his post there in 1869 after seven years at the Church of the Holy Trinity in Philadelphia. By the time he came to Boston he had an international reputation as an eloquent speaker and writer who championed the cause of the North during the Civil War and was actively opposed to slavery. He had also written the hymn "O Little Town of Bethlehem" for his Holy Trinity Sunday School. Brooks read and traveled widely, including trips to Europe, and was an avid observer of worship practices and the use of architecture in creating worship spaces. He took notes on the cathedrals of Germany and Rome and found them admirable places for worship, though he did not care for Anglo-Catholic ritual. His interest in ecclesiastical architecture was put to good use following the Great Boston Fire of 1872 that destroyed the Trinity Church on Summer Street. For the new edifice erected in Back Bay, Brooks made sure to create a monumental worship space. To help him in this quest he retained the services of the architect H. H. Richardson, and the result of their efforts became known as "Richardsonian Romanesque." Ann Jensen Adams has commented,

> For Richardson ultimately sought with his Trinity design to give architectural form to the spellbinding preaching of his friend, Trinity's Rector, Phillips Brooks––which, of itself, was something new, bold, fresh, and vital. So he scrapped his first sketches—which called for the longitudinal nave of three aisles with clerestory characteristic of cookie-cutter Gothic Revival Episcopal churches of the time—and sketched instead an unconventional Greek cross plan, with chancel, nave, and transepts of equal size grouped around a central square.
>
> This new approach represented a radical departure not only for American ecclesiastical design, but suggested new methodologies as well. It presented an inclusive, open auditorium plan closer in spirit to the emerging needs of democratic contemporary American congregational practice, than to the hierarchical, conventional Episcopal designs and worship practices of the day.[124]

[124] Holy Trinity Church in the city of Boston. "Architecture," Excerpted from James F. O'Gorman, *The Makers of Trinity Church in the City of Boston* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2004). Trinity Church, Boston website <http://www.trinitychurchboston.org/architecture.html> (accessed October 27, 2010).

Richardson's design was eccentric, a hybrid of English and French elements. The cause of this eccentricity was the fact that the standard models of the day—the suburban parish church and the urban American cathedral (such as St. Patrick's Cathedral or Trinity Church, both in New York)—did not fit the combination of the Boston setting and the theological views of Trinity Church. Despite the urban setting, the American cathedral design with its long naves and neo-gothic façade did not suit the Trinity congregation that deemphasized ritual. Instead Richardson melded French planning methods and geometric systems, the French dome and English tall tower, and the Romanesque rounded arch to create a new and innovative style.[125]

With regard to the service itself, Rev. Brooks followed the Anglican liturgy but did not engage in the ritualistic trappings espoused by those who advocated Anglo-Catholicism. Such ideas were advocated by adherents of the Oxford movement that influenced worship and music among American churches in the Anglican tradition. Begun by High Church Anglicans in England in 1833, the movement focused largely on retaining an Anglican orthodox theology through a renewal of the Church of England's Catholic roots as stated in the Council of Trent (1545-1563).[126] The movement advocated not only theological reforms but also a return to more formal ritual in worship. This

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[125] Ann Jensen Adams, "The Birth of a Style: Henry Hobson Richardson and the Competition Drawings for Trinity Church, Boston," *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 3 (September, 1980) 417. Other design details such as the impressive stained glass windows did not escape Rev. Brooks' attention. For these he turned to the English artist, poet, socialist, and leader of the arts and craft movement, William Morris, along with Edward Burne-Jones. Morris' designs are reminiscent of medieval art with repeated naturalistic patterns. Known for rich colors and depth of tone, his patterns emphasize simplicity, purity, and elegance.

[126] This reference to the Council of Trent is significant since it contained specific rules concerning church music. These rules state that music in the Church should avoid any music of a sensuous or impure character for either voice or organ, seminary study should include chant and the fine arts, and the praises of God such as hymns and psalms should be sung by choirs organized for this purpose. This summary is drawn from "Rules for Sacred Music by the Council of Trent" as found in Elwyn A. Wienandt, *Opinions on Church Music* (Waco, TX: The Markham Press Fund of Baylor University Press, 1974), 12-13.

involved such things as the centrality of the Eucharist, the use of vestments, processionals and other formal elements of church ritual.

The Oxford movement found musical expression through choral services, increased use of chant, and increased use of boy choirs. Brooks was as judicious in selecting which elements of the movement he chose to follow as he was in selecting the architect and design details for Trinity Church. The magnificent design Brooks selected for the church aligned with elements of the Oxford movement, especially the formal grandeur of the structure and central placement of the alter. Brooks, however, preferred a more direct and simple approach to the worship service. He supported choral services but the choir and organ were removed to the gallery so that they did not obstruct the centrality of the altar.[127] He wore the vestments that the Oxford movement advocated but would often choose the less formal option to preach from the chancel steps rather than the pulpit. In fact, a pulpit was not constructed in the church until 1881. Ellinwood classifies Brooks as an Evangelical, "Low Church" Episcopalian.[128] A nineteenth-century Low Church Episcopalian, however, stressed a spoken service rather than the choral service Brooks preferred. The prominent role of choral music suggests that the worship experience at Trinity Church was a bit more complex than the usual Low Church experience.

In her dissertation on the music of Trinity Church from 1890-1900, Linda Clarke makes a detailed investigation of Brooks' theology and its effect on music making at Trinity Church. She identifies Brooks as an Evangelical Liberal or "Broad Churchman."

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[127] The original organ at Trinity was built by Hilborne L. Roosevelt in 1876, his Opus 29, and located in the chancel. Since this location proved unsatisfactory is was moved to the gallery.
[128] Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music,* rev. ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 113.

These terms refer to members of a movement in American theology that sought to reconcile the social and scientific revolutions of the nineteenth century with the traditional, Puritan theology that held that the spiritual life of the Church and the Gospel had little to do with science or sociology. This resulted in a view of the Church as more inclusive rather than exclusive. As a Broad Churchman, Brooks espoused a doctrine that focused on God as Love rather than God as Judge, producing a progressive, optimistic view of man's relationship with God.

Clark posits that the parishioners of Trinity church were proper, well-heeled Bostonians who were culturally sophisticated and came to church to hear a message that "sanctified the social order they sought to preserve."[129] The sermon was central to the worship experience at Trinity Church and every element of the service, the architecture, and the art was handmaiden to the interpretation of the Word. Music was merely an adornment and should not draw attention to itself. Ecclesiastical music best suited this mode of worship; this was devotional music that captured the spirit, if not the letter, of Palestrina, and separated the worshiper from the popular tunes found outside the doors of the sanctuary. Clark's rather harsh appraisal of this type of nineteenth-century American ecclesiastic music is that it was "practical and technically accomplished but insignificant both in musical and religious content."[130]

Parker had a double quartet choir at Trinity Church, that sang from the west gallery next to the organ.[131] This was a limited vocal ensemble when one considers that at the time Boston's Church of the Advent (High Church Episcopal) boasted a choir of boys

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[129] Linda Clark, "Music in Trinity Church, Boston, 1890-1900: A Case Study in the Relationship Between Worship and Culture," (S.M.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1973), 311.
[130] Clark, "Music in Trinity," 314.
[131] William Lawrence, *Trinity Church in the City of Boston 1733-1933* (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1933), 77-78.

and men. Moreover, the non-ritualistic congregations such as the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists were apt to have a mixed-chorus choir available. These congregations struggled with the use of quartet choirs, and their concern that the choir represented the voice of the congregation led them to support a chorus choir of mixed voices over the quartet choir.[132] Considering the evidence, possible reasons for the choice of a double quartet choir for Trinity Church could include the ease of production afforded by professional singers, or, as Clark suggests, the result of the view that choral music was only a backdrop to the supremacy of the sermon and thus did not merit the effort required to maintain a larger choir.

The various elements of the church environment discussed above combine to account for the conservative nature of Parker's sacred choral repertory. The congregation he served was sophisticated but conservative and likely clung to the idea of a stable social order in a period that included such disruptive forces as the horrific Civil War and Darwin's theory of evolution that challenged the tenets of their faith. Finally, because Parker's vocal ensemble was too small to capture the power of a massed choir, his style needed to be solid and practical, incorporating the standard musical vocabulary of the day but avoiding sentimental excess or flamboyance. His music needed to be subservient to the general ambience of the worship experience while the spoken Word took pride of place. Since there is no evidence that Parker's compositional inclinations ever ventured into the progressive or avant-garde, we cannot posit that this environment limited him artistically in anyway; rather, this environment was a good fit for his musical temperament—it rewarded and reinforced his so-called "conservative" style, and may help explain his steadfast adherence to it in all his service music.

[132] McDaniel, "Church Song and the Cultivated Tradition," 605.

Examining Parker's *Te Deum* output reveals details of his style of writing service music. Parker wrote ten *Te Deums,* all in major keys: B-flat, D, A, two in E, E-flat, G, F, C and A-flat. Major keys seemed to complement the positive tenor of the theology espoused at Trinity Church. Tables 1 through 5 summarize the principal elements of five *Te Deums* available for this study and reveal that each is through composed. Several use recurring motives to provide unity. The *Te Deum* in E (Table 4) displays the most consistent and imaginative use of a motivic device, a falling half step. All ten of Parker's *Te Deums* are written for four voices with organ accompaniment but only one, the *Te Deum* in A-flat major no. 24 (Table 5), specifically indicating that it is designed for quartet choir. Each uses "open notes" meaning the half note is the common beat. This bow to older notation was thought to appear more ecclesiastical than the usual music printing convention of the quarter note as the common beat. In addition, all dynamics are terraced, which is quite striking since the expressive effects of crescendos or decrescendos were common since the classical period.

The choral texture among these *Te Deums* is homophonic with melodies of four-measure phrases employing primarily stepwise movement with occasional modest gaps of a third, fourth or fifth. Unison singing is used frequently for dramatic effect, usually accentuating statements of doctrine or praise. Solo sections involve expressive melodic lines that have wider leaps and more florid accompaniments. In several of the works the choral sections are contrasted with solos and other vocal groupings, and antiphonal effects are occasionally used. Contrapuntal writing is sparse. Harmonic movement from section to section is generally limited to closely related keys, with a predilection for the subdominant, relative minor, and parallel minor. The organ accompaniment often doubles

the voices and fills out the harmony. Figurations of any sort are rare. The lack of more contrapuntal organ accompaniments most likely resulted from he conservative demands of the liturgy at Trinity Church, since Parker's knowledge of Bach and his organ training with Schneider provided him with the skill to compose more imaginative organ parts.

Parker does not vary the tempo of his *Te Deums,* unlike many others of the period. His *Te Deum in D* (Table 1) for example, moves between sections marked *allegro* and *andante* while his *Te Deum in C*, no. 17 (Table 3) is marked *allegro* throughout. The other three *Te Deums* examined have relatively brief sections marked slow or *adagio*. The constraints of the service probably account for some of these tempo decisions. In an environment where the music is merely an ornament to the sermon there is little time to slow the tempo to reflect upon a more somber passage in the text. This also accounts for little repetition of text in any of his settings.

**Table 1. Analysis of J.C. D. Parker's Te Deum in D Major**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-8 | 1-2 | SATB | D major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f* | Unison voices outline D major chord then divide into 3 & 4 part harmony. Choir homophonic with organ doubling voice parts. |
| 9-19 | 3-5 | Chorus | D major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f-p-f* | Soprano section and lower voices alternate setting text. "Thrice Holy" sung *piano*. |
| 20-25 | 6 | Chours | D major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f-ff* | |
| 26-44 | 7-11 | Chorus | D major | 4/2 / Allegro / *p* | First half of vs. 6 sung by S & T, vs. 7 sung by A, T & B, and 8 by Chorus. |
| 45-53 | 12-13 | Chorus | D major | 4/2 / Allegro / *p* | |
| 54-61 | 14-15 | Bass solo | G major | 4/2 / Tempo primo / *p* | Mostly diatonic melody. |
| 62-69 | 16 | Alto solo | G major | 3/2 / Andante / NA | |
| 70-81 | 17 | S & A soli | G major | 3/2 / Andante / NA | |

**Table 1. (continued)Analysis of J.C. D. Parker's Te Deum in D Major**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 82-85 | 18 | Chorus | G major | 4/2 / Allegro / *mf* | |
| 86-99 | 19-20 | Chorus | A major | 4/2 / NA / *p* | |
| 100-110 | 21-23 | Chorus | D major | 4/2/ / NA/ *f* | |
| 111-121 | 24-25 | Chorus | D major | 4/2/ NA / *f* | Unison voices mark new section. |
| 122-136 | 26-27 | Soprano solo | B-flat major | 3/2 / Andante / *p* | |
| 137-144 | 28 | Chorus | D major | 3/2 / Accel-Allargando / NA | |
| 145-153 | 29 | Chorus | D major | 4/2 / Tempo primo / *f* | Return of unison outline of D major chord presented at the opening statement. |

**Table 2. Analysis of J.C. D. Parker's Te Deum in G Major no. 13.**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-50 | 1-9 | Chorus | G major | 4/2 / half note=132 / *f* | 2 measure organ introduction presents motivic theme. Voices enter with same motive. Vs. 3 the soprano sets full text while lower voices repeat some portions of text and omit others. |
| 51-74 | 10-15 | Chorus (divisi) | E-flat major to G major (mm 62) | 4/2 / NA / NA | Antiphonal choirs created with 4-part men and 4-part women voices. Texture thins at vs. 12 &13 in chant-like Chorus section. |
| 75-125 | 16-20 | Tenor solo & SATB soli | G minor | 3/2 / Slow / NA | |
| 126-149 | 21-25 | Chorus | C major | 4/2 / Tempo primo / *f* | |
| 150-169 | 26-28 | Soprano-Tenor solo | C minor | 4/2 / NA / NA | |
| 170-178 | 29 | Chorus | G major | 4/2/ / NA / NA | Opening motive returns at closing statement. |

**Table 3. Analysis of J. C. D. Parker's Te Deum in C Major no. 17.**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-44 | 1-6 | Chorus | C major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f* | 4-measure introduction. Homophonic choral statement. Organ doubles Voices with only occasional independence of voices. Opening statement returns at close of section (vs. 14) |
| 45-79 | 7-15 | Chorus | C major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f* | Slightly more chromatic section. Begins with imitative passages. Greater independence of voices and organ. |
| 80-115 | 16-20 | Chorus | E-flat major | 4/2 / Allegro / *p* | Soli section. Tenor climax at "all believers" followed by chords in parallel motion in organ which is unusual in Parker's *Te Deum* repertory. Chorus returns at vs. 18. |
| 116-143 | 21-25 | Chorus | A minor-C major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f* | |
| 144-161 | 26-28 | Chorus | F major | 4/2 / Allegro / *p* | Soli section at vs. 28. This verse. is repeated several times. |

**Table 3. (continuted) Analysis of J. C. D. Parker's Te Deum in C Major no. 17.**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 162-169 | 29 | Chorus | C major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f* | Full chorus makes a short closing statement that restates the opening theme. |

**Table 4. Analysis of J. C. D. Parker's Te Deum in E Major no. 20.**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-35 | 1-4 | Chorus | E major | ¾ / Molto Allegro / *f* | After brief introduction voices make unison statement while organ presents falling half step motive that appears throughout the work. |
| 36-41 | 5 | Chorus | E major | 4/4 / Adagio / *ff-pp* | End of unison chorus. At "thrice Holy," tempo and dynamic changes. |
| 42-87 | 6-13 | Chorus | E major | ¾ / Allegro / *f* | Interlude between vss. 13 and 14 is a return of accompaniment to opening unison statement. |
| 88-102 | 14-15 | Chorus | E major | ¾ / Allegro / *f* | |
| 103-139 | 16-20 | Tenor solo Followed by SATB chorus | C major | 4/4 / Andante / *pp* | Independent organ accomp. to tenor solo. Chorus joins at vs. 17. |
| 140-155 | 21-23 | SATB | A major | ¾ / Moderato / NA | Very little A major tonality. Frequent use of secondary dominants and parallel minor. |

**Table 4. (continued) Analysis of J. C. D. Parker's Te Deum in E Major no. 20.**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 156-204 | 24-29 | Chorus | E major | ¾ /Allegro / *f* | Return of opening falling half-step motive in both organ and voices at organ transition, soli (vs 27), and conclusion. . |

**Table 5. Analysis of J. C. D. Parker's Te Deum in A-flat Major no. 24. (written for quartet only)**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-31 | 1-6 | Quartet | A-flat major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f* | No introduction. Four-part opening statement. Sparse organ accompaniment usually doubles voices. |
| 32-42 | 7-9 | Tenor solo | E major | 4/2 / Allegro / NA | long melismas in solo sections. |
| 43-59 | 10-13 | | D-flat major | 4/2 / NA / NA | |
| 60-68 | 14-15 | Quartet | A-flat major | 4/2 / NA / *f* | |
| 69-81 | 16-17 | Soprano solo-followed by sop. and tenor duet. | A-flat major | 3/2 / Slow / *p* | Change of key occurs in the middle of vs. 17 this is unusual since key changes usually occur at a new verse. |
| 82-103 | 17-20 | Soli | C major | no change | Duets and solos alternate |
| 104-111 | 21 | Quartet | B-flat major | 3/2 / Vivace / *f* | |
| 112-119 | 22-23 | Quartet | E-flat major | 3/2 / Ritenuto / *p* | |

**Table 5. (continued) Analysis of J. C. D. Parker's Te Deum in A-flat Major no. 24. (written for quartet only)**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 120-127 | 24 | Quartet | C major | 3/2 / Vivace / *f* | Diatonic melody with brief melismas in soprano. |
| 128-141 | 25-27 | Sop. Solo | A-flat major | 4/2 / Slow / *p* | Use of slow tempo in these verses is common among *Te Deums* of this period. |
| 142-149 | 28-29 | Quartet | A-flat major | 4/2 / Tempo pirmo/ *f* | Opening thematic material returns. |

**Dudley Buck (1839-1909)**

Dudley Buck was born in Hartford, Connecticut on March 10, 1839, into an old New England family. The landing of the Mayflower was still recent history when the first members of the Buck family arrived in America in 1647. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the family enjoyed prosperity. Buck's grandfather was a prominent lawyer in New Hampshire while his father owned a successful shipping business in Hartford. The family was not, however, particularly musical. Like many successful and cultured members of society, Buck's father and mother both enjoyed music, but they were not music practitioners. The young Dudley was different. He was ardently determined to learn music despite the fact that his parents wished him to pursue a career in business. Accounts indicate that when he was around ten or twelve years old he sought to learn music but his father would not buy him a musical instrument although he easily had the resources to do so. Undeterred, Buck improvised a fake instrument that enabled him to learn the rudiments of music in spite of the fact that his creation could not produce a sound. When his father finally purchased an instrument for his son he was amazed at the proficiency his lad gleaned from a toy instrument. This led his father to purchase a piano for him. Buck made rapid progress and by the age of sixteen his father decided to give his son the best music training possible.[133] The best training, of course, meant a trip to Germany and matriculation in the Leipzig Conservatory.

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[133] William K. Gallo, "The Life and Church Music of Dudley Buck (1839-1909)" Ph.D. dissertation, (The Catholic University of America, 1968), 5-6. The accounts of this event vary somewhat among sources. Gallo's dissertation records an account from New York *Tribune* critic John R. G. Hassard indicating that Buck first learned music upon a borrowed flute. When the borrowed instrument was returned to its owner, Buck asked his father for a flute of his own but not wanting to encourage him his father put it off until the boy's birthday six months away. In the meantime Buck improvised a wooden flute and used a book to learn the fingerings. Gallo also documents a 1966 interview with Buck's daughter-in-law, and letters from Buck's childhood friend that indicate that Buck constructed a fake melodeon in order learn music. An account in E. Douglas Bomberger, ed., *Brainard's Biographies of American Musicians* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1997), biography no. 16, 1877, indicates that Buck constructed an impromptu flute from

Buck traveled to Leipzig in 1858, and his training mirrored that of J. C. D. Parker. He studied piano with Moscheles and Plaidy, and theory and composition with Hauptmann and Richter. Also like Parker, Buck studied organ with the great master Schneider in Dresden. One difference with Parker was that Buck added studies in orchestration with Julius Rietz (1812-1877). As a composer Rietz ignored the innovations presented by Wagner and Liszt, was a follower of Mendelssohn, editing a number of his works for publication. In addition to his post at the Conservatory, he was the conductor of the *Gewandhaus* Concerts, Leipzig Opera and *Singakademie*. It was Rietz's move from Leipzig to Dresden to conduct the Royal Opera there that provided the opportunity for Buck to study with Schneider.

His studies with Schneider were one of a series of connections to the works and influence of Bach. In fact, those who studied with Schneider entered a line of succession from J. S. Bach. The organist, composer and teacher Johann Christian Kittel (1732-1809) studied with Bach during the last two years of his life. Kittel in turn taught Schneider who then taught J.C.D. Parker and Buck among many others. In addition, Buck's teachers Hauptmann and Richter were members of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* that set out to prepare the complete critical edition of Bach's works. His studies in double counterpoint were based on the fugues of Bach. Buck was infused with Bach's compositional and performing techniques through the training and influence of his German instructors.

Buck spent his third and final year of his European journey in Paris where he became friends with the pianist Henri Herz (1803-1888) and the organist Antoine Edouard Batiste (1820-1876), who was professor of music at the Conservatoire. His

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a piece of a broom handle until a real flute was supplied to him on his birthday. Orr includes this same broom handle story in his 2008 monograph on Buck. We may never know which account is true but the fact remains that as a youth Buck was steadfast in his determination to study music with or without the usual equipment to do so.

connection with Batiste enabled Buck to visit many organ builders and make a careful study of French organ construction. This deepened his understanding of organ registration that later became a hallmark of his performances in America.[134]

After four years in Europe Buck returned to Hartford in 1862. He found that his hometown was growing and developing a vibrant cultural life. Literary figures such as Mark Twain (1835-1910), Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896), and the poet Lydia Howard Sigourney (1791-1865) made Hartford their home. *Dwight's Journal of Music* proclaimed that Hartford could boast some of the finest church music the country could offer.[135] Buck became organist and music director at North Congregationalist Church in 1862 only three years after its noted pastor Horace Bushnell had stepped down. Horace Bushnell (1802-1876) had an impact on American religious thought similar to that of Phillips Brooks.[136] Both Buck and Bushnell found Hartford a congenial place to further their respective careers. Orr states that "just as Buck did much to transform the modest, harmonically austere choral music sung in antebellum Protestant worship into the Romantic Victorian anthem, Bushnell helped convert austere Calvinistic theology into a comforting religion of the heart."[137]

Buck's transformation of American sacred choral music began in earnest through the publication of his first collection of anthems titled *Buck's Motette Collection:*

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[134] Orr, *Buck*, 8.
Designed by the famed landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead, Bushnell Park remains a focal point of downtown Hartford.
[135] Orr, *Buck*, 15.
[135] Orr, *Buck*, 21.[135] "Musical correspondence, Hartford, Conn, June 14," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 22/12 (June 21, 1862): 93.
[136] Bushnell was ordained pastor in 1833 and served his Hartford congregation until he retired in 1859. Bushnell pioneered evangelical liberalism and rejected strict adherence to Christian dogma. After he retired he took up social and civic causes and established the first publicly funded park in the United States. Designed by the famed landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead, Bushnell Park remains a focal point of downtown Hartford.
[137] Orr, *Buck*, 15.

*Containing a Variety of Pieces Suited to the Opening and Close of Divine Worship* (1864) by Oliver Ditson. The collection marked a turning point in sacred choral music publications and ushered in a new era for choristers. It contained thirty three-anthems, a dozen by Buck, two by William J. Babcock, one each by Henry Wilson and George Warren—all American composers—and the remainder by European composers including Buck's teachers Hauptmann, Richter, and Julius Rietz as well as Mozart, Cherubini, and Haydn. Almost everything about Buck's new collection differed from the tunebooks that came before. It contained longer works, between sixty and 120 measures, and balanced accessibility with quality. The anthems met the needs of both amateurs and professional singers while presenting aesthetically pleasing, well-constructed, imaginative, and spiritually uplifting music. Even the size of the publication was different, approximately 14 x 11 inches, which is larger than the 5 x 8 inch dimensions of the oblong tunebooks that had dominated the choral market since the start of the century.[138] Gone were the rudiments of music that opened earlier collections, suggesting the users of Buck's collection possessed a level of music literacy that made that the old instructions unnecessary. *Dwight's Journal of Music* gave the collection a modestly favorable review, cursory though it was. It noted that "The book smacks of a Leipsie [sic] culture; its author, we believe, studied there."[139] The works Buck includes by his German teachers, as well as his own works, created the "Leipzig culture" to which the reviewer refers. The review further notes " . . . in Buck's own contributions, a dozen in number, which are elaborately written, with more or less of counterpoint and fugue, and with regular organ accompaniments with a pedal part, sometimes difficult; judging from a hasty glance there is good matter in them." He closes his review by commenting that "there is a great deal of

[138] Orr, *Buck,* 21.
[139]"New Publications," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 23/24 (February 20, 1864): 191.

beautiful and useful music in this book; and very few of the pieces have been used in similar collections before; so that it opens a fresh stock to our more enterprising choirs, and one which they will not soon exhaust. Perhaps upon closer acquaintance we shall have more to say of it."[140] It was seven years before *Dwight's Journal* spoke of this collection again.

Buck's talent as a skilled organist was evident in his anthems and a departure from the usual anthem produced in America. The organ accompaniments are active, independent and reflect the mood of the text rather than merely doubling the choral parts. This makes the organist an equal contributor to the musical experience. The keyboard parts are idiomatically conceived and employ continuous eighth notes, large scalar passages, and full chords, make full use of the pedal keyboard, and provide suggestions on registration.

The anthems contain a harmonic language that is fluid and colorful, enjoying a palette of secondary dominants, diminished-seventh chords and augmented-sixth chords. While some of the harmonies may seem a bit theatrical by today's standards, they had a popular appeal to nineteenth-century churchgoers from a variety of denominations.

American choristers were ready for this transition to a new level of choral singing as evidenced by the collection's rapid sales. Buck's collection was so popular that he published his *Second Motette Collection* in 1871. By this time Buck had relocated to Chicago but he again published his collection with Oliver Ditson in Boston. This second collection reflects the influence of the English Victorian style of choral writing rather than German Romantic choral works.[141] It contained anthems by English composers as well as Americans, including ten anthems by Buck. As mentioned in chapter two of this

[140] "New Publications," *Dwight's Journal*, 191.
[141] Orr, *Buck,* 23.

study, American church music was greatly influenced by English sacred music with the earliest anthems in America arriving as imports from England. In the 1860s works by British Victorian church composers such as John Stainer (1840-1901) and Joseph Barnby (1838-1896) were making their way to American churches and were recommended to choirs and congregations as improvements over the old style of American church music. These English imports possessed primarily "homophonic textures, restrained chromaticism, slow harmonic rhythm, affective sentiment, and emphasis on the melodic line.[142] Buck's anthems, as well as his *Te Deums*, share many of these qualities, but he broke away from the constant homophonic texture found in earlier anthems. His training in the techniques of Bach allowed him to infuse his anthems with contrapuntal elements and polyphonic textures that breathed new life into these sacred works.

Buck's *Second Motette Collection* reaped more attention from *Dwight's Journal of Music* than his first collection. W. S. B. Mathews reviewed the collection, and his two-page article opened with a discussion of the history of Church music. His rhetoric contains passages that embody the positive, optimistic attitudes of American Triumphalism that had become part of the nineteenth-century American ethos.

> The entire creation of modern music goes back hardly more than two hundred years. Within this comparatively brief period the most expressive of the fine arts, and the one best suited to our present civilization, has been brought to its present perfection. With each successive advance in the process, the leading composer of his age has laid his noblest thoughts on the alter of the church.[143]

He goes on to make the case that many of these "noble thoughts" required resources that put them outside the regular worship service and, in Mathews' opinion, do not qualify them as church music in the strict sense. He finds that Buck's two collections, however,

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[142] Orr, *Buck*, 24.
[143] W. S. B. Mathews, "Dudley Buck's Second Collection of Sacred Motettes," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 31/20 (December 30, 1871): 153.

provide admirable music that is wholly appropriate for divine worship. Of most interest to the present study are his comments about the three *Te Deums* Buck arranged for the second collection. Each was a contrafactum overlaying the *Te Deum* text onto pre-existing choral compositions. Buck created each of the three *Te Deums* from musical passages contained in Haydn's *Creation*, Mendelssohn's *Elijah,* and Michael Costa's *Eli* respectively.[144] Mathews discusses Buck's ability to adapt these works to the text of the *Te Deum* in such a way as to create a cohesive, unified work and concludes, "This Yankee-like propensity of Mr. Buck to make both ends meet is highly commendable, and gives his works a unity we vainly seek for in many anthems."[145]

Not all observers praised the anthems of Buck and his American colleagues. Fifteen years after Mathew's positive remarks, the *Musical Courier,* a journal that often published Buck's anthems, published an article by Caryl Florio that contained the following assessment of Buck's work and more specifically one of his *Te Deums*.

> As for the effusions of Dudley Buck, S. P. Warren, etc. . . . they are simply the outcome of an illegitimate connection between Italian opera and the German four-part song, and both parents must be equally ashamed of their child. . . . I do not say these writings are bad music; but I do say they are bad music for the church, and their evil effect upon the general cause of church music is all the greater because the composers are good musicians. . . . [The worst faults are] a scrappy disconnected fashion of writing, wholly at variance with the continuity of the pure church style (e.g. Buck's so-called "Festival" Te Deum in E-flat where solos, duets and snatches of chorus follow each other without connection or reason, cutting the . . . hymn of St. Ambrose into snips and scraps–fit only for a waste-basket or a beggar's rag-bag) and a pandering to the lowest and most vicious tastes, that is, to the love of individual display of sickly sentimentality.[146]

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[144] Michael Costa (1808-1884) was an Italian composer who spent much of his career working in England. He composed several operas, ballets, and oratorios all of which have fallen into obscurity.
[145] Mathews, "Buck's Sacred Motettes," 154.
[146] Caryl Florio, "Church Music Practically Considered," *Musical Courier* 13 (August 11, 1886): 85. Caryl Florio (1843-1920) was the name adopted by William James Robjohn, who was born in England and immigrated to America. His parents were so opposed to his musical career he changed his name in 1870. Florio was largely self-taught and is best remembered today for his "Quartette for Saxophones" (1879), which is the first work for this ensemble written in America. An attractive and mellifluous work with rich harmonies, it is often recorded and programmed. In 1896 Florio became supervisor of music for the

He goes on to state that the only American producing quality church music was Henry Stephen Cutler (1824-1902).[147] There is some truth to Florio's criticism concerning Buck. The influence of Italian opera and German part song is undeniable. Orr notes that, "Lyrically, the curvaceousness of Buck's melodies, with their smooth thirds and sixths, derives more from early Romantic Italian opera than from any other source."[148] His training at the Leipzig Conservatory secured his skill in the German part song. As for the comment about Buck cutting the hymn "into snips and scraps," one finds that despite the episodic nature of the *Te Deum* text, Buck often provides a formal structure to help organize his *Te Deums*. A more careful examination of Buck's *Te Deum* repertory helps clarify his treatment of the *Te Deum* text and defuses the comments of his harsher critics.

G. Schirmer in New York published Buck's first f *Te Deum* op. 23, no. 1 in 1868. He produced the bulk of his *Te Deums* in the following thirteen years: op. 45, no. 2 and no. 3 (1870), op. 58, no. 1 and op. 60, no. 1 (1872), op, 61, no. 1 and op. 63, no. 1 (1873), and op. 89, no. 1 (1881), all published by G. Schirmer, though later editions were also published by Oliver Ditson. His final *Te Deum*, the expansive twenty-five page *Festival Te Deum no. 9 in C* (no opus), appeared in 1891. Its length and use of orchestra indicate that it was not intended for regular worship services. During this period Buck moved about the country and hold several prominent posts. He served the St. James Episcopal

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Vanderbilt's Biltmore Estate in Ashville, NC. In his later years, he conducted choruses and church choirs in Ashville.

The S. P. Warren referred to by Florio is Samuel Prowse Warren (1841-1915). He was a Canadian-born organist and composer who studied in Berlin from 1861-64. Upon his return he settled in New York where he was organist at several prominent churches including Grace Episcopal and Holy Trinity. He was one of the founding members of the American Guild of Organists and collected one of the finest collections of musical scores, books and manuscripts for the organ. Among his anthems and service music are two *Te Deums*, one in C major and the other in D major.

[147] Cutler was active as organist and choir director in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. He was a proponent of the Oxford movement and its musical reforms. His boy choir at Holy Trinity Church (Episcopal) in New York was one of 19th-century America's most successful. He is best remembered for his hymns "The Son of God Goes Forth to War," and "Brightest and Best of the Sons of Morning."

[148] Orr, *Buck,* 27.

Church in Chicago starting in 1868. Following the great Chicago fire of 1871, he move to Boston where he worked at the New England Conservatory and gave lessons to George W. Chadwick. He finally settled in New York in 1875 where he became organist and choir director at the prestigious Church of the Holy Trinity (Episcopal).

Like J. C. D. Parker before him, Buck brought a practical approach to his church compositions. For the bulk of his professional career he was a practicing church musician. He considered well the place his *Te Deums* had in the liturgy so that, while they are a bit longer than Parker's *Te Deums*, they are still relatively brief, lasting less than ten minutes on average. The text of any work was vitally important to Buck, and he drew inspiration from the words he set. As a result, the majority of his works are vocal, and even among his instrumental works over half contain some program or attending text. The text of the *Te Deum* with its variety of moods from praise and adoration, to reflection upon the incarnation of Christ and His suffering and death, to prayers for mercy provided a great stimulus for Buck's musical imagination.

With regard to the organization of his musical ideas, Buck uses an ABACA formal structure in all his church *Te Deums* except his first (op. 23, no. 1). Tables seven through twelve analyze each *Te Deum* and indicate where these sections occur through the use of a bracketed capital letter in bold font (e.g. **[A]**) located in the comment column. Changes of key often mark various sections of *Te Deum* settings and Buck follows this practice using rather conservative harmonic relationships. The key relationships he favors most are from the tonic to dominant; and/or sub-dominant; and/or relative or tonic minor.[149] He almost always begins and ends a work in the same key. Buck rarely comes to a full cadence in the tonic key before the end of each composition. In moving from

[149] Gallo, "Life of Dudley Buck," 119.

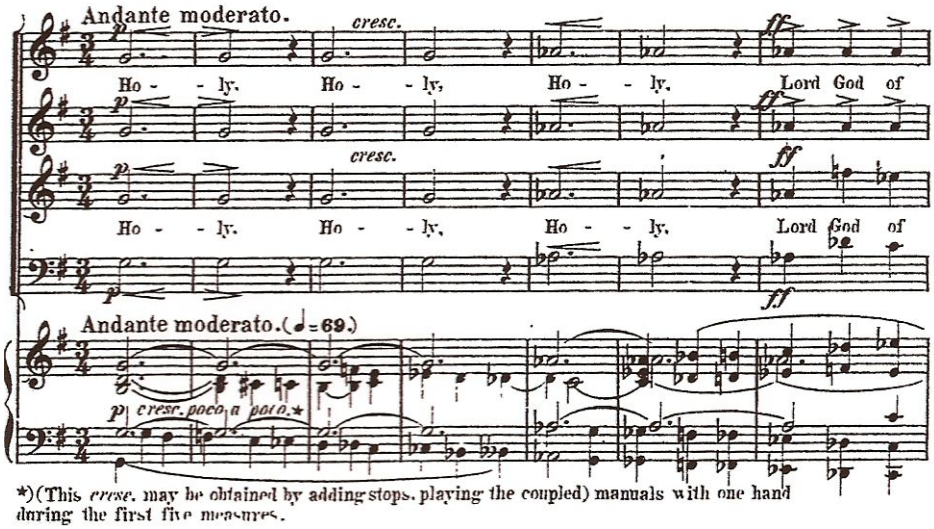
section to section in the *Te Deum* Buck will often cadence on the dominant of the key of the upcoming section. This mirrors the punctuation found in the text while still maintaining forward motion.

Buck uses his facile harmonic vocabulary to paint the text. His use of harmony in text painting is less conservative than his use of key relationships to organize larger sections of a work. He often depended on tertiary modulation, moving from a major key to its relative or tonic minor and vice versa when the text makes a change in mood and a gloomy or pensive character is called for. An example of this is found in his *Short Te Deum*, op. 45, no 3. In verse 18 the phrase "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death" is set in B minor while the following phrase "Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven" suddenly shifts to B major with the common tone F-sharp tying the phrases together. In other settings the diminished-seventh chord is used in the same passage to emphasize the word "sharpness" or "death." Buck was adept at such techniques and would use enharmonic changes, deceptive cadences, and pivot harmony on a unison note in quick succession. This series of harmonic devices enabled him to travel a great distance tonally in a short span of time.

Buck's melodies, governed by the conservative training he received at the Leipzig Conservatory, emphasized balanced proportions of two, four-, and eight-measure phrases and the metrical flow of the text. Since the *Te Deum* text is prosaic rather than poetic, it creates less regular phrasings and less opportunity for repeated melodies. Buck compensates for this by repeating melodic material through the ABACA form as previously mentioned. Buck turns to chromatically enriched melodies in passages of heightened emotion, and where such emotion is less, we find primarily diatonic melodies. This trait is exemplified in verse 5 ("Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth') in his

*Festival Te Deum in G Major* op. 89, no.1 (Example 3.1). The "thrice Holy" is often given special attention by *Te Deum* composers due to its unique nature as a voice from heaven. In this passage the choir whispers "Holy, Holy, Holy," on a sustained unison G moving to A-flat while the organ plays a chromatically descending bass line in half steps enhanced in mid-phrase with a chromatically ascending line in the

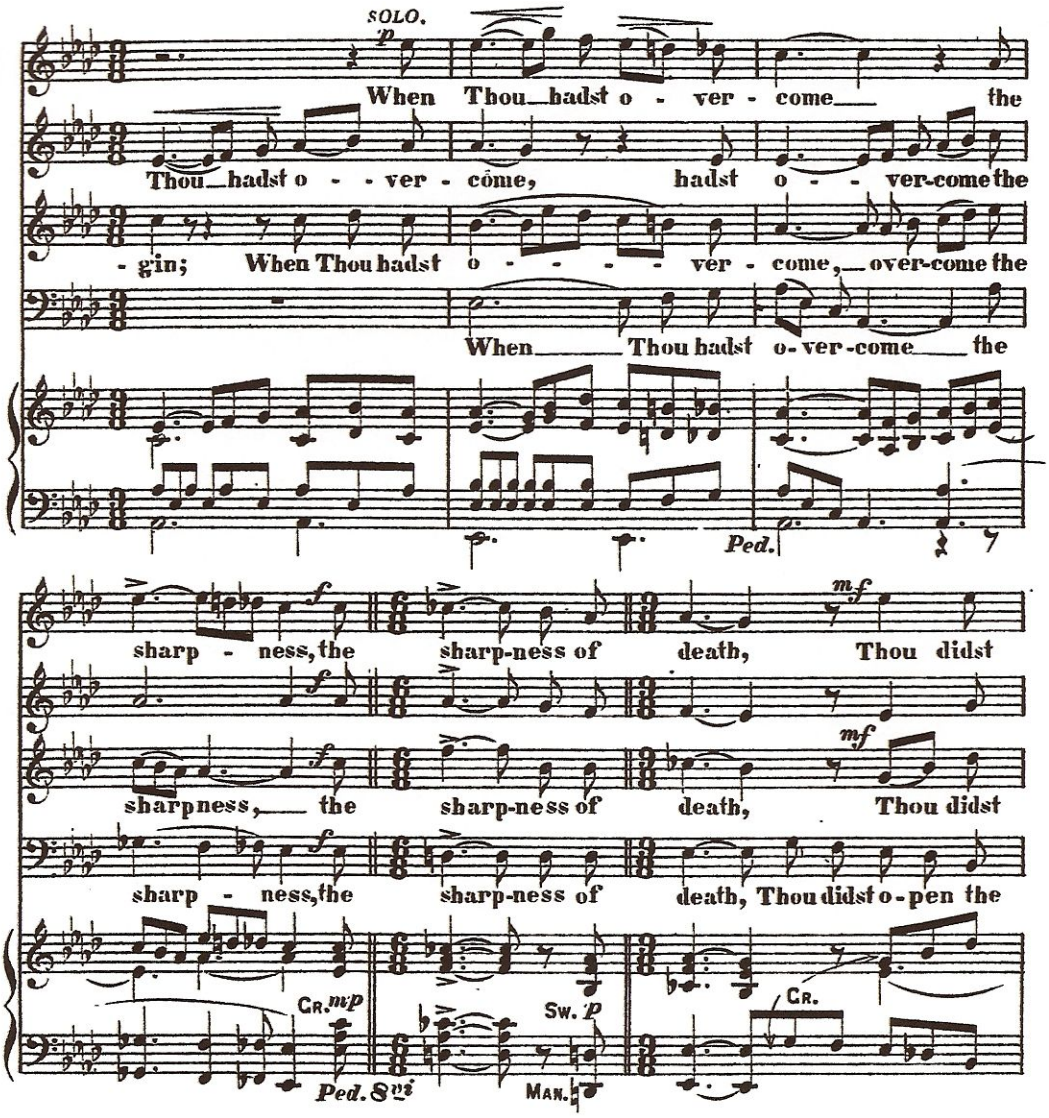
**Example 3.1. Dudley Buck, *Festival Te Deum in G Major,* op. 89, no. 1, mm 36-42**



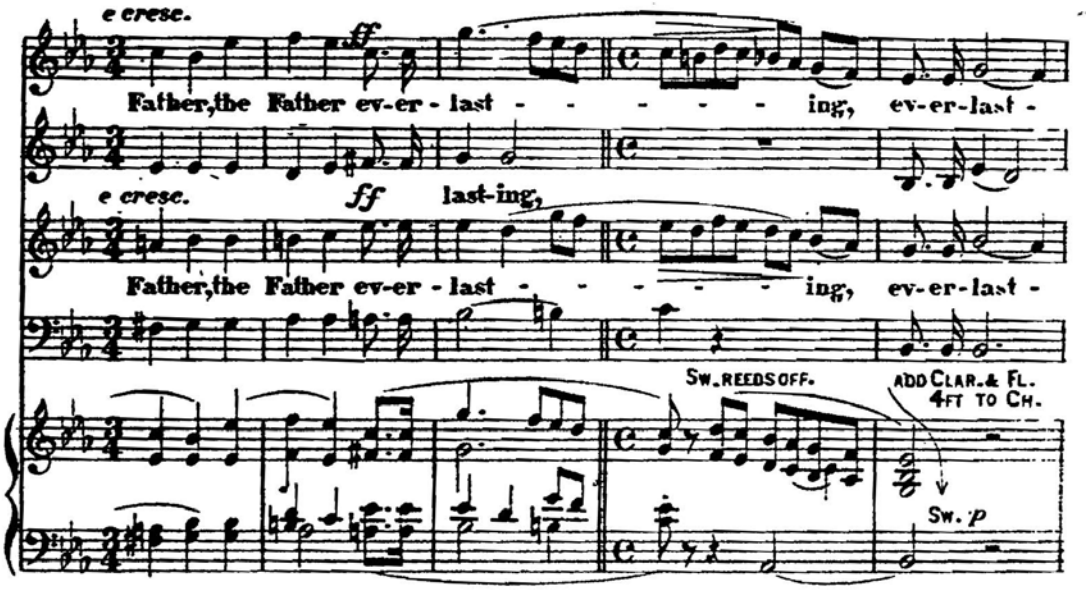

treble. This passage also contains an example of Buck's detailed instructions for the organist. Here he indicates how to build the crescendo at the "thrice Holy" by adding stops while playing the chords with one hand using coupled manuals. The *Festival Te Deum in E-flat,* op. 61, no. 1 (Example 3.2) provides examples of both chromaticism in a passage of heightened emotion and a melodic device to paint the text. The expressive chromatic melody found in verse 16 and 17, mm. 96-113 (When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death) captures the sorrow in the text while in measures 14-16 Buck reflects the meaning of the word "everlasting" with an extended melisma (Example 3.3). This same melisma occurs again in measures 88-89 when the word reappears. While the use of a melisma to set this word is not new or unusual in the *Te Deum* repertory, the use of the

exact same melody is uncommon and provides Buck with another opportunity to enhance the unity to the work.

**Example 3.2. Dudley Buck, *Festival Te Deum in E-flat,* op. 61, no. 1, mm. 103-108**



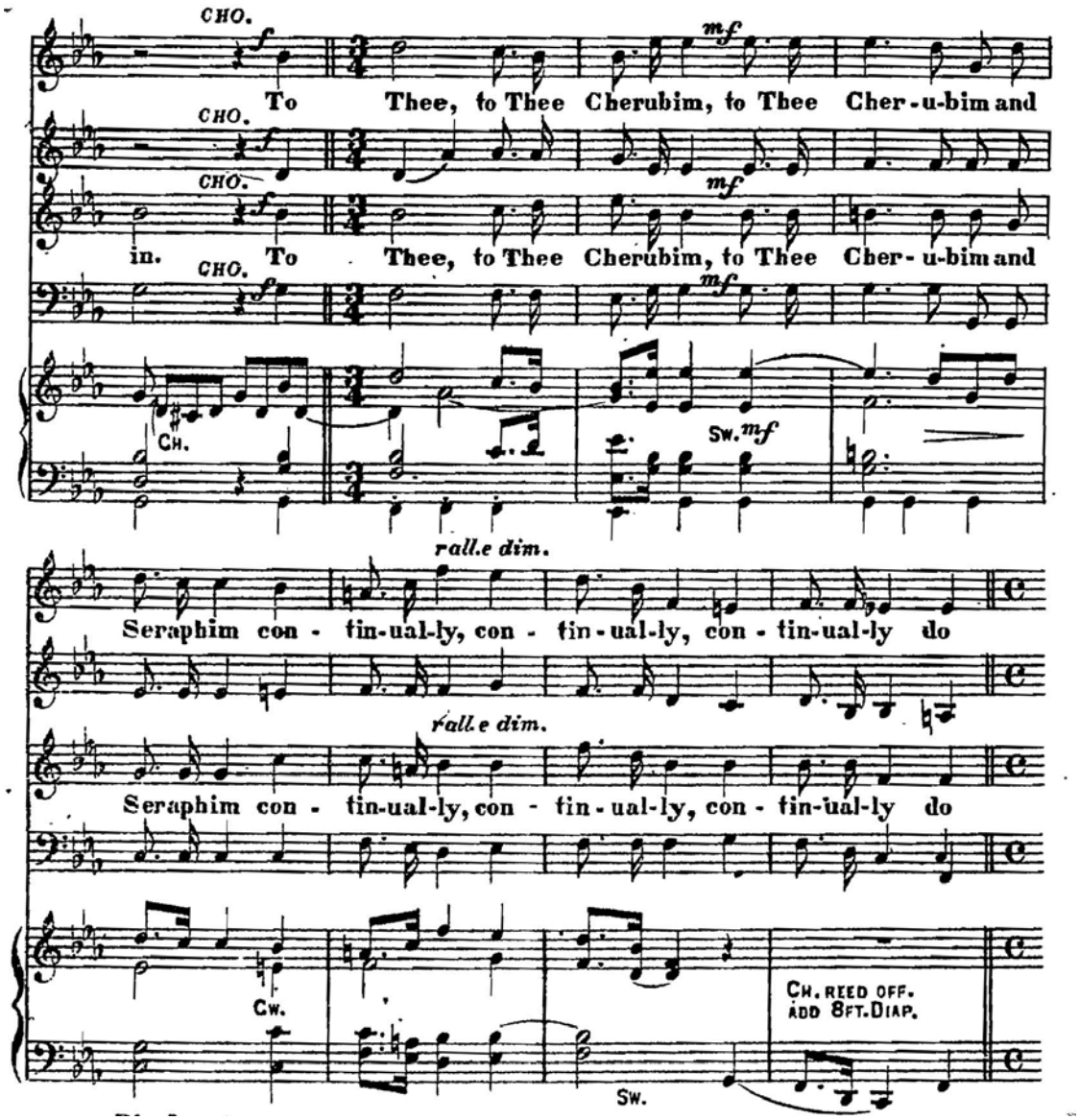
**Example 3.3. Dudley Buck, *Festival Te Deum in E-flat,* op. 61, no. 1, mm. 14-16**



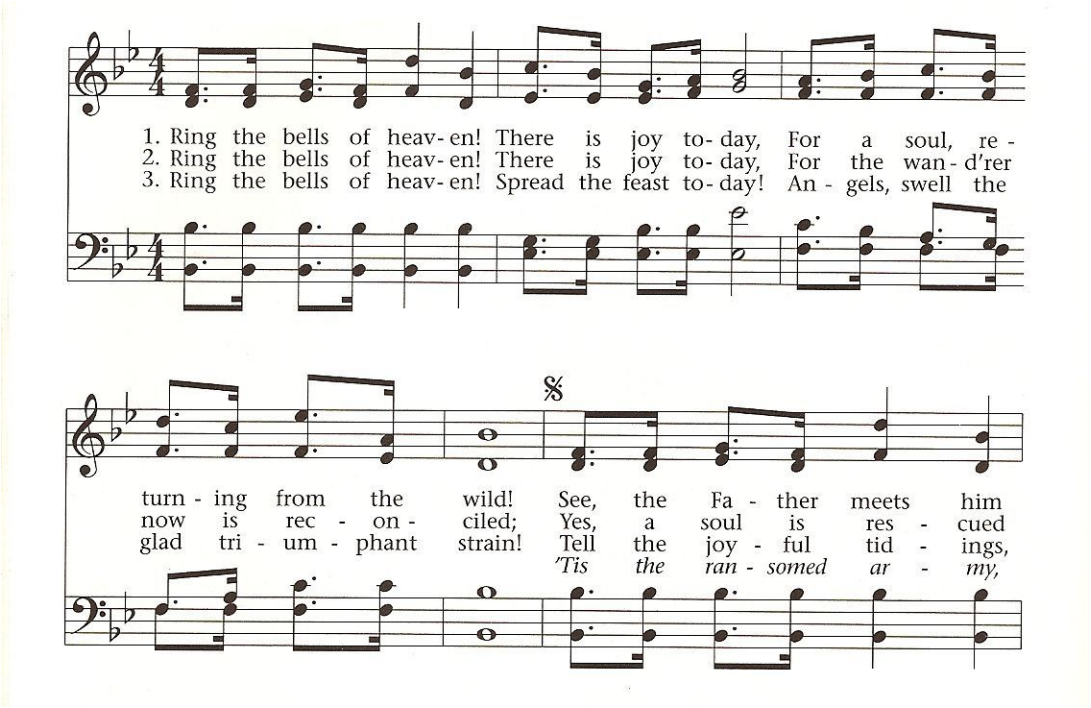

Buck draws on rhythm in his *Te Deum* settings to reflect the mood of the text as well as to capture the meter of the words. For example, the opening strains of each *Te Deum* usually include longer notes on the monosyllabic words "We," "Thee," and "God," placing stress on these focal points of the text. Similarly, the word "holy" is almost always extended with half notes and whole notes. When a pensive, or reflective mood occurs, the rhythm frequently shifts to compound meters where sustained vocal solos are often, accompanied by a lilting arpeggiated organ part. This appears most often in his setting of verse 16 and 17 (When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man), as is found in op. 45, no.3, op. 63, no. 1 (Example 3.2), and op. 89, no. 1. Buck frequently uses dotted rhythmic patterns to capture the natural rhythm of the English text. At times, the recurring dotted rhythms, as found in the phrase such "ser-a-phim con-tin-ual-ly, con-tin-ual-ly, con-tin-ual-ly do cry," located in his *Festival Te Deum in E-flat* op. 63, no. 1 (Example 3.4), can have an unexpected result. When set in succession at a quick tempo,

as they are here, these dotted rhythms create a skipping rhythm with a catchiness not unlike an evangelistic Gospel song such George Fredrick Root's "Ring the Bells of Heaven" (Example 3.5). While such passages have energy and drive, the treatment is not entirely in keeping with the mood of the text.

**Example 3.4. Dudley Buck, *Festival Te Deum in E-flat,* op. 61, no. 1, mm. 27-34**

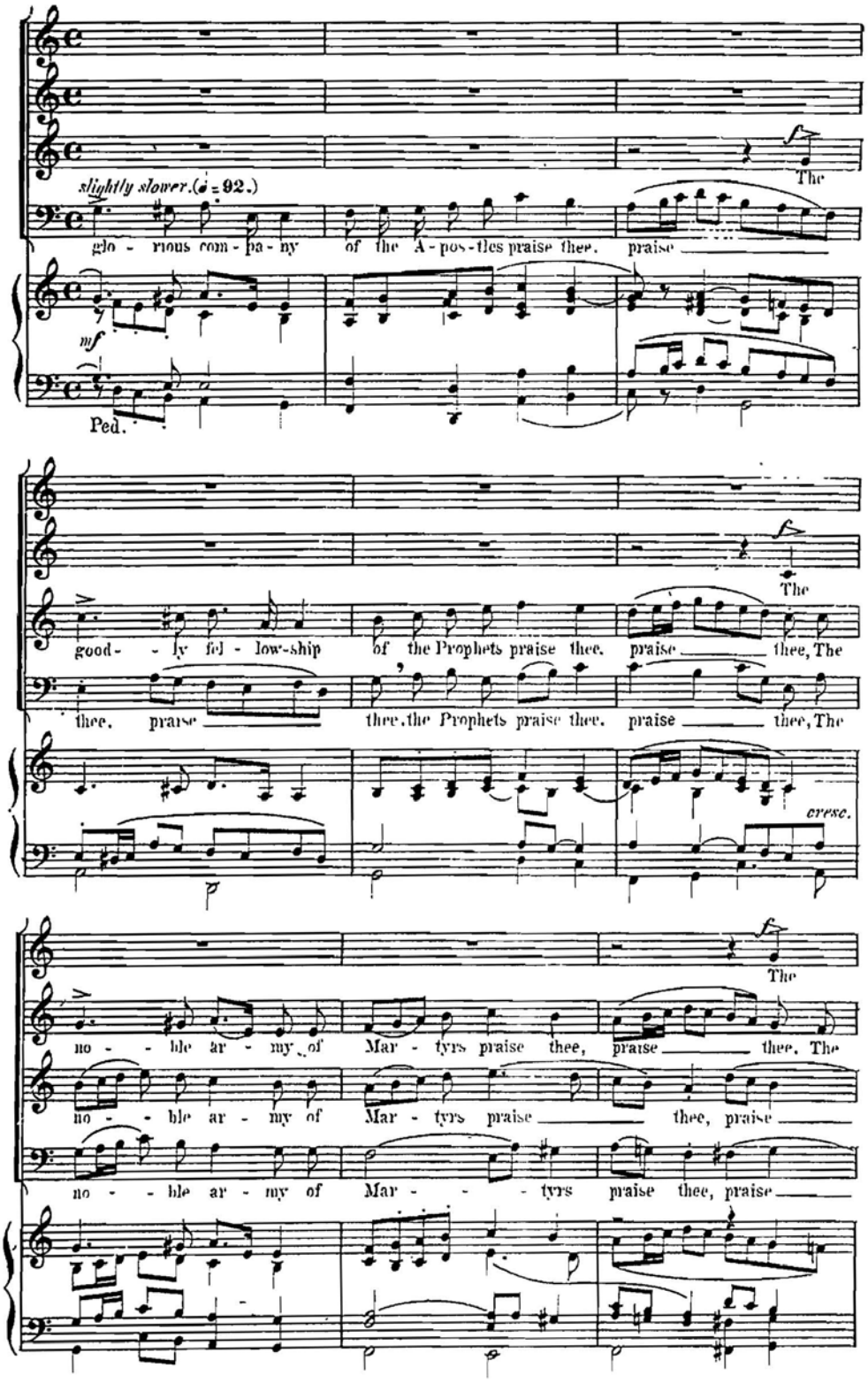


**Example 3.5. George F. Root, *Ring the Bells of Heaven,* mm. 1-6**




Buck's later *Te Deums* possess an advancing contrapuntal complexity not often found in nineteenth-century American church *Te Deums*. The time limitation of the service left little space for Buck to explore contrapuntal ideas as he does so ably in his organ compositions. But in the later opus numbers he brings his inventiveness to bear even in these shorter church works. In his op. 63, no. 1, Buck uses successively increasing vocal groupings (duet, quartet, and chorus) in counterpoint to set verses 16-19 in a stunning effect not unlike the incremental techniques of an operatic ensemble finale. In the *Festival Te Deum in G Major,* op. 89, no. 1, imitative passages are found throughout; most notable is the fugue-like treatment of verses 7, 8 and 9, which is unique among Buck's *Te Deums*. The use of counterpoint in setting these verses provides greater variety in texture over the usual alternation of solos, duets and chorus (Example 3.6).

**Example 3.6. Dudley Buck, *Festival Te Deum in G Major,* op. 89, no. 1, mm 59-67**



These examples of Buck's treatment of the *Te Deum* text demonstrate some of the devices he employed to enrich the service music of the churches in the Anglican tradition. His compositional technique, rich harmonic vocabulary, melodic gifts and practical approach to providing the congregations music they enjoyed produced some of the most popular *Te Deum* repertoire in nineteenth-century America. As the next section demonstrates, we find some similar traits in Chadwick's incomplete *Te Deums*. A closer examination of these two compositions, not only situates them in the events of his life but also reveals some of the reasons the composer may have left them incomplete.

**Table 6. Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Te Deum* in B-Flat, Op. 23, no. 2**

| *Measure* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-45 | 1-9 | Chorus | B-flat Major | 4/4 / Allegro con spirito / *f* | Homophonic choral statement followed by SATB solos with active independent accompaniment. "Thrice Holy" sung *pp* by SATB solos with sparse one line accompaniment in bass. Alternation between soloist and chorus on verses 7, 8 & 9 is common treatment of this passage. |
| 46-59 | 10-13 | Chorus & soli | G-flat Major | 4/4 / NA / *f* | Homophonic chorus with organ doubling voices changes to homophonic a cappella section at vs. 13. |
| 60-66 | 14- 15 | Chorus | B-flat Major | 4/4 / Vivace / *ff* | Short homophonic choral bridge to E-flat section. |
| 67- 87 | 16-17 | soprano & bass soli | E-flat Major | 3/4 / Andante / *p* | Solos and thin texture in organ accompaniment creates intimate atmosphere reflective of the nature of the text. |

**Table 6. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Te Deum* in B-Flat, Op. 23, no. 2**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 88-101 | 18 | Chorus | C major | 3/4 / Allegro / *f* | Melodic climax at the phase "to all believers" which is a common convention. |
| 102-114 | 19-20 | Tenor solo | C Minor | 3/4 / Poco adagio / NA | Notes indicate that solo may be sung by contralto. |
| 115-141 | 21-25 | Chorus & Soli | E-flat Major | 3/4 / Allegro / *f* | Alternation between chorus and solo quartet. |
| 142-157 | 26-27 | Soprano and bass soli and quartet | B-flat Major | 4/4 / Piu lento /NA | |
| 158-166 | 28-29 | Chorus | B-flat Major | 4/4 /Tempo I /*ff* | Return of opening key but opening melodic material does *not* return. |

**Table 7. Analysis of Dudley Buck's Festival *Te Deum* Op. 45 no. 2**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-20 | 1-2 | Chorus+SATB solos | D major | 4/4 / Allegro con fuoco / *ff* | 2 meas. Introduction, chorus enters in unison statement, mostly chordal treatment with few melissmas. Short phrases often repeated. **[A]** |
| 21-43 | 3-6 | Soprano Solo/Chorus | D major | 4/4 / recitando / varies | Fanfare-like solo full of dotted rhythms. Homophonic texture in choral sections over florid accompaniment of running eighth notes. Chromatic passage on "Thrice Holy" with major change in dynamics and tempo**. [B]** |
| 44-69 | 7-13 | Alto solo+Chorus | D major | 4/4 / NA / NA (chorus *f*) | Traditional treatment of verses 7-9 with alto solo alternates with chorus cadencing on "praise thee." |
| 70-80 | 14 | Chorus | D major | 4/4/ Tempo I / *ff* | Restatement of opening theme. **[A]** |
| 81-104 | 16-17 | Tenor or Contralto solo | G major | 9/8 / Andante cantabile / NA | Lyric melodic line, moves to 12/8 meter. Solo reaches highpoint at "all believers." **[C]** |

**Table 7. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's Festival *Te Deum* Op. 45 no. 2**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 105-109 | 18 | Chorus | B Minor/ E Major | 4 /4 / Allegro moderato / *f* | Modulatory passage starting in B minor, the dominant minor of the tonic of the next section |
| 110-129 | 19-20 | Soprano solo | E major | 3/4 / Andante / *p* | Angular melody with frequent leaps and wide, two octave range. |
| 130-142 | 21-23 | Chorus | E major | 4/4 / Allegro moderato / *f* | Homorhythmic chorus with occasional melismas. Opening phrase is the same as vs.18. |
| 143-150 | 24-25 | Chorus | E major | 4/4 / animato / *mf* | Homorhythmic passage modulates to A major, the dominant of the next section. |
| 151-167 | 26-28 | Bass solo | D major | 4/4 / Andante con moto / NA | Gapped solo melody frequently outlines chords. |
| 168-179 | 29 | Chorus | D major | 4/4 / Tempo I / *ff* | Return of opening statement with new text. Only last four measures presents new musical material. **[A]** |

**Table 8. Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Short Te Deum*, Op. 45, no. 3**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-31 | 1-6 | Chorus | D Major -B Minor | 4/4 / Allegro con sprito / *ff* | Unison statement of theme. The opening theme does not Cadence in D major but harmonies suggests B minor and A major providing a sense of unrest**. [A]** |
| 32-57 | 7-13 | Soli & Chorus | G Major | 4/4 / NA / NA | Usual treatment of text with solos taking the verse and chorus cadencing on the phrase "praise thee."**[B]** |
| 58-69 | 14-15 | Chorus | D Major | 4/4/ / Tempo I / *ff* | Return of opening motive. **[A]** |
| 70-90 | 16-18 | Bass solo & quartet | B Minor | 3/8 / Andante cantabile / *p* | Lyrical bass solo of modest range over independent organ part. **[C]** |
| 91-108 | 19-21 | Tenor solo & chorus | G Major | 4/4 / Poco moderato / *p* | Though in the key of G major the tonality of the solo centers around D major and the section does not cadence in G until the end of vs. 21. Meter changes to 3/4 at ms. 101. |
| 109-116 | 22 | Chorus | G Major | 3/4 / NA / *p* | Short choral section with independent organ accomp. |

**Table 8. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Short Te Deum*, Op. 45, no. 3**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 117-148 | 24-29 | Chorus & Sop. Solo | B Minor-D major | 4/4 / NA / *mf* | Tonal centers shift from B minor to A major and finally to D major. Unison opening theme returns and cadences in D major. **[A]** |

**Table 9. Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Te Deum* (no. 4) in C Major, Op. 58, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-30 | 1-6 | Chorus | C Major | 4/4 / Allegro con fuoco / *ff* | Energetic gapped melody in organ introduction followed by largely unison choral statement. "Thrice Holy" is, as usual, presented at a slower tempo and softer dynamic. **[A]** |
| 31-59 | 7-13 | Solos and Chorus | G Major | 4/4 / NA / NA | Solos present full text of verses 7-9 with no choral cadences over florid organ accompaniment. Homophonic chorus enters at vs. 10. **[B]** |
| 60-71 | 14-15 | Chorus | C Major | 4/4 / Tempo I / *ff* | Return of opening theme in organ accompaniment while chorus present similar melodic material with slight variation. **[A]** |
| 72-88 | 16-17 | Tenor solo | F Major | 4/4 / Andante espressivo / *p* | Expressive solo melody leading to climax on phrase "to all believers." **[C]** |

**Table 9. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Te Deum* (no. 4) in C Major, Op. 58, no.**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 89-114 | 18-20 | Chorus | F Major | 4/4 / Vivace / *f* | Homophonic chorus with organ doubling voices. At vs. 19 an interesting call and response passage occurs between bass solo and chorus. |
| 115-138 | 21-25 | Chorus | C Major | 3/4 / Con moto / *f* | Homophonic choral section with organ doubling voices until vivace section at vs. 24 when the organ breaks into rapid arpeggio passages. |
| 139-156 | 26-28 | Soprano solo | C Major | 4/4 / Andante espressivo / *p* | Typical setting of this passage for solo voice but organ accompaniment breaks into three staves with a separate staff for pedal due to the large compass of the instrument. This is unusual and indicates the increase of organs with a full pedal keyboard. |
| 157-164 | 29 | Chorus | C Major | 4/4 / Tempo I / *ff* | Return of opening theme in both chorus and organ. **[A]** |

**Table 10. Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Te Deum* (no. 5) in B Minor, Op. 60, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-36 | 1-4 | Chorus | B minor | 3/4 / Allegro energico / *f* | Florid, exciting organ accompaniment. Frequent use of eighth note passages in parallel octaves. Unison voices for first 28 measures **[A]** |
| 37-41 | 5 | Chours +SATB soli | G major | 4/4 / Adagio / *p* | Brief rhapsodic organ sequence accompanies the "thrice Holy." **[B]** |
| 42-73 | 6-13 | Chorus + solos | G major | 4/4 / Tempo primo / *f* | Vs. 7-9 solo passages passed among bass, soprano and tenor punctuated with choral exclamations. Full chorus homophony through vs. 13. |
| 74-92 | 14-15 | Chorus | B minor | 3/4 / Tempo primo / *ff* | Return of opening theme. Text of both verses are repeated. **[A]** |
| 93-120 | 16-18 | Chorus | B major | 3/4 / Andante espress. /*ppp* | Mostly unison chorus with rather static melody over flowing, chromatic organ acc. with constant running eighth notes. **[C]** |

**Table 10. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Te Deum* (no. 5) in B Minor, Op. 60, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 121-149 | 19-23 | Soprano & Alto duet | E minor | 3/4 / Poco animato / *f* | Duet sections are largely homophonic. Soprano hits a high b, the highest note in the entire work for a bit of text painting on the phrase "lift them up." |
| 150-157 | 24-25 | Chorus | B major | 3/4 / NC / *mf* | Rhythm employs double dotted quarter notes. |
| 158-173 | 27-28 | Tenor solo | B major | 4/4 / Andante espress. / *mf* | Tenor melody in four-measure phrases over continuously flowing organ accompaniment. |
| 174-191 | 29 | Chorus | B major | 3/4 / Tempo primo / *ff* | Opening theme returns in a new key with similar use of scalar passages and unison voices from opening statement. **[A]** |

**Table 11. Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Short Te Deum* (no. 6) in E-flat Major (without repetitions), Op. 61, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses .* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-45 | 1-6 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 4/4 / Allegro con spirito / *f* | Four-measure energetic and chromatic organ introduction. Choral theme is in unison for only two measures and then divides into harmony. **[A]** |
| 46-60 | 7-13 | Bass & Sop. Soli and Chorus | E-flat Major to C major/A Minor | 4/4 / NA / *p* | Soloists sing vs. 7 & 8 with chorus on vs. 9 **[B]** |
| 61-72 | 14-15 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 4/4 / Tempo I / *ff* | Return of opening theme. **[A]** |
| 73-93 | 16-21 | Solos & Chorus | A-flat Major | 4/4 / Andante con moto / *p* | Tenor solo adds soprano for a duet that leads to chorus and vs. 18. **[C]** |
| 94-138 | 22-28 | Chorus & solos | E-flat Major | 4/4 / Poco vivace / *mf* | Largely homophonic chorus interspersed with solo passages. |
| 139-146 | 29 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 4/4 / Tempo I / *f* | Return on opening themes in chorus and organ. **[A]** |

**Table 12. Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Festival Te Deum* (no. 7) in E-Flat, Op. 63, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-43 | 1-5 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 4/4 / Allegro con spirito /*f* | Chromatic introduction followed by homophonic opening statement with frequent dotted rhythms. Texts painting with long melisma on the word "everlasting." Soloists change mood with slower and soft thrice holy. **[A]** |
| 44-54 | 6 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 3/4 / Vivace / *f* | Short homophonic bridge section. |
| 55-81 | 7-13 | Soli & Chorus | B-flat Major | 4/4 / L'istesso tempo / *p* | Vs. 7, 8, & 9 sung by soloists and the common phrase "praise Thee" is set to the same melody at different pitch levels. Similar treatment of this passage is very common among American Te Deums of this period. **[B]** |

**Table 12. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Festival Te Deum* (no. 7) in E-Flat, Op. 63, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 82-95 | 14-15 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 4/4 / Tempo I / *ff* | Homophonic chorus restates opening theme. Five measure chromatic organ transition to new key and meter. The same melisma on the word "everlasting" occurs at ms. 88-9 as occurred at ms. 15-16. **[A]** |
| 96-125 | 16-19 | Soli & Chorus | A-flat Major | 6/8 / Andante cantabile / NA | Meter shifts among compound meters 6/8, 9/8, and 12/8. This section repeats text and melodic material between soloists and chorus to create a highly unified middle section. Two duets combine to create a quartet that leads to full chorus. This is the most contrapuntal and elaborate portion of the work and one of the most elaborate sections of any of Buck's *Te Deums*. **[C]** |

**Table 12. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Festival Te Deum* (no. 7) in E-Flat, Op. 63, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 126-157 | 20-25 | Soli & Chorus | E-flat Major | 3/4 / Piu moto / *p* | A B-flat pedal point focuses on the dominant. Bass and alto duet before chorus enters and move into the vivace forte section on vs. 23 & 25. Rapid dotted rhythms creates energy and drive. |
| 158-173 | 26-28 | Tenor solo | E-flat Major | 4/4 / Andante con moto / NA | Lyric solo passage creates sudden mood shift from previous section. |
| 174-183 | 29 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 4/4 Tempo I / *ff* | Melody repeats intervallic pattern introduced in opening theme. **[A]** |

A recording of this *Te Deum* was made by the Victor Talking Machine Co. (issue no. 35674) in Camden, New Jersey on March 14, 1918, only nine years after Dudley Buck died. The recording features soloist, mixed chorus and orchestra (instead of organ) and indicates that, even after his death, Buck's popularity was such that the Victor Company felt a recording would sell enough copies to garner a profit. A modern edition of the score is available in Dudley Buck, *American Victorian Choral Music,* Music in the United State of America, vol. 14 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 2005).

**Table 13. Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Festival Te Deum* (no. 8) in G Major, Op. 89, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-44 | 1-5 | Chorus | G Major | 4/4 / Allegro moderato / *ff* | Four measure introduction followed by unison chorus. Organ provides nearly continuous eighth-note pattern in accompaniment. "Thrice Holy" is set in 3/4 meter, highly chromatic and sung softly. **[A]** |
| 45-58 | 6 | Chorus | C Major | 3/4 / Allegro / *ff* | Section begins with a highly chromatic scalar passage in the organ. Voices and organ suggest A minor tonality before arriving at C major at meas. 54. **[B]** |
| 59-72 | 7-10 | Chorus | C Major | 4/4 / Slightly slower / *f* | Fugal entrances present text for vs. 7,8, and 9. This is a unique approach to presenting the text for these verses. |
| 73-85 | 11 | Chorus | G Major | 4/4 / poco moderato /*pp* | Coda-like closing to section. |
| 86-97 | 12-15 | Chorus | G Major | 4/4 / Allegro / *ff* | Return of opening theme. **[A]** |

**Table 13. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Festival Te Deum* (no. 8) in G Major, Op. 89, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 98-125 | 16-17 | Soprano solo | E-flat Major-C Minor | 3/4 / Andante espresivo / *pp* | Solo starts in E-flat major but shifts to C minor then returns to E-flat major by the end of the section. **[C]** |
| 126-132 | 18 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 6/4 / Vivace / *ff* | Imitative entrances and points of imitation throughout the choral parts. Organ doubles voices. |
| 133-160 | 19-20 | Alto & Tenor duet | G Minor-G Major | 6/4 / Andante con moto / *p* | Lyrical vocal lines with overlapping phrases. Organ doubles the voices but adds a great deal of material to create a third voice in the texture. |
| 161-168 | 21 | Chorus | G Major | 6/4 / Vivace / *f* | Text painting on "everlasting" with long melismas. |
| 169-187 | 22-25 | SATB Soli | D Major | 4/4 / Piu moderato / NA | |
| 188-205 | 26-28 | Bass solo | G Major | 4/4 /Andante espressivo /*p* | Chromatic, lyrical solo, slightly sentimental in tone. |

**Table 13. (continued) Analysis of Dudley Buck's *Festival Te Deum* (no. 8) in G Major, Op. 89, no. 1**

| *Measure* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 206-234 | 29 | Chorus | G Major | 4/4 / Tempo I / *ff* | Return of opening theme with extended counterpoint and repeated phrases to create an exciting ending. **[A]** |

**George W. Chadwick (1854-1931)**

Since chapter one has already covered Chadwick's life and connections with sacred choral music, this section will focus more specifically on Chadwick's two *Te Deums*. By the time of his first *Te Deum* in 1874, Chadwick had only two years of formal musical training. This consisted of his tenure as a special student at the New England Conservatory with organ lessons from George E. Whiting, and six months of harmony lessons with Stephen Albert Emery (1841-1891).[150] He had also taken a year of private organ lessons with Dudley Buck in 1873 and with Eugene Thayer (1838-1889) the following year.

***Te Deum Laudamus* (1874)**

The *Te Deum Laudamus* is written on factory-produced staff paper (34 x 26 cm) containing no watermarks. There are twelve staves to a page with six staves grouped together, the top four contain the vocal parts and the bottom two the keyboard accompaniment. No parts are indicated but Chadwick clearly planned to use t the conventional vocal forces of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass with organ accompaniment. The lack of a score for the pedal organ is not unusual for this time period since most scores presented the organ part on two staves. That this part was intended for organ is confirmed by the presence of instructions to the organist such as "Ped. coup. off" (pedal coupler off), and "Reduce Gt. to Flute." The cover is plain paper, folded to contain the loose pages of numbered staff paper. On the cover Chadwick wrote the title *Te Deum Laudamus* and below this in pencil is the statement "Made in 1874." He probably made the note later when he was collecting materials for his memoirs in the early twentieth

[150] Carl Engel, "George W. Chadwick," *The Musical Quarterly* 10/3 (July 1924): 443.

century. In addition, Chadwick signed the work in ink after the last measure with "Geo. W. Chadwick" followed by the inscription "Easter '74." As noted in chapter one, this is probably Chadwick's earliest surviving composition.

While this youthful piece lacks the polish and sophistication of his later works, it still reveals a fertile imagination, a solid technical skill, and a flair for organizing musical materials. Table 14 presents the key elements of the work and some brief commentary. Analysis of the data reveals a striking similarity to Dudley Buck's *Te Deums* with regard to use of: chorus and solos in setting the same text, rhythmic patterns, melodic material (especially in the solo passages) and altered chords. These similarities suggest that Chadwick used his teacher's *Te Deums* as models to hone his compositional skills. This supports the idea that Buck influenced Chadwick's early compositional career—an idea only recently advanced by scholars such as Faucett and Orr, but without firm evidence to support the case.

The term "Atto Primo" appears on page one and "Atto secundo" on page eleven at the setting of verses 19 and 20. This division into "acts one and two" does not conform to any known grouping of the text, and Chadwick's reference to them here is a mystery. George Fredrick Handel used the terms "Part the First," "Part the Second," and "Part the Third" in his *Messiah,* and this could be a pretentious, or possibly joking, reference to that famous oratorio. If we assume that Chadwick is using Buck's *Te Deums* as a model for his own, the mischievous Chadwick may be poking fun at the Italian opera elements that critics identified in Buck's anthems. It is possible that Chadwick's *Te Deum* is a parody of Buck's compositions rather than a student's imitation of the master's work. By 1874 Buck had published eight of his nine *Te Deums* and so there was ample material for

Chadwick to imitate or parody. Since Chadwick's writings are silent on his *Te Deums,* we may never know definitively why these terms appear.

Chadwick's *Te Deum laudamus* (1874) is set in B-flat major and is through-composed; the only repeated material, the opening melodic passage, reappears at the closing section. This element commonly unifies American Te Deums and is one that Buck used consistently, though he enhanced its effect by repeating the opening motive in the middle of the work to create an ABACA structure. Chadwick uses primarily major keys, as did J. C. D. Parker, Buck and most other American composers who set the *Te Deum*. Chadwick makes two excursions from the major key in his *Te Deum laudamus*, at verse 18 (with B-flat minor, tonic minor) and at verse 22 (with G minor, relative minor of the tonic). The minor mode reflects the mood of these two sections, also a common convention among American *Te Deums* and one Buck used frequently.

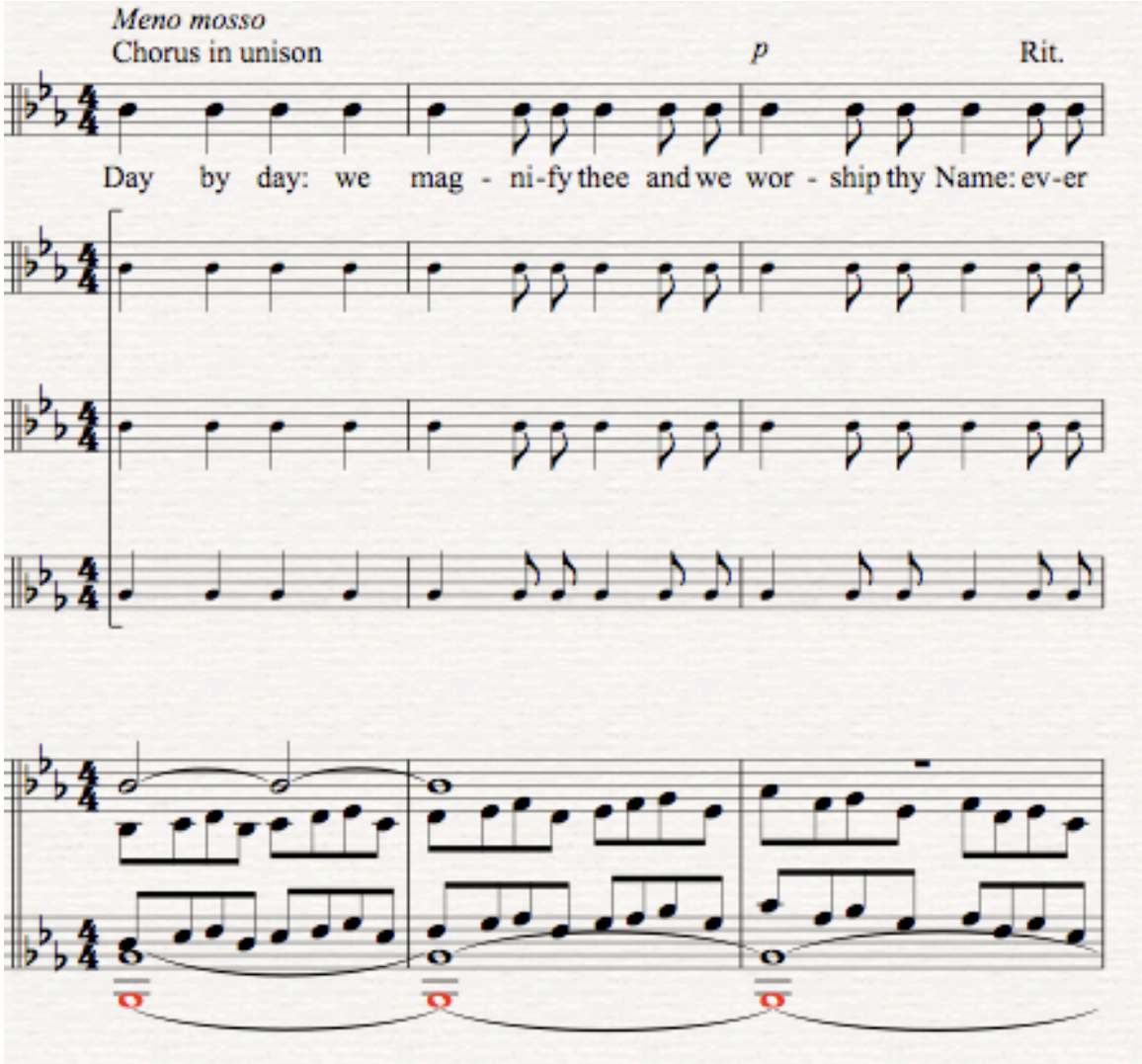
As with many American church *Te Deums,* Chadwick's opens with a brisk, short four-measure homophonic introduction followed by a strong choral statement marked fortissimo. The chorus immediately reduces volume to piano and then grows to a fortississimo at the "thrice Holy" section (mm.8 through 29). The texture, homophonically conceived, is interrupted with only brief snippets of polyphony. Chadwick sets verses 7, 8 and 9 using Anglican chant, a technique that harkens back to one of the earliest *Te Deums* composed in America by Benjamin Carr.[151] In the second section, from mm. 132 to 184, Chadwick provides variety by contrasting the chorus with solo passages, a common device shared with English and American models. There are three instances of staggered entrances with points of imitation at verse 4 (mm. 20-26),

[151] See chapter two for a discussion of Benjamin Carr's *Te Deum*.

verse 27 (mm. 197-100), and verse 29 (mm. 226-228), but no examples of extended counterpoint such as fugal passages. Fugues would have to wait until Chadwick received more training in Germany. His use of staggered imitative entrances, however, builds tension at the finale before the closing unison statement (mm. 222-230).

Chadwick's melodies are effective in setting the text, though not particularly memorable. The melodic material can be very simple such as several chromatic scalar passages found at verse 6 (mm. 34-41), verse 14 (mm. 77-81), and verse 17 (mm.102-110). He foregoes melody altogether when he employs the repeated tones and cadential formulas of Anglican chant at verses 7, 8, and 9 (mm. 51-72), and when he uses a unison recitative on B-flat again at verse 24 (mm. 186-189). The interest in this latter passage lies with the organ accompaniment and its eighth-note sequenced pattern flowing in the middle of three octaves of sustained B-flats simultaneously producing both regular and inverted pedal points (Example 3.7). One of the more attractive melodic sections in this work is the soprano and alto duet at verse 16 (mm.89-97) marked "Andante grazioso." It employs skipping dotted eighth and sixteenth-note patterns, triplets, and a sonorous interplay between the two voices employing frequent thirds and sixths (Example 3.8). The organ accompaniment provides motion with its repeated chords underpinning a gapped treble line that outlines the chordal structure. Following the conclusion of the duet the organ continues with a bridge section (mm. 97-101) that plays with the triplet figure first presented in the voices. The bass solo at verses 22 and 23 (mm. 166-182) has a range of an octave and a fifth, indicating that it was probably

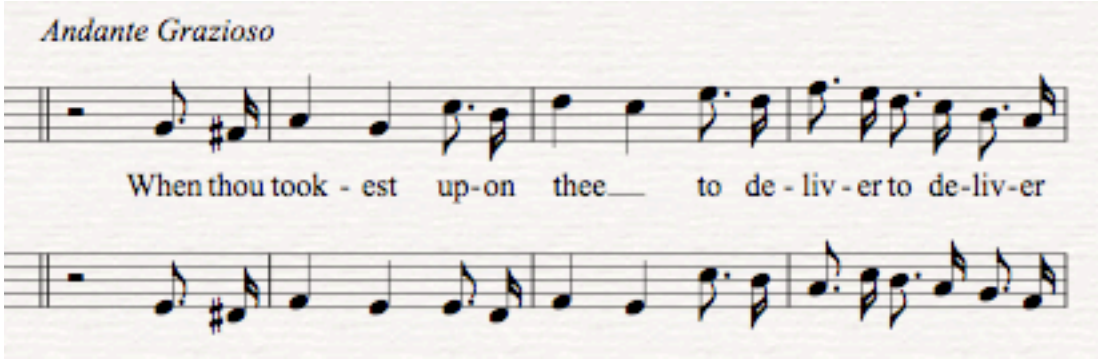
**Example 3.7. George W. Chadwick, *Te Deum laudamus* (1874), mm. 186-188**




intended for a singer with some vocal training. The bass sings "Govern them and lift them up forever" upon repeated ascending lines that provide appropriate text painting. The organ accompaniment, like the accompaniment to the earlier soprano and alto duet, relies on repeated triads to provide harmonic support and forward motion. Moreover, It adds an interesting dance-like dotted eighth and sixteenth-note figure that surrounds the triads as it flits back and forth from upper treble to bass. Such figurations suggest the

interplay between a flute and bassoon and may foreshadow Chadwick's interest in orchestration.

**Example 3.8. George W. Chadwick, *Te Deum laudamus* (1874), soprano and alto duet, mm. 89-92**




Chadwick's use of rhythm and meter mirrors many of the *Te Deums* presented in this study. His setting of verses 27 and 28 (mm. 197-217) in compound meter is a convention he shares with Buck. While these verses are often given to a soloist or combination of soloists, others before Chadwick had set them for chorus.

That the organ accompaniments sometimes possess greater interest than the vocal lines may come from his early organ training in organ. He employs the wide compass of the instrument extending from the E two octaves above middle C (mm. 168, 174, and 182) to the A-flat three octaves below middle C (mm. 129-133).[152] At this period in America full pedal keyboards were just becoming standard, and some church organs lacked pedals altogether. In addition, Chadwick specifies which manuals should be used (Great or Swell) and where couplers are employed, a device that adds certain ranks of

[152] This low A-flat was written for cases where the organ part was performed on the piano rather than the organ because the pedal keyboard ends at low C a major third above this low A-flat. The sixteen-foot stop in the pedal organ would normally produce this pitch when written on the bottom space of the bass staff.

Swell pipes to the Great manual and vice versa. Dudley Buck first specified such organist's details, and his pupil Chadwick followed after him.

Chadwick's use of Victorian harmony is not unlike Buck's, as his setting of verses 7, 8 and 9 (mm. 51-62) demonstrate. The soprano melody is a simple rising diatonic line in E-flat major moving to C major at verse 10 (m 63). The harmonic progression employs seventh chords, some chromatically altered, and several second-inversion chords. It builds to the cadence on a G-major chord, the dominant of the upcoming C-major section. As discussed earlier, Buck often modulated to the dominant of the new key before moving to the tonic in order to establish the tonality. This textbook harmonic progression is then enriched with chromatic alterations to enhance interest. Chadwick's facility at using this technique is impressive considering he had only a few months of harmony lessons with no formal training in composition. This example from what is probably his earliest composition demonstrates his budding talent with relatively little training and helps explain the promise both Buck and Jadassohn saw in him.

***Te Deum in D* (circa. 1885)**

By the time Chadwick revisited the *Te Deum* in 1885 he had the benefit of two years of study at one of Europe's finest conservatories, independent lessons in composition with the noted composer Joseph Rheinberger, and nearly a decade of experience as a composer and teacher. Comparison of these two settings reveals the difference time and training had made.

The *Te Deum in D* is written on staff paper measuring 34.5 x 26.5 cm. The staves are grouped in the same manner as the 1874 *Te Deum laudamus*. The paper title page bears the title written in blue and red pencil that reads, "Dedicated to Mr. J. C. D. Parker,

Te Deum in D, for four voices by G. W. Chadwick." The manuscript is undated, but finding the sketches for the *Te Deum in D* in the unnumbered pages of one of Chadwick's sketchbooks dated 1885 helped determine the earliest possible date of composition.[153] The first notable difference between the two *Te Deums* is that the latter work is nearly 150 measures longer than the earlier setting. At 371 measures, the *Te Deum in D* is longer than most American church *Te Deums* of the period. This calls into question whether the work was ever intended for worship or if it was conceived as a concert work. No documentation supports either claim. If it were a church work we know from Chadwick's memoirs that during this time period all his church compositions were intended for the quartet choir at the Second Universalist Church, Boston, where he was organist and choir director.[154] It seems unlikely that this church was the intended audience, since the orthodox doctrine expressed in the *Te Deum* would not appeal to the Unitarian congregation Chadwick described in his account of Rev. Carpenter's church.[155] Since the work is dedicated to J. C. D. Parker, it would seem more likely that the work was intended for the double quartet choir at Trinity Church (Episcopal) where Parker worked and whose liturgy had a regular place for the *Te Deum*. This theory is also problematic, however, because all of Parker's *Te Deums* are brief due to the constraints of the liturgy at Trinity Church. It is doubtful that Trinity's pastor, the Rev. Phillips Brooks, would have welcomed such a long musical display into his service.

Both of Chadwick's *Te Deums* are through-composed, lack any formal organizing structure other than that provided by the text, and employ primarily major keys. Choral

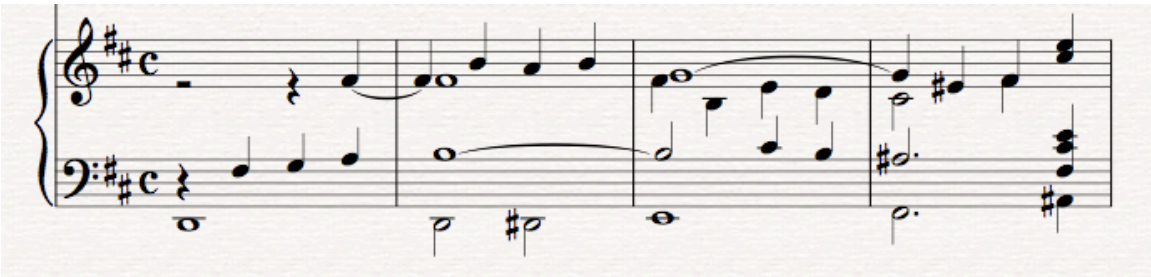
[153] The 1885 sketchbook is located in the Chadwick Papers in the Spalding Library at the New England Conservatory, Boston, MA.
[154] Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1884.
[155] Chadwick, "Memoirs," 1884.

sections dominate both works with only one solo passage given to each voice part, with the exception of the duet for soprano and alto in the *Te Deum laudamus* (1874). Solos are located in the middle or latter portions of each work, which is common among American *Te Deums*. Tables 14 and15 present these and other basic facts about the two Te Deums..

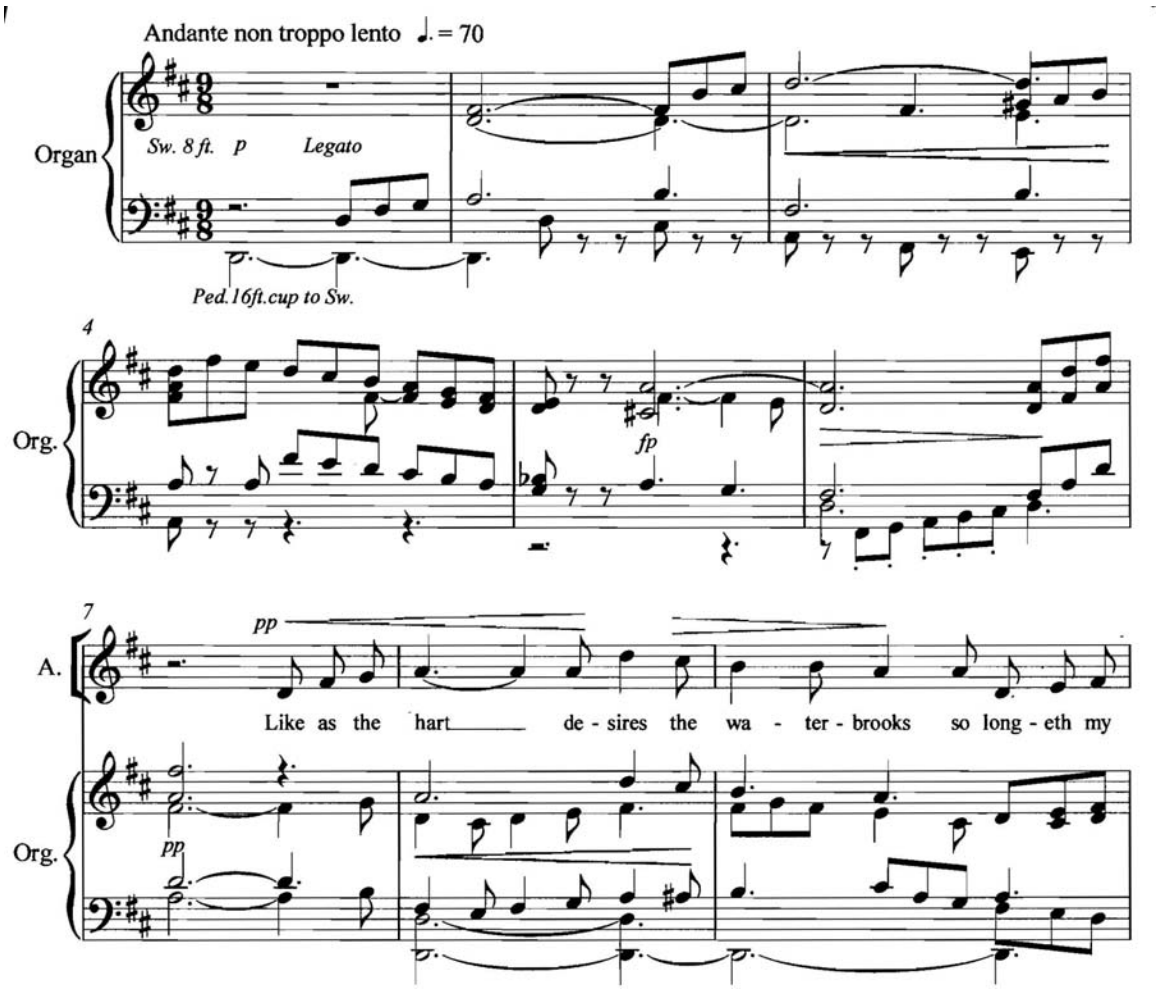
Unlike the brief, fast-paced chordal introduction to Chadwick's 1874 work, the *Te Deum in D* opens with a linearly conceived polyphonic organ introduction using staggered entrances and suspensions, building voice upon voice, creating a smooth and stately introduction set at a moderate tempo. The ascending pitches D, F-sharp, G, and A in the bass and tenor lines form the introductory statement, but this attractive melody does not reappear in rest of the *Te Deum* (Example 3.9). A very similar motive occurs, however, in Chadwick's setting of Psalm 42 written in the same year (1885). His "Psalm" op. 13, no. 1 ("Like as the hart"), is from his *Three Sacred Quartets* op. 13, and written in the same key as the *Te Deum in D*.[156] The "Psalm" is set in a lyrical 9/8 meter and starts with a pedal point D, followed by F-sharp, G and A in a rising polyphonic line repeated in the upper voices and united with suspensions, creating a similar mood and texture to the *Te Deum in D* (Example 3.10). The rising four-note motive in the "Psalm" is often repeated in each voice as well as in the accompaniment creating a tightly unified composition. Frequent repetition of the psalm text allows Chadwick more

[156] The score to Chadwick's "Psalm" op. 13, no. 1 is available at the Library of Congress, *Music for the Nation,* website <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mussm&fileName=sm/sm1885/03500/03537/mussm03537.db&recNum=1&itemLink=D?mussm:2:./temp/~ammem_lln1::&linkText=0>

**Example 3.9. George W. Chadwick, *Te Deum in D*, mm. 1-4**



**Example 3.10. George W. Chadwick, "Psalm" op. 13, no. 1, mm. 1- 9**




time to elaborate on the motive. In the *Te Deum*, however, this same motive is not used as a unifying element. Instead, the *Te Deum in D* uses the upward leap of a fourth to begin

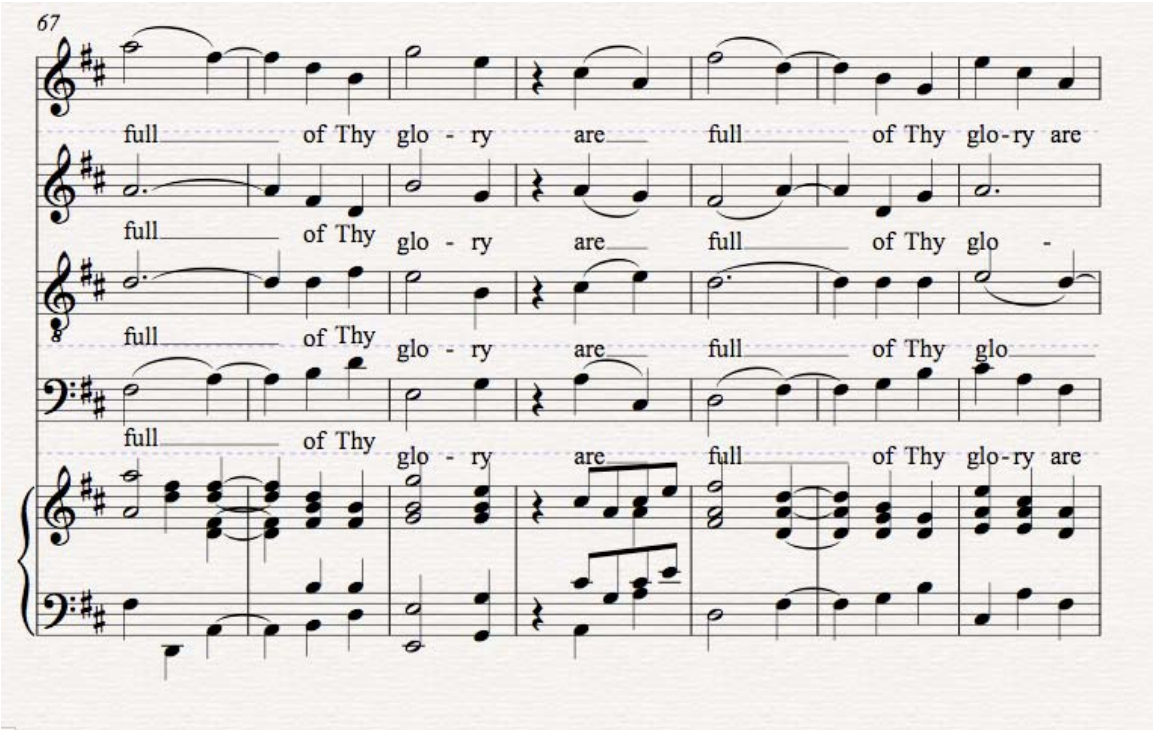
various choral sections, most notably verses, 1, 6, 14, 18, and 29.[157] The rising interval of the fourth follows from the dominant-tonic harmonic progression used in the modulatory passages between these verses.

The *Te Deum in D* provides evidence of Chadwick's maturing use of silence in his melodic phrasing to create dramatic effects. For example, at measure 12 he places a rest on the downbeat of the organ part while the voices sing accented pitches. The silence in the organ part enhances and stresses the chord in the organ part following the rest. In another example, at measures 46 and 48, the quarter-note rest on the last beat of the measure after the choral exclamations "Lord God of Sabbaoth" punctuates each repetition of the text and accentuates the ensuing entrance a step higher. At measure 62 the rest falls on the downbeat in the chorus while the flowing organ accompaniment continues the forward motion. The most dramatic example of silence occurs at measure 70 where both chorus and organ surprise the listener when they suddenly fall silent in the midst of a vigorous praise passage (Example 3.11). This effective dramatic technique is found nowhere in the earlier *Te Deum laudamus* (1874).

Once again, Chadwick's *Te Deum in D* and his "Psalm" op. 13, no. 1 share similar techniques, this time regarding the use of rests for dramatic effect. The "Psalm" features a smooth, continuous polyphonic texture with numerous overlapping phrases and frequent suspensions. The cessation of that smooth, flowing texture is all the more significant, therefore, when it occurs at measure 39 in both voices and organ. It signals to the listener the return of the opening motive and text. It occurs two more times in succession

[157] Chadwick modified verse 6 to read "Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory" rather than the original "Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory."

**Example 3.11. George W. Chadwick, *Te Deum in D*, mm. 67-73**

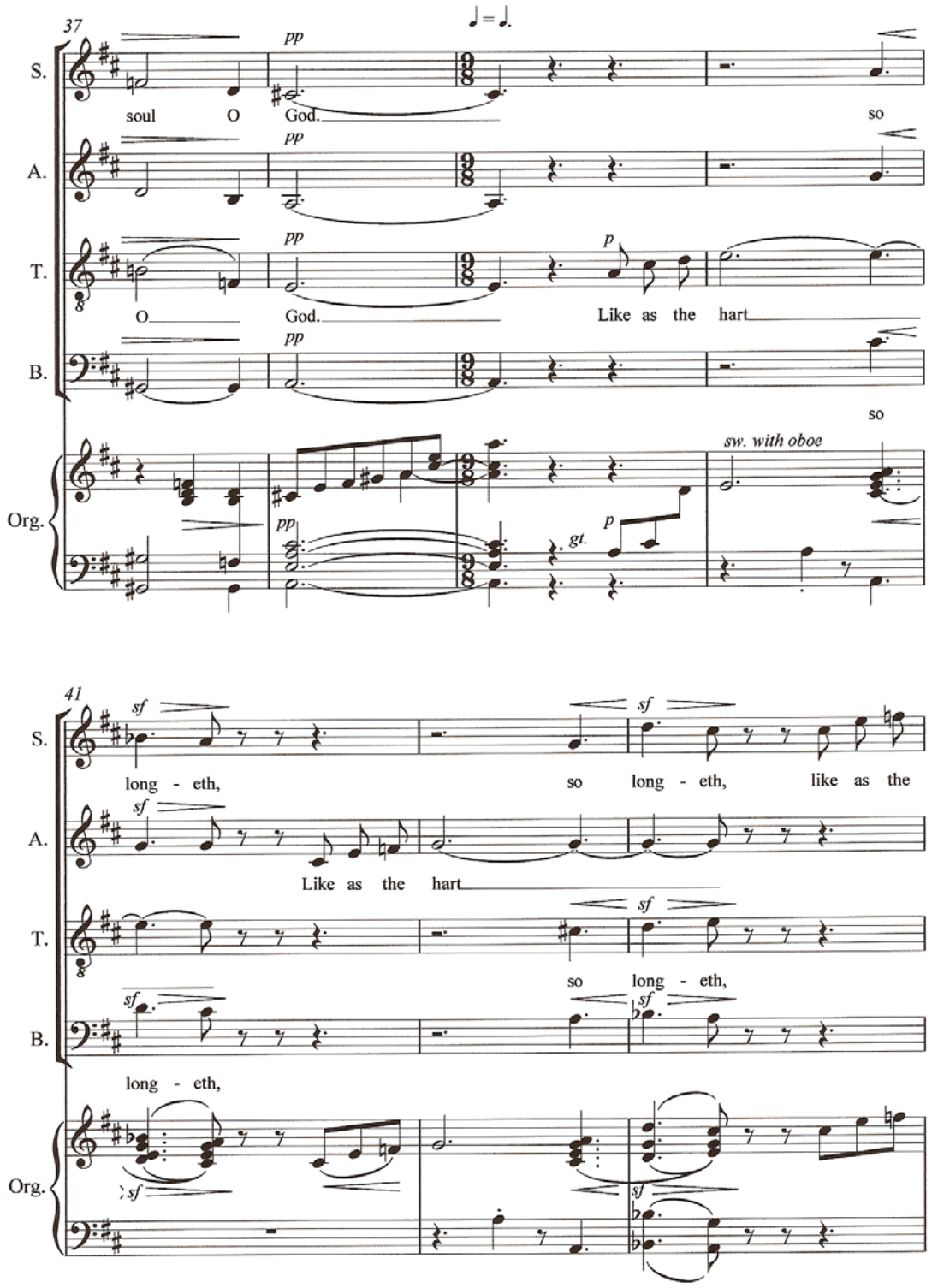



at measures 41 and 51. These silences between the phrases "like as the hart so longeth" effectively set the impassioned longing expressed in the words (Example 3.12). This use of silence may stem from Chadwick's organ studies since the organ, unlike most other wind instruments, can sustain a pitch indefinitely, and organists learn early in their studies the careful and judicious technique of "breathing" with singers by lifting their hands from the keyboard to provide silence between phrases.

Chadwick's *Ode for the Opening of the World's Fair, Held at Chicago, 1892* provides another example of dramatic use of rests in a different context.[158] In the first movement,

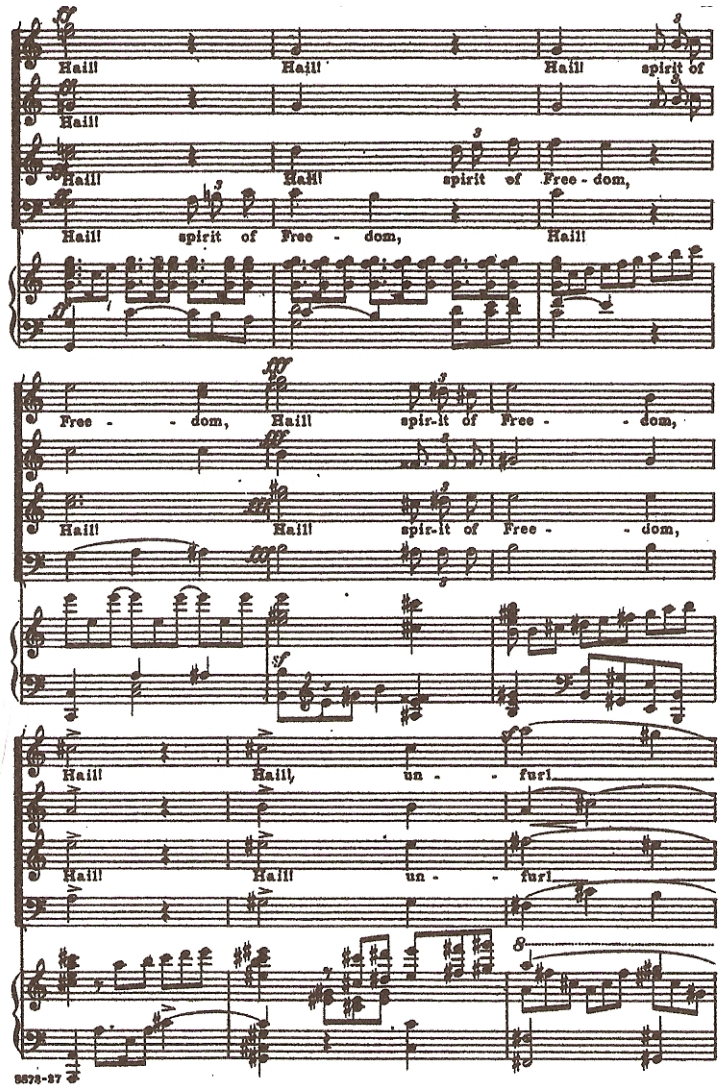
[158] The score for Chadwick's "Ode, For the opening of the World Fair" is available at Google Books <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=IgkRAAAAYAAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT11&dq=Chadwick+Ode+for+the+opening+of+the+world%27s+fair&ots=wvmQAAh3ld&sig=ZcCRAUl2LvVItRPjQ4wcB3IPdEw#v=onepage&q&f>

**Example 3.12. George W. Chadwick, "Psalm" op. 13, no. 1, mm 37-43**



marked allegro moderato, rests occur in measures 94 through 107 (Example 3.13), and again in measures 153 through 166, to accentuate the repeated exclamations "Hail." In the Ode, however, only the voices rest while the accompaniment continues, so the rests do not have as powerful an effect as the complete silence in measure 70 of the *Te Deum in D*.

**Example 3.13. George W. Chadwick, *Ode for the Opening of the World's Fair*, mm. 101-109**

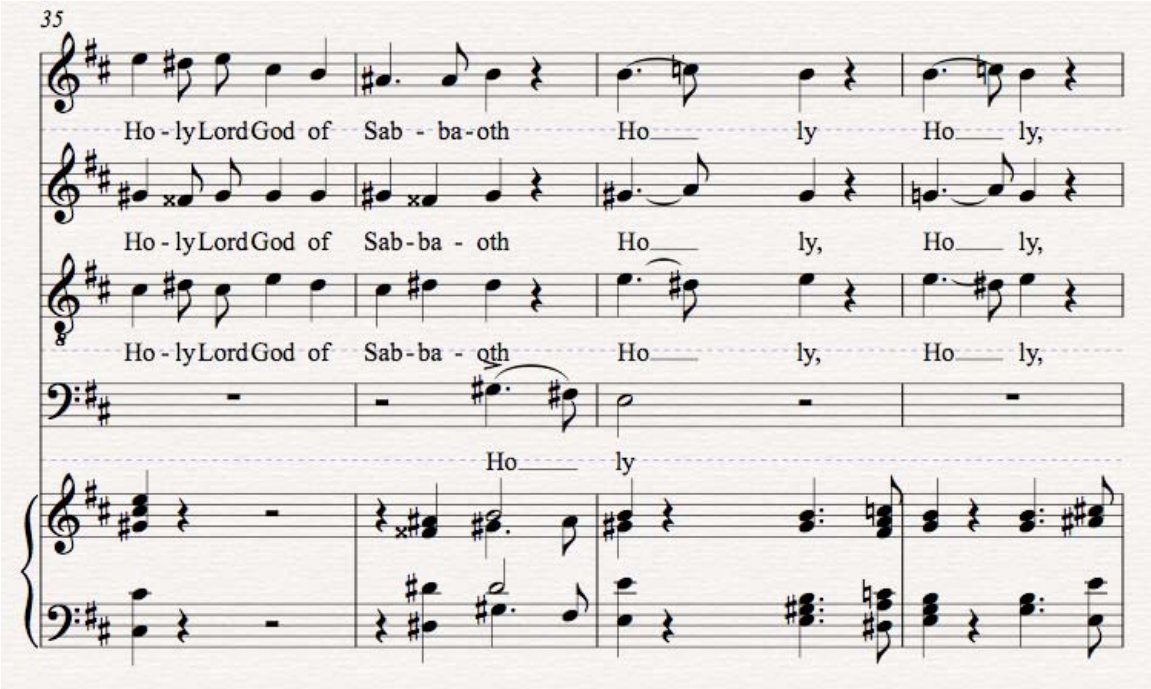



Dramatic use of silence is by no means unique to Chadwick. It is significant here, nonetheless, because a comparison of his *Te Deum Laudamus* and *Te Deum in D*

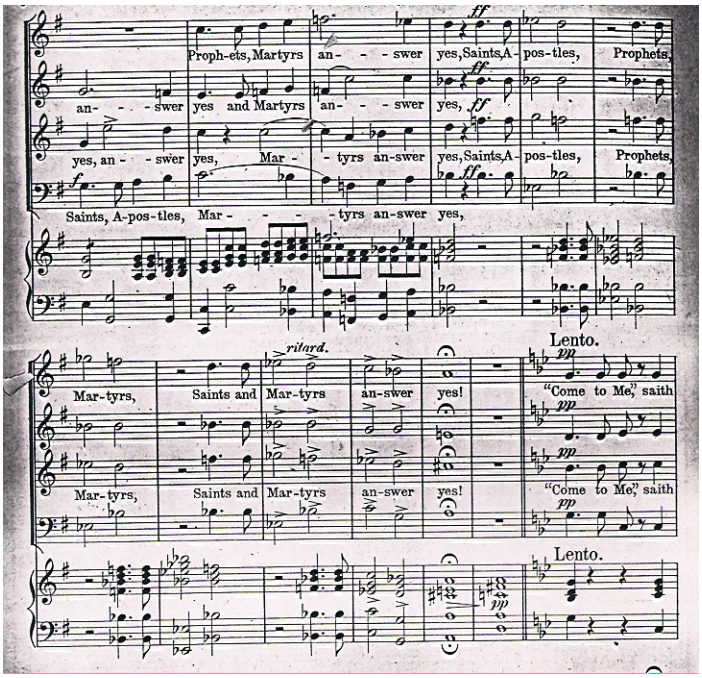
indicates that his effective use of silence for dramatic purposes represents part of his evolving maturity as a composer who is able to manipulate the many musical elements at his disposal with artistic skill.

Returning to the *Te Deum in D*, another sign of Chadwick's advancing technical skill is seen in his treatment of the "thrice Holy" section (verse 5, measures 33-52). Here he lends significance to the passage by repeating the verse, or portions of it, five times, and the word "holy" ten times. This repetition is very unusual in the American church *Te Deum* repertory. The passage is highly chromatic with every utterance of the word "Holy" set to a different chromatic harmony that is echoed back and forth between the voices and the organ. Each of these antiphonal statements is punctuated with a rest, but these statements overlap so there is no silence (Example 3.14). The harmonic progressions and increasingly chromatic melodic lines increase in tension until they find release at the repeated octave C in measure 52. To the modern listener this treatment of the verse may seem a bit theatrical, but the intense chromaticism stands apart from the rest of the work and, it may be a means of text painting—an effort to represent an utterance from the heavenly realm. Chadwick uses this technique again later in his anthem "Art Thou Weary" (1890). After a fugato section on the text "Saints, Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs answer yes!" the counterpoint ends at measure 75 as the voices come together on chordal exclamations "Saints, Apostles," "Prophets, Martyrs," "Saints and Martyrs answer yes!" A half note rest follows each exclamation while the organ echoes back the increasingly chromatic harmony in the chorus (Example 3.15). These are strikingly similar settings of texts that involve voices from heaven.

**Example 3.14. George W. Chadwick, *Te Deum in D*, mm 35-38**



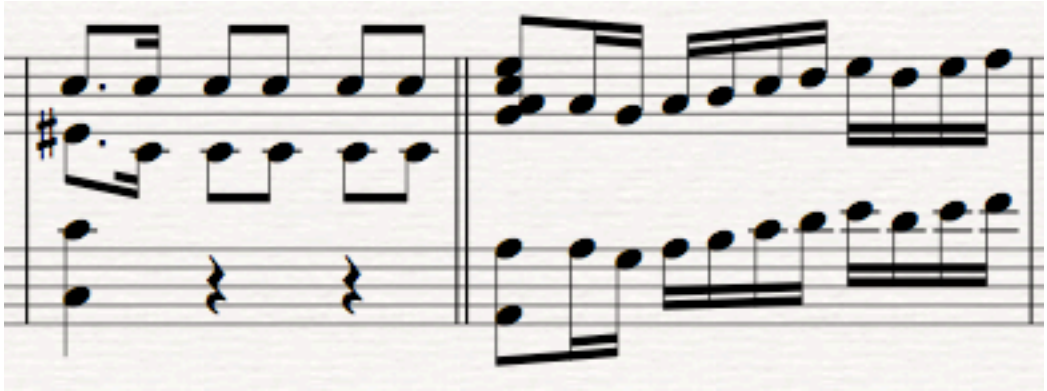

**Example 3.15. George W. Chadwick, "Art Thou Weary," mm. 74-86**




An interesting convention that Chadwick employed in the *Te Deum in D* appears in the bridge passages between some verses. These brief, fanfare-like passages delineate

one section from another making the work episodic rather than seamlessly connected. Examples of these bridge passages appear at measures 52-53 (Example 3.16), 118, 123-24, and 157-58. They usually incorporate dotted rhythms and are normally not part of a

**Example 3.16. George W. Chadwick, Te Deum in D, mm. 52-53**



modulation. In Buck's *Te Deums,* he often omits a bridge between sections, but on the rare occasion when he inserts one, the bridge often uses either material drawn from the introduction to the work or from the neighboring sections. Chadwick's bridge material is unrelated to other parts of the composition and functions more as punctuation than as transition. These types of connecting passages are not common in his anthems or longer choral works such as the *Ode* (1892), *Ecce Jam Noctis* (1897), *Judith* (1901), or *Noel* (1909). There are only three very brief suggestions of a fanfare-like bridge in *The Pilgrims* (1890) at measures 56, 73-4, and 345, but the passage at measures 73-74 is incorporated into the accompaniment that follows so it does not function in the same way as the examples in the *Te Deum in D*. The evidence from Chadwick's choral works indicates that he preferred a more organic transition between sections of his choral compositions rather than the sectional effect created by the bridge sections used in his *Te Deum in D*.

Even Chadwick's sense of humor may surface in the *Te Deum in D*, for at several points he approaches the text playfully. His setting of verses 7, "the glorious company of the apostles praise Thee" and 8, "the goodly fellowship of the prophets praise Thee" (measures 94-109) is decidedly lighthearted, with a delightful dance-like melody in 4/4. From the sunny melody and skipping bass line in measures 94-104 it seems that the "glorious company of the apostles" and the "goodly fellowship of the prophets" are full of jollity as they go about praising God. Chadwick portrays the company of heaven much as he might the goodly fellowship of his friends and companions with whom he would often share a table at a tavern. The accompaniment comes to an abrupt end at measure 107, with only occasional reappearances, though is clear from the context that this is not intended as an a cappella section, but is rather the first of many sections where Chadwick left the accompaniment unfinished.

Since both the 1874 and 1885 *Te Deum* have missing accompaniment sections while the vocal parts are fully realized a brief discussion of how Chadwick created accompaniments is required. Chadwick did not seem to trouble over the accompaniments since, once the harmony and melody were set down, he knew that providing the accompaniment was merely a matter of working out the figurations he wanted. The process of providing these figurations is explained in his 1897 sketchbook and incorporated in his book on harmony (1897). The lines from his sketchbook are almost identical to the instructions he provides in his harmony text.

> Accompaniments are formed by representing the tones of a fundamental harmony in succession or by repetition, or as combinations of both, forming figures which are reiterated at each accented beat, or oftener. These conventional figures, of which there are practically an infinite number, trace their rhythmic origin to the broken chords and arpeggio forms in one, two, three, or even more voices. In the

> more idealized forms, the nonharmonic tones and embellishments are also freely combined with the tones of the chord; two (or more) figures of accompaniment may be used simultaneously; contrapuntal parts are even introduced, or secondary melodies in the form of an obbligato added to the accompaniment.
>
> The function of the accompaniment is to furnish a harmonic and rhythmic background, which shall enhance the beauty and effect of the melody itself.[159]

The accompaniment was therefore a matter that Chadwick could finish at a later date once the work of laying down the melodic and harmonic material was complete. Chadwick was facile at working through the various pattern choices to create imaginative and fluid accompaniments. In places where he supplied a few measures of the accompaniment figuration he would probably follow that figuration pattern for the remainder of the melodic passage. If a modern choral conductor wished to perform either of these works, it would therefore be relatively simple to fill in the missing accompaniment sections according to Chadwick's guidelines.

The first of the four solo sections is the bass solo at verse 14 ("Thou art the King of glory of Christ, Thou art the everlasting son of the Father") very near the start of the second of the tripartite sections of the *Te Deum*. The melody of the bass solo reflects the dramatic tone of the prose with a range of a ninth and incorporates only three chromatic alterations. It conveys the text with the refined dignity appropriate to one of Boston's Episcopalian churches. The alto solo sets verses 16-17 (mm. 164, "when Thou tookest upon Thee") in adagio tempo and contains the only indication for ornamentation (m. 168) suggesting an operatic singing style. When the vocal line rises, the bass line descends in contrary motion, a technique common in German song literature.[160] The vocal line and accompaniment reflect the somber tone appropriate to the incarnation, the humbling of

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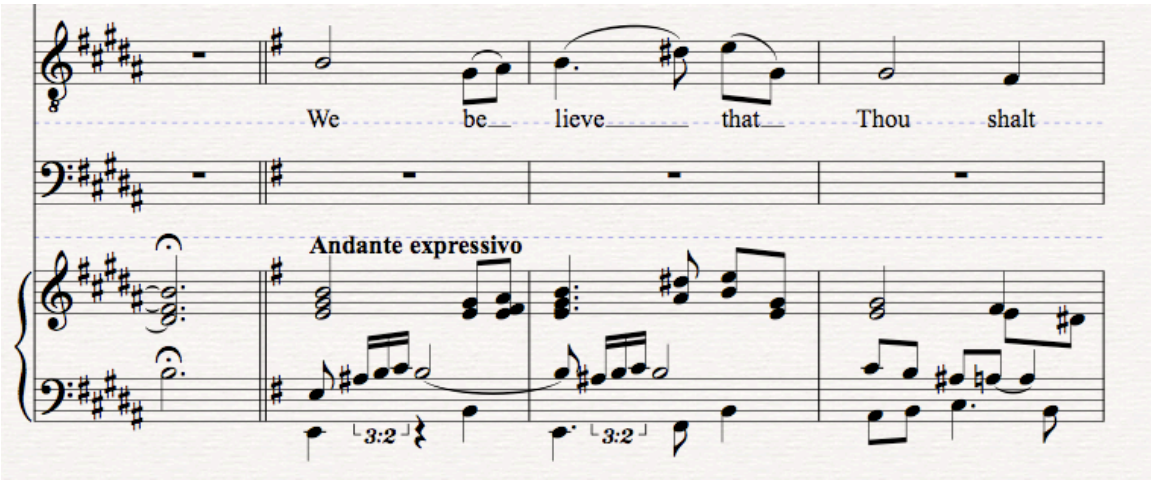
[159] G. W. Chadwick, *Harmony: a Course of Study* (Boston: B. F. Wood Music Co., 1897), 213.
[160] Elizabeth Ann Sears, "The Art Song in Boston, 1880-1914" (Ph.D. diss., Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1993): 48.

God to become man and to suffer death. The mood quickly and effectively changes, however, to indicate the joy produced by Christ opening the "kingdom of heaven to all believers." The collective nature of all believers is indicated by the return of the chorus, and all four choral parts enter to acknowledge the Son sitting at the "right hand of God in the glory of the Father." Chadwick exhibits nimbleness in his ability to command musical resources to reflect the rapidly changing texts.

This skill is evident in the accompaniment figuration supporting the tenor solo at verse 19 ("We believe that Thou shalt come to be our judge"). The somber mood of judgment is reflected not only in the use of the minor mode, but is evident in the rather sinister-sounding triplet figure that adorns the upper bass line in the accompaniment (Example 3.17). It is unfortunate that this particular accompaniment is incomplete because the second part of the solo, verse 20 (mm. 220-241, "we therefore pray Thee help they servants") changes tone, and one expects that Chadwick would have made a concomitant change in the accompanying figurations. Throughout the solo Chadwick shifts between major and minor modes as the text changes. The prayer of the servants appears in the major mode, but when redemption through "Thy precious blood" is mentioned, the minor mode returns. There is more text painting on the word "everlasting" where the high G# is held for four beats and then moves into an extended melisma (mm. 233-236).

**Example 3.17. George W. Chadwick, *Te Deum in D*, Tenor solo, mm. 211-214**




The final solo section of the *Te Deum* is the setting of verse 26, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day," for soprano. The shape of the melody reveals Chadwick's sense of balance and proportion. The first four measures of the melody contain a sequence built upon the interval of a fourth. Downward movement of skips and steps follows each upward leap of the fourth and creates a yearning or pleading effect appropriate for the prayer of petition. In these solos, as well as the choruses, Chadwick produces melodies based on the natural stress of the spoken word. Chadwick's ability to set texts with the natural rhythms of speech distinguishes him from the other composers in the Second New England School.[161] Yellin classifies one of the characteristics of American English speech patterns as "prosodic syncopation." This type of syncopation occurs when the short syllable receives stress rather than the long one, as in the word RI|ver. Yellin posits that Chadwick is among those American composers whose sensitivity to the stress and rhythm of Anglo-American speech produced music that

[161] Sears, "The Art Song in Boston," 50.

captures this prosodic syncopation and provided their work with a distinctively American quality.[162]

The closing chorus treats the text "O Lord in Thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded" in a largely homophonic setting, possibly a form of text painting that avoids any "confounding" produced by a polyphonic treatment with unintelligible overlapping texts. Whatever the reason, the broad choral melody, limited to quarter and dotted-half notes, produces a noble, expansive ending. The accompanying melody, in eighth notes with dotted rhythms, is presented mostly in octaves with the downbeat punctuated by full chords producing great rhythmic energy. This dynamic accompaniment ends at measure 319 and does not re-enter until measure 367 but, considering the nature of the choral parts and similar choral endings in Chadwick's published works, it seems fairly certain that the pattern would continue throughout the missing portion. The next forty measures are dedicated to restating the text "let me never be confounded." In these measures the chorus is masterfully handled and sustains the dramatic intensity while providing subtle ebb and flow. An example of this occurs at measure 322, where Chadwick reduces the tension by lowering the tessitura before a fortissimo restatement of the text (m. 330) re-energizes the drive to the end.

[162] Victor Yellin, "Prosodic Syncopation," 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: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 455-458.

**Table 14. Analysis of Chadwick's Te Deum laudamus (1874)**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-28 | 1-4 | Chorus | B-flat Major | 3/4 / Allegro Energico / *ff* | Four-measure chordal introduction followed by homophonic statement with only one dotted rhythmic pattern in bass line only. Dynamic treatment is a bit unusual with the first half of vs. 1 marked *ff* and the second half *p*. Staggered entrances at vs. 4 but not imitative. "Atto Primo" appears under title at top of page. |
| 29-32 | 5 | Chorus | B-flat Major | 2/4 / Largo / *fff* | Unusual fortississimo setting of "thrice holy" with highest pitches in the entire work found in the soprano (A-flat). |
| 33-45 | 6 | Chorus | B-flat Major | 3/4 / Tempo primo / *f* | Unison chromatic ascending scalar passage. Last portion of phrase "the Majesty of thy glory" repeated and set homophonically and marked "Lento." |
| 46-59 | 7-9 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 2/4 Andante con moto / *p* | Anglican chant setting. |
| 60-69 | 10-13 | Chorus | C Major | 2/4 / NA / *pp* | Text set homophonically and accompaniment is missing. |
| 70-85 | 14-15 | Chorus | C Major | 3/4 / Tempo primo /*ff* | Unison choir over simple chordal organ accompaniment. |

**Table 14. (continued) Analysis of Chadwick's Te Deum laudamus (1874)**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 86-111 | 16-17 | Soprano and Alto Duet | C Major | 3/4 / Andante grazioso / NA | Organ accompaniment seem incomplete the portions supplied are figured and independent of the voices. The also solo at vs. 17 has chordal accompaniment but a figurated passage may be intended. |
| 112-120 | 18 | Chorus | C Major | 3/4 / NA / *cres. to ff* | Homophonic passage. |
| 121-134 | 19 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 3/4 / Maestoso / *f* | March-like interlude with dotted eighth and sixteenth note fanfare pattern leads to unison choral statement. Top of pages labeled "Atto Secundo." |
| 135-150 | 20 | Tenor Solo | D-flat Major | 3/4 / piu mosso /NA | Accompaniment has figuration similar to that of Italian opera of the same period. Solo has several dramatic octave leaps and a sequenced passage. Solo is followed by organ interlude. |
| 157-164 | 21 | Chorus | D Major | 2/4 / Allegretto / *pp* | Homophonic setting with organ doubling the voices. |
| 165-183 | 22-23 | Bass solo | G Minor | 3/4 / Andante / *mf* | Independent organ part with large compass. Imaginative use of short dotted motive moving over and above repeated triads in middle range. |
| 184-187 | 24-25 | Chorus | E-flat Major | 4/4 / meno mosso / NA | Unison chorus over figurated accompaniment with B-flat pedal point. |

**Table 14. (continued) Analysis of Chadwick's Te Deum laudamus (1874)**

| Measure no. | Verses | Voicing | Key | Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 188-195 | 26 | SAT Chorus | E-flat Major | 2/4 / Andante / NA | Three-part setting. Accompaniment is not provided but organ interlude to next section is supplied. |
| 195-215 | 27-28 | Chorus | B-flat Major | 6/8 / Moderato / *pp* | Imitative staggered entrances marked *sotto voce.* Little accompaniment is supplied and difficult to determine if part is missing or a cappella. Organ interludes before and after choral section are provided. |
| 216-236 | 29 | Chorus | B-flat Major | 3/4 / a Tempo primo / *f* | Opening melodic material returns with varied rhythm. Concludes with contrapuntal overlapping phrases. Text is repeated to allow the working out of the brief counterpoint. |

**Table 15. Chart of the analysis of sections of Chadwick's *Te Deum in D***

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1-3 | Chorus | D major | 4/4 / NA / *mf-ff* | Stately declarative setting of text mostly in unison. |
| 24 | 4 | Chorus | D major | 4/4 / NA / *p* | Brief imitative section |
| 33 | 5 | Chorus | D major | 4/4 / NA / NA | Antiphonal chromatic section between choir and accomp. on the word "Holy." Highly dramatic. |
| 53 | 6 | Chorus | D major | 4/4 / molto vivace / *ff* | Triumphant close to section with text extended and repeated thrice. |
| 95 | 7-13 | Chorus | G major | 4/4 / Allegretto / *p* | Joyous, dance-like section |
| 123 | 14-15 | Bass solo | E-flat major | 3/4 / NA / NA | Dramatic solo with range of a ninth. |
| 165 | 16-17 | Alto solo | B major | 4/4 / Adagio / NA | Ornamentation suggest more operatic vocal style. |
| 191 | 18 | Chorus | B major | 4/4 / Adagio / *p* | Chorus or quartet gradually joins soloist. Short antiphonal section between soprano and lower voices. |
| 212 | 19-21 | Tenor solo | E minor to E major | 4/4 / andante expressivo /NA | Accompaniment sets ominous tone of judgment in text. Frequent shift between major and minor modes in solo |

**Table 15. (continued) Chart of the analysis of sections of Chadwick's *Te Deum in D***

| Measure no. | Verses | Voicing | Key | Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 242 | 22-24 | Chorus | A major to A-flat maj. | 3/8 / Allegretto / NA | Joyous section reminiscent of vs. 7-13. |
| 278 | 26-28 | Soprano solo | D-flat major | 4/4 / Moderato/ (*pp*) | Sweeping, lyrical melodic line. |
| 299 | 29 | Chorus | D major | 3/4 / Allegro vivace / *f* | Extensive repetition of text with vigorous accompaniment creating a dramatic conclusion. |

## Horatio Parker (1863-1919)

Horatio Parker is the final member of the quartet of New England composers whose *Te Deums* are examined in detail in this study. He is included not for any influence he had upon Chadwick's two *Te Deums*, which were both set to paper long before Parker penned his first *Te Deum* in 1892-3, but rather because his compositions represent the pinnacle of American choral music in the nineteenth century. Moreover, in varied and fascinating ways his career intersected the lives of the other three composers discussed in this chapter. Like J. C. D. Parker, he served as the organist and music director in Boston's prestigious Trinity Church. Like Dudley Buck, Horatio Parker was prominent as one of America's finest organists and composers of church music. Like Chadwick, he also studied with Josef Rheinberger in Munich, and both became among America's most respected composers and teachers. In addition, Parker's pupils, such as Charles Ives and Roger Sessions, had a significant impact on the music of the twentieth century.

### Early Life

Like the other three composers examined in this chapter, Horatio Parker came from well-established New England stock with a family history in America dating back to the seventeenth century. Born on September 15, 1863, in Auburndale, Massachusetts, then a rural suburb of Boston, the young Parker spent his boyhood engaged in the rustic chores common to New England country life. When not attending to the family's farm animals, he doubtless ventured into the woods and explored the banks of the Charles River. In addition to this bucolic life, he benefited from his mother's literary and musical abilities that added refinement to his rural surroundings. He received his first piano lessons from his mother, Isabella, about the age of fourteen.

The Parker family belonged to the Episcopal Church, and by all accounts they were sincere in their orthodox beliefs. Parker's mother was organist at the local church and the Lasell Seminary (later Lasell College), and his father showed his dedication by fashioning an altar of ash and black walnut for their church.[163] His father wrote to the young Parker in October 1875 imploring his son to keep the faith. "Act reverently at church, and remember that you are watched very closely by others, and above all remember the eye of God is ever on you. Don't neglect to pray to Him and ever ask His help in the smallest things."[164] Parker followed his mother's example by taking the position of organist at St. Paul's Episcopal Church in neighboring town of Dedham, starting in 1880 at an annual salary of $300. In 1882 he left his post at St. Paul's for St. John's in Roxbury.

In 1880 Parker began taking lessons in composition from Chadwick's old teacher at the New England Conservatory, Stephen Emery, as well as from Chadwick himself, who had just recently returned from his studies in Germany. Chadwick commented that his young pupil, only nine years his junior, had a "remarkable facility in harmony and modulation" and "a very fertile vein of lyric melody." He went on to note that "his melodies and harmonies have a distinct and individual character of their own . . . ."[165]

Parker was a hard-working music student who made rapid progress. In the spring of 1882, Isabella Parker hatched the idea of sending her son to Europe for training in music. The Parkers were not a wealthy family, but they were able to support their son modestly in this endeavor and received additional help from a friend to help pay for the travel expenses. If family support is crucial for a young American music student's success, as Tawa suggests, then Parker

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[163] Isabel Parker Selmer, *Horatio Parker, A Memoir for his Grandchildren compiled from Letters and Papers,* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), 59.
[164] Selmer, *Parker,* 25.
[165] George W. Chadwick, *Horatio Parker [Address] Delivered Before the American Academy of Arts and Letters, July 25, 1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 6-8.

had in this matter a clear advantage over Chadwick who had received no parental support or encouragement. [166] It was Chadwick, however, who also encouraged Parker on his way to Europe and recommended that the young Parker study with his former teacher, Josef Rheinberger.

Parker arrived in Munich in the summer of 1882 accompanied by Chadwick, who introduced him to Rheinberger in his summer home in the Bavarian Alps.[167] That fall Parker's began his studies at the *Königliche Musikschule,* and it soon became apparent that he was equal to Rheinberger's discipline, though Parker found the exercises in counterpoint less than inspiring. His facility in composition allowed him to dash off composition examinations in short order and still find approval with Rheinberger's critical eye.[168] In a letter to his father dated June 5, 1883 he recounts,

> Our examination in Counterpoint consisted in writing a Fugue for string quartet in one day. I used only 4 hours and made a Double-Fugue which pleased old Rheinberger immensely. It tickled me, too, that mine was the only Double-Fugue in the whole batch.[169]

Parker had written no major compositions prior to his European training, but during this time in Germany he turned his attention to composing choral music. Under Rheinberger's direction, Parker produced several large works including *The Ballad of the Knight and His Daughter, King Trojan,* and a setting of the twenty-third Psalm. Choral music was clearly becoming an interest of his. Concerning his experience in Munich Parker's daughter wrote, "It was at this time that he began to attend service in the old Catholic churches, becoming always more familiar with the essence and form of the old Masses, which he loved. The choral music of

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[166] Tawa, "Why American Art Music," 142.
[167] Selmer, *Parker*, 53.
[168] William K. Kearns, *Horatio Parker, 1863-1919: His Life, Music, and Ideas* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1990), 8-9.
[169] Selmer, *Parker*, 63.

Palestrino [sic], Orlando di Lasso, Bach and Handel, soaring through the mystic twilight of those great churches made a profound impression."[170] Particularly noteworthy in this list are the works of Palestrina and Lasso, for these composers worked at a time when a cosmopolitan musical style in choral music prevailed over a unique and individualized voice. Indeed, Rheinberger too, impressed upon his students a cosmopolitan style, albeit one informed by the conventions of nineteenth-century harmony and melody.

E. Douglas Bomberger cites this cosmopolitan style among several influences Rheinberger exerted over his students, especially Parker: others include an emphasis on choral compositions as opposed to other possible genres, dedication to counterpoint, and a melodic periodicity marked by two-measure phrases.[171] In addition, Bomberger notes that both Rheinberger and Parker composed large choral works based on the Nativity story—Rheinberger's *Der Stern von Bethlehem* (1890) and Parker's *The Holy Child* (1893)—containing a number of striking similarities. Rheinberger's disciplined approach to Parker's instruction instilled a pattern that Parker replicated a decade later when the young Charles Ives attended his composition classes at Yale.[172] These influences suggest a more direct connection between Rheinberger and Parker than between Rheinberger and Chadwick. Of course, Rheinberger influenced Chadwick's musical output to some degree. For example, Chadwick also wrote a multi-movement work celebrating the Nativity, entitled *Noel* (1909), but he did not base his text on the Biblical narrative as had Rheinberger and Parker; instead he chose reflections on the nativity by different poets from several periods in history. Also, while Chadwick wrote several

[170] Selmer, *Parker,* 61.
[171] 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,* (Tutzing, Germany: Hans Schneider, 2004), 231.
[172] Bomberger, "Layers of Influence," 236-37.

significant choral works, his reputation rests upon his instrumental works whereas Parker is noted primarily as a choral composer.

**Church Work**

Upon his return from Germany in 1885, Parker worked briefly in Boston as a private music teacher. The following year he relocated to New York to take a job at St. Paul's Cathedral School, an Episcopal preparatory school in Long Island. He taught there and at St. Paul's sister school, St. Mary's, until 1887. In the summer of 1886 he traveled to Germany to marry Anna Ploessl, a music student he had met while studying there. The two returned to Long Island and St. Paul's for only one year. They then moved to New York City in 1887 when Parker accepted the post of organist and choirmaster at the very prominent St. Andrew's Church (Episcopal) in Harlem. The urbanization of the area had brought greater diversity to the congregation and its attitudes on church music. St. Andrew's chose to follow the suggestions of the Oxford movement and adopted a "high church" service including a vested boy choir of nineteen boy sopranos, four boy altos, four tenors, and seven basses.[173] Parker remained at St. Andrew's for only one year because an even bigger and more prestigious post awaited him in New York City.

The Church of the Holy Trinity, located across the street from Grand Central Station, not only had an impressive edifice but also boasted a noted rector. Like Philips Brooks at Trinity Church in Boston, and Horace Bushnell in Hartford's North Congregationalist Church, Holy Trinity's E. Walpole Warren was a highly persuasive speaker and well-known preacher of the "social gospel."[174] Warren came from his native England specifically to fill the pulpit at the

[173] Kearns, *Parker,* 13.
[174] Kearns, *Parker,* 15.

Church of the Holy Trinity.[175] Parker took up the position of organist and choirmaster at Holy Trinity in 1888. Rev. Warren and Parker became good friends, and Parker remained at Holy Trinity until 1893. Parker's Service in E major, which includes the *Te Deum in E,* was written in 1892 during his time at Holy Trinity. In this year Parker also completed his most famous work, *Hora Novissima*. It is a testament to Parker's stamina and dedication that he could continue to compose and maintain his daily obligations during this difficult year when he lost not only his father and younger sister, Mary, but also a baby boy.

During his time in New York, his church schedule allowed Parker to compose most of his practical church music including hymns, anthems and services. Of these works Chadwick would later comment,

> No choirmaster can fail to be grateful for these compositions. They combine in a curious way respect for tradition (Parker was always a faithful communicant of the Episcopal Church) with an escape from the dullness that is the distinguishing mark of much of the older music of this type. It is English, but with an ingratiating admixture of New World buoyancy. A loss of sternness is compensated for by original touches of harmony and pleasantness of melody. Parker, even in these simple compositions, never allowed himself to merge with a "school" of composers, but in every piece is unmistakably Parker.[176]

In addition to his composing Parker also gave organ recitals at Holy Trinity. In these performances he played the music of Bach, his teacher Rheinberger, and his own compositions.[177]

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[175] Warren's immigration to America to work for the Church of the Holy Trinity brought about charges that he violated Federal law that prohibited "the importation and migration of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its Territories, and the District of Columbia," 23 Stat. 332, c. 164. The case went to the Supreme Court and was settled in *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States*, 143 U.S. 457 (1892). The court found in favor of the Church stating that, while the letter of the law was violated, the spirit of the law was not since the original Act of 1880 did not intend to apply to a religious society contracting with foreign aliens. One can only imagine the added stress this placed on Parker as he witnessed his dear friend and colleague go through these legal proceedings.
[176] Selmer, *Parker,* 73.
[177] Kearns, *Parker,*14.

Parker's time in New York brought him in contact with Frank Van der Stucken (1858-1929). A native of Fredericksburg, Texas, Van der Stucken was a composer and conductor of German descent who went on to found the Cincinnati Symphony in 1895. While in New York, Van der Stucken conducted his Novelty Concerts and several German singing societies. In these venues he was eager to promote the music of American composers, and often included Parker's music. Among Parker's secular works from this period is a setting of *The Kobolds*, op. 21 (1890) with text by the Bostonian, Arlo Bates (1850-1918), whose poetic works were favorites of Chadwick's.

In 1893 Trinity Church in Boston made Parker the largest offer made by any Boston church up to that time (approximately $650 a month).[178] Much as he may have agreed with the concept of boy choirs espoused by the Oxford Movement, Parker was tiring of the burden of working with the boy choir at Holy Trinity in New York. He also had many family and friends in the Boston area, another reason to make the move. Holy Trinity's dynamic rector, Phillips Brooks, had died in January of 1893 and was replaced by Elijah Winchester McDonald, a well-respected and effective preacher, though without the same national reputation as Brooks. The Sunday services were still well attended and, with Parker at the organ, the large congregation now had one of America's finest church musicians preparing music for their weekly services.

Parker remained with Holy Trinity until 1904, but he lived in Boston for only one year. In 1894, Yale University offered Parker the post of Battell Professor of the Theory of Music. He moved his family to New Haven, Connecticut and commuted by train each week between his church post in Boston and his teaching position at Yale. In addition to composition Parker taught the history of music for his entire tenure. Besides teaching, composing, and fulfilling his duties

[178] Kearns, *Parker,* 21.

as a church musician, Parker lectured and wrote on a variety of musical subjects including church music.

He was outspoken on the topic of church music and did not hesitate to criticize elements that he believed detracted from the reverence and dignity of the worship experience, no matter how popular these elements may have been with congregations. For example, in contrast to J. C. D. Parker, Buck, and Chadwick, Parker despised the quartet choirs and decried their use as an "abomination of desolation." Moreover, in an address to the American Guild of Organists he praised unaccompanied choral music as "the greatest good in church music."[179] He viewed music as the handmaiden to worship in the service. Many years later, Linda Clark criticized music making at Trinity Church as "practical and technically accomplished but insignificant both in musical and religious content."[180] Liberation theology of the early 1970s expected music to be fresh, new and individualized, a match for the socially progressive rhetoric that appeared in many urban American churches at that time. Parker, however, would surely never have concurred with her assessment. Parker's music was not part of that movement. His ideal sound for sacred services was the cosmopolitan style embodied by the Renaissance masters of sacred music. He was offended by any personal element in service music and sought instead a universal, impersonal music that fixed the listener upon the transcendent act of worship, irrespective of any themes of social reform that may have emanated from the pulpit at the time. Clark's dismissal of Parker's music as "insignificant" seems to stem from projecting a later aesthetic on an earlier time.. Parker sought, instead of novelty and individuality, a simplicity and directness that respected sacred music tradition and the service as a whole.

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[179] Kearn, *Parker,* 194.
[180] Clark, "Music in Trinity," 314.

**The *Te Deums***

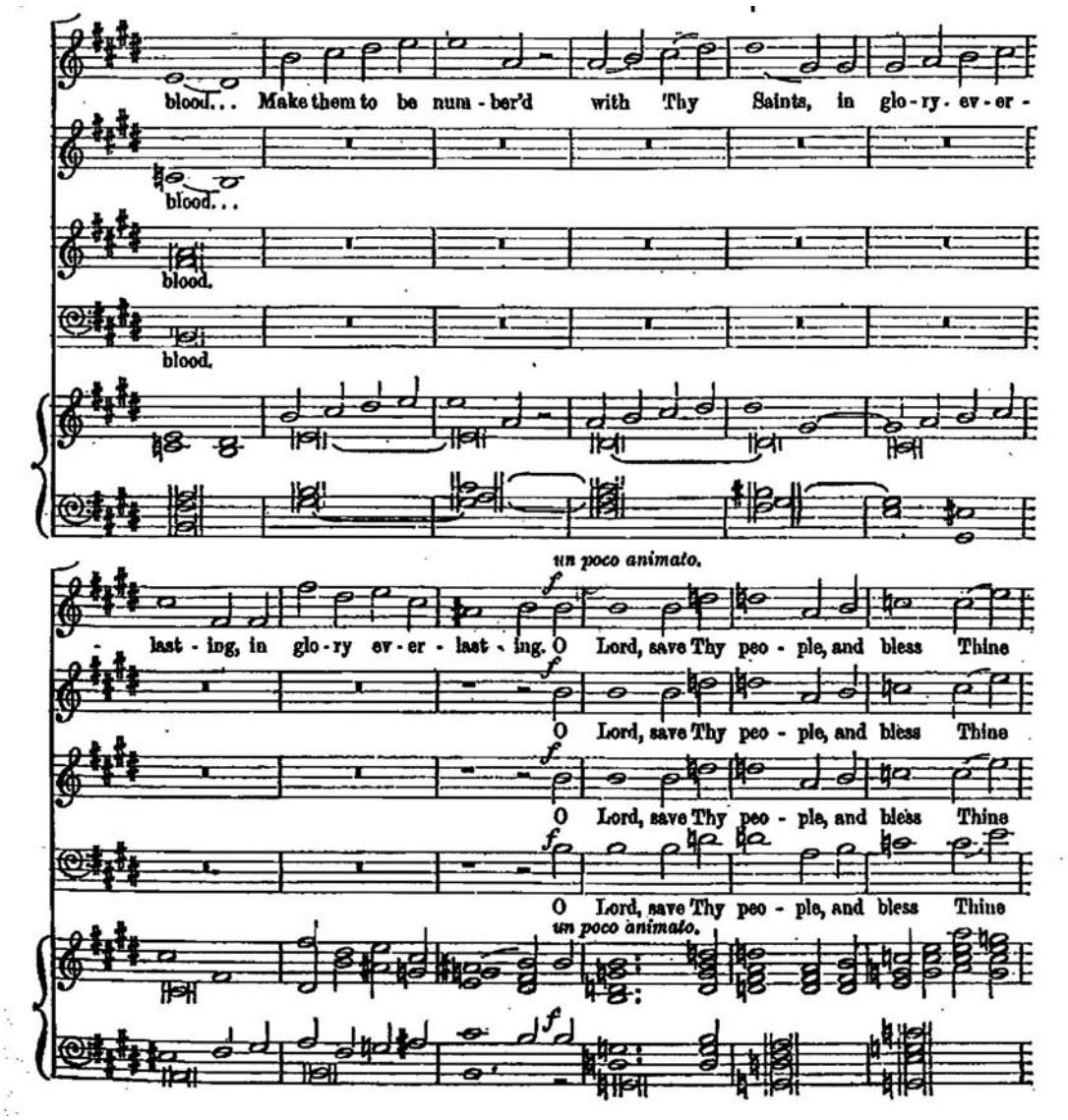
Parker's two *Te Deums*[181] clearly illustrate the qualities he appreciated in church music. Both are set in the older "open note" church style with the half note as the common note value. J. C. D. Parker used the same style of notation for his church *Te Deums*. In addition, both of Horatio Parker's *Te Deums* follow the same ABACA formal structure common to all but one of Buck's *Te Deums,* although this formal structure was not common among American *Te Deums* of the period. Buck's and Parker's use of this structure suggests a common source, quite possibly their German training.

The *Te Deum Laudamus in E* (1892)[182] features rich choral textures, and unlike many of the other *Te Deums* discussed in this chapter, it relies on a full chorus as opposed to a quartet choir. The writing reflects the cosmopolitan style Parker learned from Rheinberger: a studied and polished technique with careful part writing, smooth voice leading, reserved rhythmic movement, and tasteful use of Romantic harmonies. Nonetheless, the score is not weak, imitative, or dull. After a brief chordal organ introduction, the opening theme (m. 5) has a pleasing balance of conjunct motion and leaps, with a dramatic octave leap on F-sharp in the middle of the phrase. Parker provides forward motion by avoiding the tonic in the melody and by maintaining nearly constantly moving half notes passing between the voices and the organ. At measures 152 to 160 he creates attractive two-measure sequenced phrases employing a falling sixth. These phrases are repeated at different pitch levels and create an attractive melodic line (Example 3.18). While the organ usually doubles the voices, it often expands the harmonic texture by adding extra notes not found in the vocal parts. Parker's organ accompaniment stands

[181] Parker wrote a total to three *Te Deums* but the first, the *Te Deum in A*, was not available for this study nor was the author able to locate any commentary on it.
[182] The full score and a midi file of the *Te Deum in E* are located at the *Choralwiki.org* website, http://www.scorser.com/SearchResult.aspx?q=Parker,%20Horatio&l=en&ft=-1&c=0&pn=2 . This score differs from the original publication only in its use of the quarter note as the common beat rather the half note.

in marked contrast to the organ parts of Buck and Chadwick that utilize figured passages with arpeggios, broken chords and other repeated patterns, especially in solo sections. Parker employs more traditional organ devices such as the pedal point found at measures 21-31. The harmonic plan for the *Te Deum in E* is also more conservative than those of Buck, Chadwick, and indeed, many other composers from the period. Rather than changing key at each section of text that

**Example 3.18. Horatio Parker. *Te Deum Laudamus in D,* mm. 146-157**




presents a different mood, Parker creates a more unified work that remains mostly in the tonic key. The work contains brief forays to the tonic minor, dominant, and dominant minor with a few secondary dominant modulations. Table 16 summarizes these changing tonal centers but notes that, in fact, the key signature never changes throughout the work. In his discussion of the *Te Deum in E*, Kearns notes that a "constrained chromaticism is the principal concession made to

the taste of the period."[183] Parker is also less slavish than some of his contemporaries in painting the text but when he does, such as the sudden minor and diminished chords whispered softly at the "thrice Holy" (measures 38-46), he creates a dramatic effect. He bows briefly to convention where he sets the text "open the Kingdom of Heaven" (mm.117-21) on the highest melody note in the piece, a common device among nineteenth-century American *Te Deum* settings. Other than these few examples, text painting is more evident in Parker's secular cantatas and larger religious works than in his service music and anthems.[184]

In contrast to the churchly, cosmopolitan style of the *Te Deum in E*, Parker's *Te Deum in B-Flat* (1893) displays a slightly more popular style. The solo sections, for example, contain figured accompaniments more in keeping with the popular style of Buck and Chadwick mentioned earlier. In addition, the declamation employs much greater use of dotted rhythms than does his earlier *Te Deum in E*; a trait often found in the *Te Deums* of Buck and Chadwick. These developments in Parker's style mirror the changes Kearn notes among Parker's anthem repertoire in general. Parker wrote the bulk of his anthems from 1890 to 1905, the same time his *Te Deums* were composed, so it is not surprising that they share common traits. Among these shared traits are brisk opening themes in a major key, middle sections containing solos, solo quartets, or semi-chorus, and a greater emphasis on chromatic harmony.[185] These two Te Deums also differ in their use of polyphony. The organ introduction of the earlier *Te Deum* is short and rather insignificant while introduction of the *Te Deum Laudamus in B-flat* lasts fifteen measures with florid counterpoint among the treble voices, in largely conjunct motion and with contrary motion between the treble and bass lines all placed over a sustained pedal F (Example 3.19).

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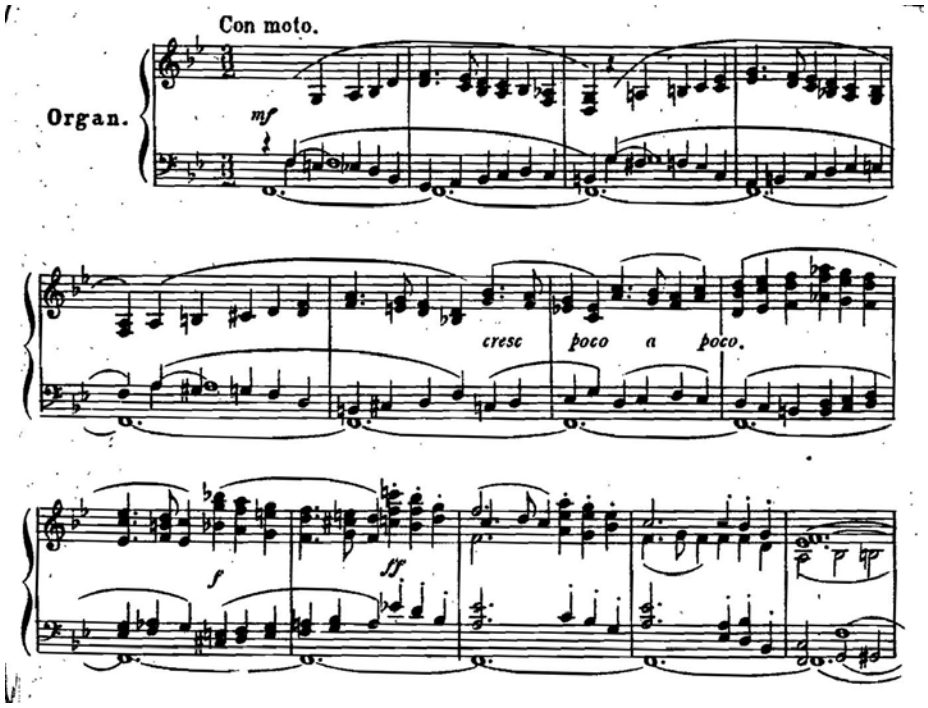
[183] Kearns, *Parker*, 202.
[184] Kearns, *Parker,* 197.
[185] Kearns, *Parker,* 196.

Interestingly, these two contrasting introductions, one chordal and the other contrapuntal, mirror the style of introductions found in Chadwick's two *Te Deums*.

**Example 3.19. Horatio Parker, *Te Deum in B-flat,* mm**




Of Parker's two *Te Deums* Parker, the earlier *Te Deum Laudamus in E,* which is the more constrained and conservative work, proved more popular. It was put to use in parishes quickly after its publication, and by the time of Parker's death in 1919, it was "constantly seen on the choral programs of England."[186] Parker was notable among his American colleagues for his considerable celebrity in England. He traveled to England in the summers of 1890 and 1895 where he heard English choral music in the spacious cathedrals and parish churches. He sought to capture some if its stately reserve in his own compositions, and this seems to have endeared him to the British. In 1899 Parker was bestowed a great honor when he was invited to conduct his *Hora Novissima* at the venerable Three Choirs Festival, where choirs from Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford had convened for over 200 years, and continue to do so. Later, on a

[186] Kearns, *Parker,* 201.

sabbatical trip to England in the winter of 1901–2, Parker heard his *Te Deum Laudamus in E* sung in the cathedral in Worcester. England showed its respect for Parker yet again in awarding him an honorary doctor of music degree from Cambridge in June of 1902. This was a crowning achievement for Parker and marks a milestone for American music. It is noteworthy that in this honor from Cambridge, music in America had, in a sense, come full circle. The first musical strains brought to the shores of America in the early seventeenth century were sacred songs from the Bay Psalm Book, and by the beginning of the twentieth century a representative of the musical culture that had grown from those humble English roots was returning in honor.

**Table 16. Analysis of Horatio Parker's *Te Deum Laudamus in E* (1892)**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-57 | 1-6 | Chorus | E Major | 3/2 / Allegro / *f* | Four measure chordal organ introduction. Homophonic choral writing with some heterophony. "Thrice Holy" set to *pp* minor and diminished sustained chords. **[A]** |
| 58-84 | 7-13 | Chorus | E Major | 4/2 / Half=112 / *f* | Verses 7 and 8 are sung by tenor/bass and soprano/alto respectively. **[B]** |
| 85-92 | 14-15 | Chorus | E Major | 3/2 / Tempo primo / *f* | Homophonic setting of text. At measure 85 (vs. 15) the opening theme returns. **[A]** |
| 93-134 | 16-18 | SATB soli | E Minor* | 3/2 / Slower / *p* | Verse 16 is mostly soprano solo. Quartet comments on solo and SATB quartet combine at vs. 17. Full chorus enters in homophony at vs. 18. All solo or soli passages marked "verse." **[C]** |
| 135-167 | 19-23 | Chorus | B Minor* | 4/2 /Half=92 / *p* | Five measure organ interlude followed by homophonic full chorus. Soprano section sings vs. 21 alone. Full chorus rejoins *f* at vs. 22-23. |

**Table 16. (continued) Analysis of Horatio Parker's *Te Deum Laudamus in E* (1892)**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 168-181 | 24-25 | Chorus | E Major | 3/2 / Tempo primo / *f* | Mostly homophonic chorus with organ doubling the voices. |
| 182-198 | 26-28 | Chorus | B Major* | 4/2 / Slower / *p* | Bass and tenor sections sing in unison and parallel thirds and finally dividing into a four part male chorus before full chorus enters at vs. 29. |
| 199-213 | 29 | Chorus | E Major | 3/2 / Tempo primo / *f* | The opening theme returns to close the work. New harmonies are applied and the voices move primarily in parallel motion in contrast to the greater use of contrary and oblique motion in the opening choral statement. **[A]** |

*****These key changes are not represented by a change in key signature but are present, nonetheless. They are accomplished by the persistent use of accidentals throughout brief sections since the key signature remains constant for the entire composition.

**Table 17. Analysis of Horatio Parker's *Te Deum Laduamus in B-Flat* (1893)**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-46 | 1-6 | Chours | B-Flat Major | 3/2 / Con moto / *mf – ff* | Fourteen-measure, florid polyphonic organ introduction over an F pedal point. Unison voices enter for two measures before dividing into homophony. Alternation between unison and homophony continue throughout choral sections. "Thrice Holy" is set to *pp* sustained chromatic chords**. [A]** |
| 47-80 | 7-13 | Chorus | B-Flat Major | 4/2 / Allegro / *f* | Soli sections at vs. 7 & 8 with chorus joining at cadences on "Praise Thee." Vs. 11-13 use increased polyphony. [**B]** |
| 81-92 | 14-15 | Chorus | B-Flat Major | 4/2 / NA / *ff* | Opening theme restated in new meter. **[A]** |
| 93-110 | 16-17 | Soprano solo | D-Flat/B-Flat Major | 4/2 / NA / *p* | Soprano solo over florid, primarily arpeggiated, accompaniment. **[C]** |
| 111-133 | 18-19 | Chorus | B-Flat Major | 4/2 / Animato / *mf* | Homophonic choral section. |
| 134-149 | 20-22 | Chorus | F-Sharp Minor | 4/2 / NA / *pf* | Heterophonic choral section. Sectional duet between sopranos and tenors at vs. 22. |

**Table 17. (continued) Analysis of Horatio Parker's *Te Deum Laduamus in B-Flat* (1893)**

| *Measure no.* | *Verses* | *Voicing* | *Key* | *Meter/Tempo/ Dynamics* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 150-165 | 23-25 | Chorus | B-Flat Major | 4/2 / NA / *f* | Vs. 23 employs overlapping phrases. Remaining verses are heterophonic. |
| 166- 181 | 26-28 | Soprano solo | B-flat Major | 4/2 / NA / *pp* | Soprano solo line over florid accompaniment with diatonic moving interior and bass line. |
| 182-212 | 29 | Chorus | B-Flat Major | 4/2 / NA / *ff* | Organ interlude echoes material from the opening organ statement followed by homophonic chorus restating opening theme. Descant-like soprano line for the last ten measures. |

# CHAPTER 4

## Conclusions

Discoveries are like stones tossed in a pond; they create a ripple effect, and the ripples they make are larger than the stone that set them in motion. The discovery of two unpublished and unknown *Te Deums* by the one-time "Dean of American composers," George W. Chadwick, was the "stone" that initiated this study and started some ripples of its own. In addition to expanding the list of Chadwick's works, the investigation begun by the two *Te Deum* manuscripts led to several discoveries about Chadwick's development as a composer, explored his relationship with his teacher Dudley Buck, and brought forth a new understanding of the relationship between his faith and his choice of text for musical treatment. The expanding ripples in this study went beyond the limits of Chadwick scholarship to reach the shores of a long-forgotten repertory of nineteenth-century church music, namely the American church (or liturgical) *Te Deum*. For some, this last topic may be more important than the discovery of the manuscripts that started the whole project. Indeed, the identification of style traits for an entire repertory of nineteenth-century church song has wider implications for scholars of both sacred music and nineteenth-century music in America.

Once Chadwick's manuscripts had been transcribed (Appendixes E and F), the next step was to put them in context to understand their significance. No documentation of these *Te Deums* existed nor did Chadwick's writings mention them. The first goal was to place these *Te Deums* into the body of Chadwick's other choral works and investigate how he approached the creation of sacred choral works. This was a fresh field of study,

since no one had focused on Chadwick's choral music in detail, and it led to several significant discoveries.

A careful review of Chadwick's memoirs indicates that he had an early interest in sacred choral music. In his travels to study music in Germany (1877-1880), he recorded attending concerts of sacred choral works by Bach, Mozart and other more contemporary composers. He made many insightful comments about the construction and aesthetic value of these works. His letters from Germany to his friend, Charlie Saunders, speak of an early choral work the two were working on, with Saunders writing the text and Chadwick the music. Later letters speak of a possible Requiem Chadwick hoped to compose. These works, however, never came to fruition. The evidence shows, however, that sacred choral music occupied much of his attention all through his early study of music. Surprisingly, there is no mention of the *Te Deum* he wrote in 1874 before he ever set out to Germany.

Analysis of the 1874 *Te Deum laudamus* reveals that it is derivative of the *Te Deums* of Chadwick's organ teacher, Dudley Buck. Its use of musical materials such as harmony, melody, accompaniment figurations, performing resources and texture closely resemble Buck's *Te Deums*. This supports Faucett's statement that "Chadwick supplemented his education by taking occasional organ lessons with the esteemed Dudley Buck (1839-1909), who may have served as a role model for him."[187] Indeed, examination of the 1874 *Te Deum laudamus* has proven that Buck served as a role model for Chadwick, at least for his earliest work, and this work is the earliest known composition by Chadwick. Buck appeared at a pivotal time in Chadwick's life as he established his foundation as a professional musician and composer. As chapter one

[187] Faucett, *Chadwick Bio-Bibliography*, 2.

indicates, Buck's success as a composer, and a financially successful and respected musician, likely helped Chadwick overcome any lingering reservations he had about entering a musical career over his father's objections.

The next step in contextualizing Chadwick's *Te Deums* involved comparing them with other nineteenth-century American *Te Deums.* As discussed in the preface, this too led to new discoveries, for the nineteenth-century American *Te Deum* has never before been explored. While the concert *Te Deum* might be seen as a sort of crown jewel associated with European statecraft, the less socially prominent church *Te Deum* may be understood as a miniature gem for weekly worship. Scholarly literature has concentrated on the larger form and neglected the value of the smaller. But, in so doing, it has also overlooked the fact that the church *Te Deum* had a greater impact on the lives of average Americans.

American models proved the most useful to this study since they shared a common cultural milieu with Chadwick's *Te Deums*. That milieu included considerations external to the music itself such as the use of chorus choir verses quartet choir; vocal ability of the singers; worship styles and doctrinal issues in the American churches where the *Te Deums* were used and the composers worked; the composers' personal understanding of, and interest in, the text; and finally the state of American music publishing and the demands of the American sacred music market.

This investigation has shown that the nineteenth-century American church *Te Deum* was a functional work; it set the standard liturgical English text to music and it needed to fit into the confines of the Anglican worship services found in America's churches. These confines included a time limitation of about ten minutes, accompaniment

of organ (sometimes piano), and performing forces that ranged from a chorus of amateur singers with limited abilities to a professionally trained quartet. The time limit meant little or no repetition of text and no extended passages of polyphony, since there was no time to develop musical ideas through invention. The uneven supply of accomplished organists, especially before 1860, meant that accompaniments were kept simple and some performance instructions might be required in the scores. The lack of choral ensembles with capable singers limited the composer's options regarding vocal range and complexity, although the evidence indicates that this improved during the last quarter of the century (and when solos were intended for members of the quartet choir). The challenges of creating an interesting and effective musical setting of the *Te Deum*, with its variety of profound emotions from praise to prayers of petition, were met by a set of musical devices and techniques. The skill, imagination and invention with which nineteenth-century American composers manipulated the musical materials at their disposal provide a measure to evaluate the works within this repertory. They approached the challenge of setting the *Te Deum* text in a variety of ways; from simple chordal harmonization in the form of Anglican chant, to sectional works that creatively set the texts employing chorus, solos, various vocal combinations, polyphony, colorful homonizations, and inventive accompaniments.

The final task of this study was to place Chadwick's *Te Deums* in the corpus of the nineteenth-century American *Te Deums* described above. When compared to others in this repertory, Chadwick's two *Te Deums* represent admirable contributions with some unique characteristics. Why Chadwick kept these *Te Deums* among his papers but never completed or published them remains an unanswered question. It seems likely that he

recognized the derivative nature of his 1874 *Te Deum laudamus*. The work could have found a place in the repertoire of American *Te Deums,* for it certainly possessed many of the style traits of similar works of the period and thus met the needs of the churches that might have used it. It was the proper length; it set the text in an interesting and accessible manner; and it provided a vehicle for both chorus and soloists to enhance the worship service. But it appears this was not enough for Chadwick. He seems to have used this *Te Deum laudamus* merely as an exercise to hone his compositional skills, and it was not meant for public consumption. That would need to wait until he had developed his own voice though his training in Europe. In fact, Chadwick did not publish any compositions prior to 1879.

The *Te Deum in D* (circa. 1885) demonstrates Chadwick's firm command of musical resources. Unlike the *Te Deum laudamus*, it is not a derivative work, even though it follows some of the conventional devices used in other nineteenth-century American *Te Deums*. It moves smoothly from polyphony to homophony and varies the texture by contrasting chorus with soloists. The accompaniment makes imaginative use of figurations, skillfully and rapidly changing patterns, mode, tempi, and texture to meet the varied demands of the narrative. The settings of some passages, however, are unique to Chadwick, such as the light-hearted, dance-like treatment of verses 7 and 8. The majestic treatment of verse 29 with its energetic accompaniment underpinning the dynamic, full, and soaring choral statements in long sustained notes is a technique he used again in *The Pilgrims* (1890), and in *Ode for the Opening of the World's Fair held in Chicago* (1892). Despite its documentation of Chadwick's increased skill and individual musical

personality, his *Te Deum in D* remained incomplete and hidden from the world for over one hundred years. This study provides several plausible explanations for this.

The fact that the introduction to the *Te Deum in D* was used as a motive in his setting of Psalm 42 almost unchanged, except for the difference in meter, is significant. The passage that lay fallow in his *Te Deum in D* found full expression in his "Psalm," where the shorter text allowed time for the motive to grow, evolve, and breathe.[188] The other two anthems in his opus 13, the "Evening Hymn," no. 2, and the "Prayer," no. 3, support this conclusion because they each poetically express a few simple concepts and provided Chadwick the opportunity to explore these concepts musically in a relatively short span of time. In addition, these three anthems speak of a generalized relationship with God that is positive, comforting, secure, and requires no act of redemption through Christ. These were concepts warmly embraced by the Universalist Church where Chadwick worked in 1885. The orthodox doctrines stated in the *Te Deum*, especially the references to the Incarnation and substitutionary death of Christ on behalf of "all believers", was incompatible with Unitarian beliefs. The *Te Deum in D*, therefore, held no practical use for Chadwick in his work as a church musician. Earlier Chadwick scholarship has neglected to delved into his religious beliefs. While he may not have been a devout man, Chadwick was a reflective thinker and his writings indicate, and his selection of texts confirms, that he had definite opinions on matters of faith. He was clearly a Unitarian and not sympathetic to the orthodoxy of the Anglican Church.

[188] Both the "Psalm" and *Te Deum in D* were composed in 1885. The question of which work came first is not definitively known. The fact that the melody they shared appears in Chadwick's 1885 sketchbook associated with the *Te Deum* text strongly suggests that the *Te Deum* passage came first. Irrespective of which work borrowed from the other, the fact remains that only the "Psalm" developed the melody motivically.

Although the *Te Deum in D* was not appropriate for Chadwick's Unitarian congregation, it might have found a home in one of the many Anglican churches that maintained a need for such liturgical works. Its length, however, militates against this. At 371 measures, Chadwick's *Te Deum* was almost twice as long as most church *Te Deums*. This fact would not have escaped publishers such as A. P. Schmidt, Oliver Ditson, and G. Schirmer, who knew their markets well and whose publishing records indicate that they would have eagerly published a shorter *Te Deum* had Chadwick written one. The only remaining option for the *Te Deum in D* to get a hearing might have come from a commission for some occasion where a celebratory work was needed. When such an occasion arrived, however, in the form of the commission for the opening of the Chicago World's Fair in 1892, there was no interest in his *Te Deum in D*. Instead, Harriet Monroe supplied a new ode for the nation's celebration. In her "Ode," the nation's blessing and protection came not from God but from the "spirit of Freedom." By 1892 America's national consciousness began to move away from parochial beliefs espoused by any one fellowship of faith and embraced instead a belief in American Triumphalism; freedom and democracy were sufficient for the redemption of society. This concept conformed to Chadwick's own evolving Unitarian Universalist beliefs, and his interest in returning to the *Te Deum* text surely waned.[189] By the start of the twentieth century the time for Chadwick's *Te Deum in D* had passed.

[189] Although the Unitarians and Universalist denominations did not officially merge in the United States until 1961, their beliefs were already seen as two sides of the same coin as early as the nineteenth century. Thomas Starr King (1824-1864) was minister of the Hollis Street Church, Boston from 1848-1860 and stated that "Universalists believe that God is too good to damn people, and the Unitarians believe that people are too good to be damned by God." This is the same church where Chadwick worked from at least 1884 to 1894.

This study suggests other avenues of inquiry that could expand the understanding of Chadwick's music and nineteenth-century sacred choral music. They include investigations into the remaining corpus of Chadwick's sacred choral works. While these works are mentioned in this study, their relationship to the *Te Deum* was the only concern, and thus limited the discussion of them. Turning to the broader study of nineteenth-century American sacred music, other possibilities for study include investigation of various standard sacred texts such as the Jubilate, Benedictus, and Psalm settings. For example, the Library of Congress's *Music for the Nation* database contains ninety-six Jubilate settings (not including Chadwick's "Jubilate in B-flat" of 1895), sixty-six Benedictus settings, and fifty-six Psalm settings published in the United States from 1820 to 1885. All these scores are now readily available online, and a review of these works ought to reveal the nineteenth-century style traits for settings of these texts. Regional studies of these repertories in various parts of the United States, or their use by specific denominations, would also deepen the understanding of America's musical heritage. Similar studies focused on nineteenth-century choral music for holidays such as Christmas, Easter, or even national celebrations should prove equally beneficial.

With his unfinished *Te Deums,* Chadwick cast two small "stones" into the great waters of American music history. And yet, analyzing them has led to a more nuanced understanding of the composer and his music. Furthermore, contextualizing them has initiated an investigation into an entire genre of long-neglected American church music and brought us closer to engaging nineteenth-century American music on its own terms—where it lived and breathed in the spiritual life of average American churchgoers. Putting together musical and socio-cultural perspectives on the *Te Deum* and on other repertoire

from the period brings back to life the music that laid the foundations of our American musical heritage.

# APPENDIX A

## Latin and English Texts of the *Te Deum*

**Latin text**

Te Deum laudamus:
te Dominum confitemur.
Te aeternum Patrem
omnis terra veneratur.
Tibi omnes Angeli;
tibi caeli et universae Potestates;
Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim
incessabili voce proclamant:
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
Pleni sunt caeli et terra
maiestatis gloriae tuae.
Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus,
Te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
Te per orbem terrarum
sancta confitetur Ecclesia,
Patrem immensae maiestatis:
Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium;
Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum.
Tu Rex gloriae, Christe.
Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.
Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,
non horruisti Virginis uterum.
Tu, devicto mortis aculeo,
aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum.
Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes, in gloria Patris.
Iudex crederis esse venturus.
Te ergo quaesumus, tuis famulis subveni:
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.
Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari.
Salvum fac populum tuum,
Domine, et benedic hereditati tuae.
Et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in aeternum.
Per singulos dies benedicimus te;
Et laudamus Nomen tuum in saeculum, et in saeculum saeculi.
Dignare, Domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire.
Miserere nostri domine, miserere nostri.
Fiat misericordia tua,
Domine, super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te.
In te, Domine, speravi:
non confundar in aeternum.

**Translation from the *Book of Common Prayer***

1.We praise thee, O God :
we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.
2. All the earth doth worship thee :
the Father everlasting.
3. To thee all Angels cry aloud :
the Heavens, and all the Powers therein.
4. To thee Cherubim and Seraphim :
continually do cry,
5. Holy, Holy, Holy :
Lord God of Sabaoth;
6. Heaven and earth are full of the Majesty :
of thy glory.
7. The glorious company of the Apostles : praise thee.
8. The goodly fellowship of the Prophets : praise thee.
9. The noble army of Martyrs : praise thee.
10. The holy Church throughout all the world :
doth acknowledge thee;
11. The Father : of an infinite Majesty;
12. Thine honourable, true : and only Son;
13. Also the Holy Ghost : the Comforter.
14. Thou art the King of Glory : O Christ.
15. Thou art the everlasting Son : of the Father.
16. When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man :
thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.
17. When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death :
thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.
18. Thou sittest at the right hand of God : in the glory of the Father.
19. We believe that thou shalt come : to be our Judge.
20. We therefore pray thee, help thy servants :
whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.
21. Make them to be numbered with thy Saints : in glory everlasting.
22. O Lord, save thy people :
and bless thine heritage.
23. Govern them : and lift them up forever.
24. Day by day : we magnify thee;
25. And we worship thy Name : ever world without end.
26. Vouchsafe, O Lord : to keep us this day without sin.
27. O Lord, have mercy upon us : have mercy upon us.
28. O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us :
as our trust is in thee.
29. O Lord, in thee have I trusted :
let me never be confounded.

## APPENDIX B

### Chronological List of George W. Chadwick's Sacred Choral Works

| Date | Title | Voicing | Publisher |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1874 | Te Deum Laudamus (incomplete) | SATB, organ | Unpublished mss. |
| 1882 | Three Sacred Anthems, op. 6 | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1885 | Te Deum (incomplete) | SATB, organ (orch?) | Unpublished mss. |
| 1885 | Three Sacred Quartets, op. 13 (No. 1. As Pants the Hart, No. 2. God Who Madest Earth and Heaven, No. 3. God To Whom We Look Up Blindly) | SATB, piano | Schmidt |
| 1888 | Abide With Me | SAT, organ | Schmidt |
| 1888 | Brightest and Best (Christmas) | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1888 | O Cease My Wandering Soul | SAB | Schmidt |
| 1888 | O Day of Rest | Tenor solo, ATB chorus, organ | Schmidt |
| 1888 | There Were Shepherds (Christmas) | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1889 | Prayer (Thou Who Sendest Sun and Rain) | SATB & Alto solo | Schmidt |
| 1890 | Art Thou Weary | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1890 | God Be Merciful | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1891 | Behold the Works of the Lord | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1891 | Come Hither Ye Faithful | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1891 | Saviour Like a Shepherd | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1891 | While Thee I Seek | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1895 | Awake Up My Glory | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1895 | Jubilate in B-flat | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1895 | Lord of All Power and Might | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1895 | Peace and Light | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1895 | Sentences and Responses | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1895 | The Beatitudes | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1895 | Thou Art Divine | Tenor solo, SATB | Schmidt |
| 1895 | Welcome Happy Morn (anthem_ | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1895 | When the Lord of Love was Here (Hymn) | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1896 | O Holy Child of Bethlehem | Alto solo, SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1897 | Ecce Jam Noctis | TTBB, organ & orch. | Schmidt |
| 1897 | Shout, Ye Highest Heavens (Easter) | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1899 | While Shepherds Watched | SATB | Schmidt |
| 1901 | Chorus of Hebrews | SATB, piano | Schirmer |

| Date | Title | Voicing | Publisher |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1901 | Judith | Mezzo sop., tenor, baritone, and bass soli, SATB chorus, orch. | Schirmer |
| 1902 | Pontius Pilate (incomplete) | SATB soli, SATB Chorus and Orchestra | Unpublished mss. |
| 1902 | Stabat Mater Speciosa | SSAA, piano | Schirmer |
| 1903 | Hark! Hark! My Soul | Alto solo, SATB, organ | Schirmer |
| 1903 | Morn's Roseate Hues (Easter) | Alto & Bass soli, SATB chorus, piano or organ | Novello |
| 1903 | Teach Me Lord | SATB | Ditson |
| 1904 | Savior, Again to Thy Dear Name | Alto solo, SATB, piano or organ | Novello |
| 1904 | Son of My Soul | Tenor solo, SATB, organ | Novello |
| 1904 | Two Anthems for Mixed Voices | SATB, organ | Schirmer |
| 1909 | A Child is Born in Bethlehem (Noel) | SATB | Gray |
| 1909 | Noel (A Christmas Patorale) | SATB soli & SATB double chorus, piano or organ | Gray |
| 1909 | Parvum Quando Cerno Deum (Noel) | SSAA | Gray |
| 1909 | When I View the Mother Holding (Noel) | Women's voices | Gray |
| 1910 | Mary's Lullaby | SSAA, piano | Schmidt |
| 1913 | O Noblest of Judah's Women (Judith) | SATB, organ | Schmidt |
| 1916 | Jehovah Reigns in Majesty | TTBB, organ | Ditson |
| 1925 | A Christmas Greeting | SATB, piano | Schirmer |
| 1930 | A Ballad of Trees and the Master | SATB, piano or organ | Schmidt |

## APPENDIX C

### Chronological list Nineteenth-century American *Te Deums*

| Date | Composer | Title |
|---|---|---|
| 1805 | Carr, Benjamin | Te Deum |
| 1818 | Southgate, Charles | Te Deum |
| 1821 | Meineke, C. | Te Deum |
| 1840 | Banks, Ralph | A Te Deum |
| 1848 | Hommann, C. | Te Deum Laudamus, hymn |
| 1848 | Newland, William Augustine | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1851 | Jackson, Samuel | Te Deum in E-flat |
| 1851 | Jackson, Samuel | Te Deum, in E-flat |
| 1855 | Bristow, George Frederick | Morning service, Te Deum, [op. 19] |
| 1858 | Tuckerman, Samuel Parkman | Te Deum in F |
| 1859 | Thomas, J. R. | Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1860 | Bristow, George Frederick | Praise to God, Op. 33. A choral and instrumental work. |
| 1870 | Allyn, H. S. | Te Deum laudamus in A |
| 1870 | Baumbach, Adolph | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1870 | Tully Frank. D. | Te Deum |
| 1871 | Bailey, N. S. | Te Deum laudamus in c |
| 1871 | Carozzi, N. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1871 | E. Y. D. | Te Deum |
| 1871 | Gerrish, William H. | Te Deum |
| 1871 | Goldsborough, Alex. M. | Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1871 | Goold, G. Walter | Te Deum laudamus (chant) |
| 1871 | Kroell, F. | Te Deum in A |
| 1871 | Kroell, F. | Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1871 | Kroell, F. | Te Deum in C |
| 1871 | Kroell, F. | Te Deum in D |
| 1871 | Loretz, John M. Jr. | Te Deum in E-flat |
| 1871 | Thomas, J. R. | Te Deum in F |
| 1871 | Whiteley, S. B. | Te Deum in A-flat |
| 1872 | Berg, Albert W. | Te Deum in C |
| 1872 | Cornell, J. H. | Te Deum laudamus [for cong.] |
| 1872 | Knopfel, G. C. | Grand Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1872 | Mayer, Carl | Te Deum |
| 1872 | Mosenthal, Joseph | Te Deum |
| 1872 | Pease, Alfred H. | Te Deum in F |
| 1872 | Porter, John S. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1872 | Vliet, J. R. van | Te Deum |
| 1873 | Darely, Fracis T. S. | Te Deum Laudamus in A-flat |
| 1873 | Darely, Fracis T. S. | Te Deum Laudamus in F |
| 1873 | North, J. M. | Te Deum |
| 1874 | Clarke, H. A. | Te Deum (chant) |
| 1874 | Ellis, S. A. | Te Deum |
| 1874 | Lloyd, Thomas S. | Te Deum Laudamus in B-flat |
| 1874 | Steele, J. Nevett Jr. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1874 | Zundel, John | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1875 | Allstrom, J. V. | Te Deum laudamus |

| Date | Composer | Title |
|---|---|---|
| 1875 | Berg, Albert W. | Te Deum in G |
| 1875 | Burnap, U. C. | Te Deum |
| 1875 | Jones, Fred. Kenyon | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1875 | Mueller, J. Max. | Te Deum laudamus in A-flat |
| 1875 | Steele, J. Nevett Jr. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1875 | Trench, R. R. | Te Deum |
| 1876 | Cornell, J. H. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1876 | Fairbank, H. W. | Te Deum in D |
| 1876 | Fuller, H. F. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1876 | George W. Morgan | Te Deum in E-flat |
| 1876 | Lejeal, Alois F. | Te Deum laudamus in C |
| 1876 | Tattam, George J. | Te Deum (chant) |
| 1876 | Whitney, S. B. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 6 |
| 1877 | Ashforth, George | Te Deum in D |
| 1877 | Jacoby, Louis C. | Te Deum in G |
| 1877 | Marsh, John B. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1877 | Warren, Samuel P. | Te Deum in C |
| 1877 | Whitney, Mary L. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1878 | Baumbach, Adolph | Te Deum laudamus in E-flat, no. 2 |
| 1878 | Hoelter, H. F. | Te Deum |
| 1878 | Kelly, William S. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1878 | Poole, M. E. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1878 | Trott, W. B. | Te Deum |
| 1878 | Weninger, Rev. P. F. X. | Te Deum |
| 1879 | Bristow, George Frederick | Morning Service in C; Te Deum op. 54 |
| 1879 | Cross, M. H. | Te Deum laudamus in E-flat |
| 1879 | Ford, Charles R. | Te Deum, in B-flat |
| 1879 | Geibel, Adam | Short Festival Te Deum in A |
| 1879 | Gutterson, A. C. | Te Deum in F |
| 1879 | Rogers, James H. | Chant Te Deum |
| 1879 | Rogers, James H. | Te Deum laudamus in A-flat |
| 1879 | Witherspoon, Rev. O. | "Hosanna" Te Deum (chant) |
| 1879 | Witherspoon, Rev. O. | "Old hundred" Te Deum (chant) |
| 1879 | Witherspoon, Rev. O. | "Russian hymn" Te Deum |
| 1879 | Yoakley, John | Te Deum |
| 1880 | Downs, Samuel M. | Te Deum in A-flat |
| 1880 | Emerson, Irving | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1880 | Fairlamb, J. Remington | Te Deum in C |
| 1880 | Ives, C. F. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 2 |
| 1880 | Millard, Harrison | Te Deum (in C) |
| 1880 | Nedham, T. S. | Te Duem |
| 1880 | Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in A-flat, no. 24 |
| 1880 | Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in C, no. 17 |
| 1880 | Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in D |
| 1880 | Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in E |
| 1880 | Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in G, no. 13 |
| 1880 | Rogers, James H. | Chant, Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1880 | Southwick, W. | Te Deum |
| 1880 | Stearns, F. A. | Te Deum in B-flat |

| Date | Composer | Title |
|---|---|---|
| 1881 | Baumbach, Adolph | A New Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1881 | Boise, O. B. | Te Deum laudamus in G |
| 1881 | Bristow, George Frederick | Te Deum in F (op. 58) |
| 1881 | Buck, Dudley | Festival Te Deum, no 8 (op. 89. No.1) |
| 1881 | Everson, John Q. | Te Deum |
| 1881 | Hodges, J. S. B. | Te Deum |
| 1881 | Hodges, Rev. Jubal | St. Mark's Te Deum in C |
| 1881 | Hoffman, Richard | Te Deum |
| 1881 | Holden, Albert J. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1881 | Jewett, Frederick D. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1881 | Mietzke, George A. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1881 | Mosenthal, Joseph | Te Deum |
| 1881 | Mueller, J. Max. | Te Deum |
| 1881 | Parke, Rev. R. N. | Te Deum laudamus, No. 22 |
| 1881 | Quin, J. Scrugham | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1881 | Stradella, William F. | Te Deum |
| 1881 | Warren, George William | Te Deum Laudamus in D major |
| 1881 | Wright, Rev. J. T. | Te Deum laudamus in A-flat |
| 1881 | Zundel, John | Te Deum laudamus, no. 2 in F |
| 1882 | Allmuth, A. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1882 | Barrett, Francis J. | Te Deum in B-flat; Chant |
| 1882 | Calkin, J. B. | Te Deum laudamus, no 27 |
| 1882 | Campiglio, Paolo F. | Te Deum in F |
| 1882 | Fay, C. K. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1882 | Gilbert. L. | Te Deum |
| 1882 | Hancock, Mrs. General W. S. | Grand Te Deum laudamus |
| 1882 | Held, Ernst | Te Deum |
| 1882 | Mants, Leo H. | Te Duem |
| 1882 | Murphy, Thomas P. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 25 |
| 1882 | Noelsch, William | Te Deum, in D |
| 1882 | Palmer, A. H. | We praise thee, O God; Te Deum |
| 1882 | Schaffter, Florian | Te Deum laudamus; E minor |
| 1883 | Alzamora, Juan | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1883 | Brown, J. S. | Te Deum in A-flat |
| 1883 | Daland, William C. Daland | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1883 | Danks, H. P. | Te Deum laudamus in G |
| 1883 | Florio, Caryl | Unison Te Deum in C |
| 1883 | G. F. R. | S. S. Te Deum (vs. 1-6 only) |
| 1883 | Gilchrist, W. W. | Te Deum in F |
| 1883 | Gilchrist, W. W. | Te Deum in G |
| 1883 | Gouvy, Theodore | Festival Te Deum in D |
| 1883 | Littleton, Alfred H. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 35 |
| 1883 | Lyon, Richard | Morning and evening service; Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1883 | Meyer, Julius Eduard Meyer | Te Deum |
| 1883 | Pilcher, William H. | Te Deum laudamus in A |
| 1883 | Stewart, R. P. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1883 | Studds, W. F. | We praise thee, O God; Te Deum |
| 1883 | Warren, George William | Te Deum and Jubilate Deo |
| 1883 | Waud, J. Haydn | Te Deum in G, no. 3 |

| Date | Composer | Title |
|---|---|---|
| 1883 | Yoakley, John | Te Deum laudamus in E-flat |
| 1884 | Ambrose, R. S. | We praise thee, O God; Te Deum in G |
| 1884 | Andrews, J. Warren [and] Matthews, T. R. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 37 |
| 1884 | Boetefuehr, W. D. C. | Te Deum |
| 1884 | Boott, Francis (1813-1904) | Te Deum |
| 1884 | Bruche, Carl | We praise thee, O God. Te Deum in C |
| 1884 | Buck, Dudley | Festival Te Deum |
| 1884 | Buck, Dudley | Short Te Deum |
| 1884 | Buck, Dudley | Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1884 | Caswell, Albert S. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1884 | Fisk, Frank P. | Te Deum laudamus in E-flat |
| 1884 | Henry, J. A. | Te Deum |
| 1884 | Holden, Albert J. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1884 | Kendall, A. S. | Te Deum in C major |
| 1884 | Know, James C. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1884 | Rutenber, C. B. | Te Deum laudamus for festivals |
| 1884 | Trott, W. B. | St. Paul's Te Deum laudamus |
| 1884 | Waith, Wiliam S. | Te Deum in D-flat |
| 1884 | Wiegand, John | Te Deum laudamus in F |
| 1884 | Wilbur, Rev. S. Sidney | Te Deum |
| 1885 | Alzamora, Juan | Te Deum in G |
| 1885 | Barnett, J. G. | Short festival Te Deum |
| 1885 | Bartlett, Maro L. | Te Deum in A |
| 1885 | Buck, Dudley | Festival Te Deum no. 7 in E-flat |
| 1885 | Buck, Dudley | Short Te Deum (no. 6) in E-flat |
| 1885 | Buck, Dudley | Te Deum (no 4) in C |
| 1885 | Buck, Dudley | Te Deum (No. 5) in B minor |
| 1885 | Corbin, J. Ross | Te Deum laudamus; In C |
| 1885 | Gerrish, William H. | Te Deum laudamus in A-flat |
| 1885 | Hodges, Faustina H. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1885 | Hodges, Faustina H. | Chant; Te Deum in D |
| 1885 | Holden, Albert J. | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1885 | Holden, Albert J. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 4 |
| 1885 | Millard, Harrison | Te Deum in G |
| 1885 | Noelsch, William | Te Deum in A-flat |
| 1885 | Pierce, Frank H. | Te Deum in A |
| 1885 | Pontius, W. H. | Te Deum laudamus in D |
| 1885 | Rogers, James H. | Chant te Deum, no. 7 in G |
| 1885 | Schaffter, Florian | Te Deum laudamus |
| 1885 | Studley, S. L. | Te Deum in F |
| 1885 | Willey, O. S. | Te Deum |
| 1885 | Young, Charles I. | Te Deum laudamus no. 39 |
| 1886 | Foote, Arthur | Te Deum in E-flat op. 7 |
| 1889 | Foote, Arthur | Te Deum in B-flat |
| 1890 | Foote, Arthur | Te Deum in D |
| 1891 | Buck, Dudley | Fistival Te Deum, No. 9, in C |
| 1892 | Parker, Horatio | Te Deum laudamus in E |
| 1893 | Garland, Rufus C. | Te Deum |
| 1893 | Parker, Horatio | Te Deum Laudamus in B-flat |

# APPENDIX D

## Table 18. Nineteenth-century American *Te Deums* Examined for this Study

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allmuth, A. | Te Deum laudamus | 1882 | Brooklyn: A. Allmuth | B-flat maj. | 4/4 NA | Standard treatment of text except for extended and interesting polyphonic treatment of verse 21. 11 pages |
| Allstrom, J. V. | Te Deum laudamus | 1875 | New York: S. T. Gordon & Son | C maj | 4/4 NA | Simple anthem. Occasional chant sections. Solos and chorus with very simple organ part doubling voices. 8 pages. |
| Allyn, H. S. | Te Deum laudamus in A | 1870 | Albany: J. H. Hidly | A maj | 4/4 Maestoso | Moderately simple setting. Mostly homophonic choral writing with some melismas and imitative passages. Easy organ accompaniment mostly doubling chorus. |
| Alzamora, Juan | Te Deum laudamus | 1883 | New York : George Molineux | F maj | 4/4 | Uneven anthem. Some attractive melodies but they do not always fit the mood of the text. Declamation awkward in spots. Very chromatic but not always to good effect. Independent keyboard part. Florid solo lines somewhat theatrical. 12 pages. |
| Alzamora, Juan | Te Deum in G | 1885 | New York : George Molineux | G maj | 4/4 | Anthem intended for quartette choir with chorus. Independent organ part. Little contrapuntal invention. 11 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andrews, J. Warren [and] Matthews, T. R. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 37 | 1884 | Medford [MA] : Charles L. Hutchings | C maj | 4/4 Andante | Simple hymn-like setting with occasional chant. No independent organ part. 4 pages. |
| Bailey, N. S. | Te Deum laudamus in C | 1871 | New York: William A. Pond | C maj | 4/4 NA | Easy anthem for chorus sand solos. Chant section on v.s. 7.8 & .9. |
| Barnett, J. G. | Short festival Te Deum | 1885 | Philadelphia : F. A. North & Co. | B-flat maj. | 4/4 Allegro Moderato | Attractive anthem with independent organ part. Easy choral parts with imitative sections and solo passages. |
| Baumbach, Adolph | Te Deum laudamus | 1870 | Chicago: Lyon & Healy | E-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro | Moderately easy choral parts. Largely homophonic with brief contrapuntal sections. Independent, florid organ accomp. Organ begins with fanfare-like introduction. |
| Baumbach, Adolph | Te Deum laudamus in E-flat, no. 2 | 1878 | Cincinnati : George D. Newhall | E-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro | Similar to his 1870 Te Deum but no introduction. |
| Baumbach, Adolph | A New te Deum in B-flat | 1881 | New York: William A. Pond | B-flat maj. | 4/4 Allegro | Anthem designed for quartette choirs. Frequent key and meter changes. Semi independent organ accompaniment. 13 pages |
| Berg, Albert W. | Te Deum in C | 1872 | New York: William A. Pond | C maj | NA | Simple Anglican chant designed for congregation or quartette choir. Organ doubles voices parts. 3 pages. |
| Boise, O. B. | Te Deum laudamus in G | 1881 | New York: Edward Schuberth | G maj | 2/2 Allegro maestoso | Moderately easy anthem. Tenor and bass solos and Duet for soprano and alto. Semi independent organ part becomes more florid in solo and duet passages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boott, Francis (1813-1904) | Te Deum | 1884 | Boston : Oliver Ditson & Co. | F maj | 3/4 | Melodious anthem. Indicative of Boott's success in writing popular secular songs. Four bar sequences repeated for effect. Tuneful vocal lines. More contrapuntal writing than usual for a service Te Deum of the period. Accompaniment more pianistic with frequent arpeggios and broken chords, but with instructions for organist to hold tremolo chords, etc. Somewhat theatrical in its dramatic treatment of the text. Few modulations 17 pages. |
| Bristow, George Frederick | Praise to God, Op. 33. A choral and instrumental work. | 1860 | Boston : O. Ditson | C maj. | 4/4 Allegro | See pages 72-75 for details |
| Bristow, George Frederick | Te Deum in F (op. 58) | 1881 | New York: George F. Bristow | F maj | 4/4 | No introduction. Homophonic choral parts with florid solos. Repeated motive at vss. 7, 8, & 9. Unison used for dramatic effect. 12 pages. |
| Bristow, George Frederick | Morning Service in C; Te Deum op. 54 | 1879 | New York: William A. Pond | C maj | 3/4 Allegro Maestoso | Unison choral statement followed by melismatic part writing with highly florid and independent organ accomp. Attractive Choral parts much more heterophonic than other Te Deums of the period. Melodies in solos and choir have ranges beyond the octave. Chromatic harmonies are highly dramatic but avoid sentimentality. Outstanding work that deserves a modern hearing. 14 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Buck, Dudley | Festival Te Deum, no 8 (op. 89. No.1) | 1881 | New York : G. Schirmer | G maj | 4/4 Allegro Moderato | See table 13, pages 126-28 for details. |
| Buck, Dudley | Festival Te Deum | 1884 | New York : G. Schirmer | D maj | 4/4 | Attractive moderately difficult anthem. Vigorous opening theme is repeated twice in later sections providing unity. Inventive organ part throughout. Solos vary from recitative to arioso. Quartet voices contrast with full chorus. Text repeated in places to accommodate musical phrases (usually four bar). Richly chromatic with Romantic harmonies. 12 pages. |
| Buck, Dudley | Short Te Deum | 1884 | New York : G. Schirmer | D maj | 4/4 | Brief anthem with no text repetition. Organ intro and unison choral statement begin and end the anthem. Usual four and eight bar phrases with a few exceptions to accommodate text. 10 pages. |
| Buck, Dudley | Te Deum in B-flat | 1884 | New York : G. Schirmer | B-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro con spirito | See table 6, pages 112-13 for details. |
| Buck, Dudley | Festival Te Deum no. 7 in E-flat | 1885 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | E-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro con spirito | See table 12, pages 123-25 for details. |
| Buck, Dudley | Short Te Deum (no. 6) in E-flat | 1885 | Boston : O. Ditson | E-flat maj | 4/4 Allgro con spirito | See table 11, page 122 for details |
| Buck, Dudley | Te Deum (no 4) in C | 1885 | Boston : Oliver Ditson & Co. | C maj | 4/4 Allegro con fuoco | See table 9, page 118-19 for details. |
| Buck, Dudley | Te Deum (No. 5) in B minor | 1885 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | b min | 3/4 : allegro energico | Organ introduction followed by vs. 1-3 sung by unison voices. Highly independence orgam part. See table 10, pages 120-21 for details. |
| Carozzi, N. | Te Deum laudamus | 1871 | New York, G. N. Carozzi | | | Moderately difficult. Semi independent organ accomp. Extended fugal ending. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carr, Benjamin | Te Deum | 1805 | Baltimore: Privately printed | | 4/4 | See pages 48-50 for details. |
| Corbin, J. Ross | Te Deum laudamus; In C | 1885 | Philadelphia : F. A. North & Co. | C maj | 4/4 | Conventional anthem setting of the Te Deum. Chant at vs. 7, 8, & 9. Inventive accompaniment for solos but not for chorus. Conventional four bar phrases. 10 pages. |
| Cornell, J. H. | Te Deum laudamus | 1876 | New York : G. Schirmer | B-flat maj | 4/2 NA | Easy anthem. Uses Cantoris and Decanti. |
| Darley, Francis T. S. | Te Deum Laudamus in A-flat | 1873 | Philadelphia: W. H. Boner & Co. | A-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro | Anthem with the same printing convention at his Te Deum in F; tenor and alto are placed on separate treble lines while soprano and bass read from the keyboard score. Composition dated Organ part becomes more figurated and independent in solo passages. Mildly expressive. 10 pages. |
| Darley, Francis T. S. | Te Deum Laudamus in F | 1873 | Philadelphia: W. H. Boner & Co. | F maj | 4/4 Allegro moderato | Easy anthem. Smooth but unimaginative part writing. Curious printing convention; tenor and alto are presented on two top treble lines and soprano and bass read from the keyboard score. |
| Fairlamb, J. Remington | Te Deum in C | 1880 | Cincinnati : George D. Newhall | C maj | 4/4 : Allegro moderato | Moderately easy anthem with largely independent organ accomp. Vocal ranges and melodic leaps larger usual for the period. Notable declamation in setting "Thou art the King" using "Scotch snap.' Several a cappella sections. Dedicated to Dudley Buck. 14 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Florio, Caryl | Unison Te Deum in C | 1883 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | C maj | 2/2 | Unison setting to text over homophonic organ accompaniment. No ornamentation or contrapuntal writing. 7 pages. |
| Foot, William Frederick | Te deum laudamus | 1885 | Boston : Oliver Ditson & Co. | C maj | 2/4 | Hymn setting for choir or congregational use. Organ doubles voices with a few cues for additions to harmony or descant. 4 pages. |
| Ford, Charles R. | Te Deum, in B-flat | 1879 | Boston : Arthur P. Schmidt | B-flat maj. | 4/4 Allegro | Anthem written specifically for quartette choir. Organ supports voices throughout. Smooth part writing but with wide range for soprano. |
| Fuller, H. F. | Te Deum laudamus | 1876 | Chicago: R. R. Meredith | NA | NA | Anglican chant throughout with organ. 3 pages. |
| Geibel, Adam | Short Festival Te Deum in A | 1879 | Philadelphia : F. A. North & Co. | A maj | 4/4 Largo | Easy anthem. First five pages mostly chant. Florid solo follows and chorus and organ become more independent. |
| Henry, J. A. | Te Deum | 1884 | Cincinnati : John Church | C maj | 4/4 | No intro. Independent organ part throughout the anthem with some arpeggios, scalar runs, and broken chords. Frequent modulations. More interest in solo lines than choral writing. Little contrapuntal invention. 15 pages. |
| Hodges, Faustina H. | Te Deum laudamus | 1885 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | A maj | NA | Organ introduction. Text set to Anglican chant throughout. No modulation. 4 pages. |
| Hodges, Faustina H. | Chant; Te Deum in D | 1885 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | D maj | NA | Text set to Anglican chant throughout. Modulates to A major for vs. 20-23. 4 pages. |
| Hodges, Rev. Jubal | St. Mark's Te Deum in C | 1881 | Philadelphia: W. H. Boner & Co. | NA | NA | Chant setting of text. 7 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Holden, Albert J. | Te Deum laudamus | 1881 | New York: William A. Pond | E-flat maj | 4/4 : Maestoso | Dedicated to Dudley Buck. Easy anthem. Chorus homophonic. Solos with more inventive accomp. Mild chromaticism. Uncomplicated organ accomp. 17 pages. |
| Holden, Albert J. | Te Deum laudamus | 1884 | New York : William A. Pond | B-flat maj | NA | Heavy use of Anglican chant with organ doubling the voices. Several solos with simple organ accomp. 15 pages. |
| Holden, Albert J. | Te Deum laudamus | 1885 | New York : George Molineux | F maj | 4/4 : Allegro moderato | Choral parts are mainly homophonic with one note per syllable. Solos are more florid. Organ part rather simple and uninventive. 11 pages. |
| Holden, Albert J. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 4 | 1885 | Boston : Oliver Ditson & Co. | G maj | 4/4 : Allergro moderato. | Attractive part writing though largely homophonic. Uncomplicated but effective organ accomp. Use of sequenced phrases provides cohesion to melodic lines. Tuneful solos with attractively figurated accomp. Some unexpected harmonies add interest for the listener. 12 pages |
| Hommann, C. | Te Deum Laudamus, hymn | 1848 | Philadelphia: Hupfeld and Son | C maj | 2/2 Allegro Assai e Spiritoso : M.M.=88 | Attractive anthem. Semi independent organ part with brief interludes and arpeggiated chords. Points of imitiation among voices at vs. 18. Effective setting of text. Noteworthy contrapuntal, fugue-like writing at vss. 24-29. One of the finest Te Deum settings of the period. 15 pages. |
| Ives, C. F. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 2 | 1880 | New York: William A. Pond | F maj | 4/4/ NA | Primarily Anglican chant with solos and quartette part for variety. 3 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jackson, Samuel | Te Deum in E-flat | 1851 | New York: William Hall & Son | E-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro ma con spirito | Modest but effective contrapuntal writing. Fugue indicated at vs. 14 (more of a fugato). Effective text painting with modulations and shift of mode. 18 pages. |
| Jacoby, Louis C. | Te Deum in G | 1877 | New York: William A. Pond | G maj | 4/4 Allegro | Moderately difficult anthem. Elaborate accompaniment in solo sections. |
| Jewett, Frederick D. | Te Deum laudamus | 1881 | New York: S. T. Gordon & Son | C maj | 4/4 NA | Easy anthem. Occasional chant sections. Mild dissonance. Chorus, solo, and a capella section. |
| Jones, Fred. Kenyon | Te Deum laudamus | 1875 | New York: William A. Pond | G maj | 4/4 con spirito | Moderately easy anthem with ornamented vocal lines suggesting this was intended for quartet choir. Elaborate organ part with detailed performing instructions reveals composer is also organist. 21 pages. |
| Kelly, William S. | Te Deum laudamus | 1878 | n.l. : n. p. | | | |
| Kendall, A. S. | Te Deum in C major | 1884 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | C maj | 3/4 : Allegro | No introduction. Homophonic choral writing. Effective women's choir (Angel choir) setting of vss. 3-5. Traditional chant treatment of vs. 7 & 8 but canonic treatment of vs. 9. A capella quartet section at vs. 19. Soprano solo with choral and organ accomp. on vs. 26. Easy but effective part writing with timeless melodic phrasing. 15 pages. |
| Knopfel, G. C. | Grand Te Deum in B-flat | 1872 | New York: William A. Pond | B-flat maj. | 4/4 Allegro Moderato | Anthem designed for double or single quartette choir. Accompaniments to solos are inventive. 21 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kroell, F. | Te Deum in A | 1871 | New York: William A. Pond | A maj | 4/4 Allegro con spirito | Easy anthem. Organ doubles voices and adds to harmony and provides interludes. Easy solo sections. 12 pages. |
| Kroell, F. | Te Deum in B-flat | 1871 | New York: William A. Pond | B-flat maj. | 4/4 Allegro Moderato | Anthem with strong, noble opening in organ and chorus. Chants at vs. 7, 8, & 9. Treatment of vs. 19 is rhythmic and memorable. Interesting use of compound meter at vs. 22. Vs. 29 set with full chorus on long notes makes effective ending. 12 pages. |
| Kroell, F. | Te Deum in C | 1871 | New York: William A. Pond | C maj | 3/2 Allegro maestoso | Dramatic anthem. Unisons used to good effect. Organ more independent than many contemporaries with arpeggios, broken chords, and repeated chords supporting solo passages. 12 pages. |
| Kroell, F. | Te Deum in D | 1871 | New York: William A. Pond | D maj | 3/4 Allegro Maestoso | Anthem employing similar techniques as Kroell's other three Te Deums with regard to use of organ, meter, harmonies and solos. 14 pages. |
| Lejeal, Alois F. | Te Deum laudamus in C | 1876 | San Francisco: M. Grey | C maj | 4/4 Allegro con spirito | Moderately easy anthem indicated for quartette choir. Independent organ part becomes quite florid and figurated in solo passages. Last verse repeated and extended. 27 pages. |
| Lloyd, Thomas S. | Te Deum Laudamus in B-flat | 1874 | New York: William A. Pond | B-flat maj. | 4/4 Andante maestoso | Anthem with instrumental accompaniment (or organ) cues for orchestral instruments. Inventive accompaniment. Easy choral and solo parts. 14 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mants, Leo H. | Te Duem | 1882 | New York : G. Schirmer | A maj | 3/4 Adagio | Adagio opening, unison organ then voices enter. Notable setting of vs. 4 with a capella solo voices singing a complex chromatic passage including a measure of parallelisms. Independent organ accomp. Imaginative setting of text. Text repeated for extended treatment and dramatic effect. 9 pages. |
| Marsh, John B. | Te Deum laudamus | 1877 | New York: William A. Pond | B-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro non troppo | Simple anthem. Semi independent accomp. Solos and chorus. |
| Meineke, C. | A Te Deum : | 1821 | Baltimore : John Cole | | | See page 61 for details. |
| Mietzke, George A. | Te Deum laudamus | 1881 | New York: Schuberth & Co. | B-flat maj | 4/4 Maestoso | Anthem. Semi independent accomp. Chorus and solos. |
| Millard, Harrison | Te Deum (in C) | 1880 | New York: S. T. Gordon & Son | C maj | 4/4 Andante maestoso | No into. One chord give the key and unison voices enter and divide into harmony on third measure. Chant at vs. 6,7, &8 but divided among voices rather than unison or homophonic. Shift to minor at mention of Holy Spirit .Florid accompaniment in solo passages and solos have larger leaps than choir and ornamentations. Canonic vocal entrances a capella at vs.19 in a minor. At vs. 25 voices are independent and bass and also have contrapuntal rising line against soprano and tenor static line. Above average work. 13 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Millard, Harrison | Te Deum in G | 1885 | New York : George Molineux | G maj | 4/4 | One meas. Intro. Opening choral statement return in closing verses. Semi independent accomp. Becomes more figurated in solo passages. Solos in minor mode at vs. 17 and 26. Call and response section at vs. 19. Little contrapuntal writing. Indicated that should be performed in less than 7 mins. |
| Morgan,George W. | Te Deum in E-flat | 1876 | New York: William A. Pond | E-flat maj | 4/4 NA | Easy anthem with organ doubling chorus. Choir, solos, and quartette sections provide variety. 19 pages.. |
| Mueller, J. Max. | Te Deum laudamus in A-flat | 1875 | New York: William A. Pond | A-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro maestoso | Anthem. No independent accomp. Several highly chromatic sections. |
| Murphy, Thomas P. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 25 | 1882 | Medford [MA] : Charles L. Hutchings | D maj | 4/4 Moderate | Short hymn-like anthem with chanted sections. Brief organ interlude otherwise organ doubles voices. Four modulations. 4 pages. |
| Newland, William Augustine | Te Deum laudamus | 1848 | Philadelphia: W. A. Newland | C maj | 4/4 Moderato | Interesting and attractive anthem. Much text painting with heralding trumpets in organ to reference God the Father. Smooth transitions between sections. Inventive accompaniments in solo sections. Organ adds rhythmic interest in slower sections. Presto ending noteworthy. 16 pages. |
| Noelsch, William | Te Deum in A-flat | 1885 | Philadelphia : William Noelsch | A-flat maj | NA | Anglican chant throughout with organ. 3 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Noelsch, William | Te Deum, in D | 1882 | Philadelphia : William Noelsch | D maj | 4/4 | Conventional setting of text. Semi independent organ part. Unison statement in first two bars but does not reappear. Contraputal writing in last two verses. 13 pages. |
| North, J. M. | Te Deum | 1873 | St. Louis: Balmer & Weber | C maj | 3/2 Allegro vivace | Moderately easy anthem. Unaccompanied female trio at vs. 16. Semi independent organ accomp. throughout. 14 pages. |
| Parke, Rev. R. N. | Te Deum laudamus, No. 22 | 1881 | Medford [MA] : Charles L. Hutchings | G maj | 2/4 NA | Anthem with hymn-like setting. No accompaniment. Use of Cantoris and Decanti. 4 pages. |
| Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in A-flat, no. 24 | 1880 | Boston : Oliver Ditson & Co. | A-flat maj | 4./2 Allegro | Easy anthem. Smooth, effective harmonies and modulations. Solos melodious but choral parts less inventive. Organ mostly doubles choir. Specifically designed for quartet choir. 16 pages. |
| Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in C, no. 17 | 1880 | Boston : Oliver Ditson & Co. | C maj | 4/2 Allegro | Moderately easy anthem. Well crafted with smooth part writing and effective harmonies. Cascading phrases at vs. 7, 8, & 9 particularly attractive. Semi independent organ part. 20 pages. |
| Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in D | 1880 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | D maj | 4/2 Allegro | Moderately easy anthem. Smooth, elegant voice leading. Mild dissonances. Attractive solo passages. 20 pages. |
| Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in E | 1880 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | E maj | 3/4 Molto Allegro | Attractive easy anthem. Smooth part writing for both choir and soloists. Organ largely supports voices. Sonorities are full and rich. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Parker, J. C. D. | Te Deum in G, no. 13 | 1880 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | G maj | 4/2 NA | Easy anthem. Smooth, attractive harmonies but little melodic invention. Churchly sound. Mostly chorus with solo sections. Easy organ part doubles voices. 17 pages. |
| Parker, Horatio | Te Deum laudamus in E | 1892 | New York: H.W. Gray Co. | E maj | 4./2 Allegro | See table 16, pages 168-69 for details. |
| Parker, Horatio | Te Deum Laudamus in B-flat | 1893 | New York: G. Schirmer | B-flat maj | 4/2 Con moto | See table 17, pages 170-71 for details. |
| Pease, Alfred H. | Te Deum in F | 1872 | New York: William A. Pond | F maj | 4/4 Allegro moderato | Anthem of moderate difficulty. Semi independent organ part with a capella sections for solo and trio. Organ interludes between sections. 12 pages. |
| Quin, J. Scrugham | Te Deum laudamus | 1881 | New York: S. T. Gordon & Son | G maj | 3/2 NA | Easy anthem. Organ interludes. Easy solo sections. Dedicated to Frederic Grant Gleason. |
| Rogers, James H. | Te Deum laudamus in A-flat | 1879 | Brooklyn: James H. Rogers | A-flat maj | NA | Extensive use of chant alternated with hymn-like setting of some verses. Intended for congregational use. |
| Rogers, James H. | Chant, Te Deum in B-flat | 1880 | New York: James H. Rogers | B-flat maj | NA | Unaccompanied Anglican chant setting the text for use by the congregation. |
| Schaffter, Florian | Te Deum laudamus | 1885 | New Orleans : Louis Grunewald | B-flat maj | 4/4 | Anthem with florid organ accompaniment. Organ intro. Optional parts for quartette choir. Frequent imitative, fugue-like sections. Four and eight bar phrases throughout. Overlapping vocal lines and full organ with pulsating chords produces a dramatic conclusion. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stearns, F. A. | Te Deum in B-flat | 1880 | New York : George Molineux | B-flat maj | 3/4 Allegro con spirito | Easy anthem. Organ independent only in solo sections and interludes. Brief, only 6 pages. |
| Steele, J. Nevett Jr. | Te Deum laudamus | 1874 | Baltimore: Otto Sutro | C maj | 3/4 Allegro vivace ma non troppo | Anthem with alternating Cantoris and Decanti. Chorus, solos, and organ. |
| Steele, J. Nevett Jr. | Te deum laudamus | 1875 | Baltimore: Willig & Co. | A maj | 2/4 Allegro vivace | Easy anthem. Indicates that solos may be sung by choir in unison. Easy organ accompaniment. |
| Studley, S. L. | Te Deum in F | 1885 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | F maj | 4/4 ; Allegro maestoso | Unison organ introduction presents opening vocal theme. Chant treatment of vs. 6, 7 & 8. Tenor solo in 12/8 meter at vs. 16 with figurated organ part. Quartet at vs. 26. Opening theme returns for vs. 29. |
| Thomas, J. R. | Te Deum in F | 1871 | Boston : Oliver Ditson | C maj | 4/4 Allegro maestoso | Easy anthem. Independent organ part only in solo passages. |
| Trench, R. R. | Te Deum | 1875 | New York: S. T. Gordon & Son | B-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro | Anthem. Semi independent accomp. Chorus and solos. |
| Van Vliet, J. R. | Te Deum | 1872 | Poughkeepsie: Reed & Van Vliet | E-flat maj | 3/4 Allegro | Anthem. Mostly chorus with optl. solo quartet. Organ doubles voices. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Waith, Wiliam S. | Te Deum in D-flat | 1884 | Buffalo : August Rottebach | D-flat maj | 4/4 : Maestoso | Complex and moderately difficult anthem for both choir and organist. Organ introduction followed by unison choral entrance through vs.2. Frequent running eighth note scalar passages and other figurations in organ accomp. Voices employ both full choir and quartet choir. Contrapuntal canonic entrances at vs. 6. Reoccurring use of opening motive in both chorus and accomp. provides unity. Vs. repeated and extended for dramatic effect. Chant treatment of vss. 7, 8, & 9. Accomp. contains large chords in contrary motion. Highly chromatic organ interludes and accomp. in solo sections. Unusual but attractive soprano solo in 5/4 on vs. 26. 17 pages. |
| Warren, George William | Te Deum Laudamus in D major | 1881 | New York: William A. Pond | D maj | 4/4 Allegro maestoso | Attractive easy anthem. Organ part displays some invention. Melody and harmonies reflect meaning of text. Effectively crafted. 13 pages. |
| Warren, George William | Te Deum and Jubilate Deo | 1883 | New York : William A. Pond & Co. | D maj | 2/4 NA | Very simple anthem with solos and antiphonal choir. |
| Warren, Samuel P. | Te Deum in C | 1877 | New York : G. Schirmer | C maj | | Anthem, Organ doubles voices but adds harmony. Special notes for quartette choir. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Waud, J. Haydn | Te Deum in G, no. 3 | 1883 | New York : William A. Pond & Co. | G maj | 4/4 Allegro moderato | Easy anthem with simple choral and organ parts. Semi independent organ part and some a capella choir sections. |
| Weninger, Rev. P. F. X. | Te Deum | 1878 | Cincinnati: Rauch, F. W. | D maj | 4/4 Maestoso | Moderately easy anthem. Text in Latin. Organ and orchestra indicated. Accompaniment figurated in sections but often just supports voices. 22 pages. |
| Whiteley, S. B. | Te Deum in A-flat | 1871 | New York: S. T. Gordon | A-flat maj | 4/4 NA | Easy anthem. Sparing use of solos. Organ doubles voices. Unremarkable part writing. |
| Whitney, Mary L. | Te Deum laudamus | 1877 | Cleaveland: S. Brainard's Sons | C minor | 4/4 Allegro maestoso | Among the few settings in a minor key (c minor). Interesting harmonies reflecting the text. Attractive solos. Organ supports voices well but is unimaginative. 14 pages. |
| Whitney, S. B. | Te Deum laudamus, no. 6 | 1876 | Medford [MA] : Charles L. Hutchings | B-flat maj | 3/4 Allegro moderato | Moderately easy anthem. Organ doubles voices but some figurations for organ cued in with small notes. Optional solos and duets. 5 pages. |
| Willey, O. S. | Te Deum | 1885 | New York : George Molineux | E-flat maj | 6/8 NA | No introduction, unison opening. No independent accomp. Solo line but solo not indicated so could be sung by section. Most likely intended for quartet choir. |
| Wright, Rev. J. T. | Te Deum laudamus in A-flat | 1881 | St. Louis: Balmer & Weber | A-flat maj | 4/4 Allegro | Moderately difficult, effective anthem. Dramatic, at times even theatrical, with use of tremolo in keyboard. Inventive accompaniment. Attractive melodies with occasional sequenced phrases. Large dynamic contrasts. Frequent alternation of masses choir with quartet solos. 12 pages. |

| Composer | Title | Date | Place of Pub. : Publisher | Key | Meter : Tempo | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Zundel, John | Te Deum laudamus, no. 2 in F | 1881 | n.l.: H. Camp | F maj | 4/4 NA | Mildly inventive setting. Choir alternates block chordal sections with contrapuntal sections. One section indicates congregation participation. Organ has brief flourishes between some sections. Contains some solo chant. 16 pages. |

## APPENDIX E

## Score of Te Deum laudamus (1874) by George W. Chadwick

### Editorial Methodology

Unless otherwise stated in the scores, editorial decisions and strategies described below are applied. Chadwick was not known for meticulousness of his manuscripts unless they were intended for publication. Since both *Te Deum* scores were working copies, there are some passages were it was difficult to decipher the composer's intent. On the whole, however, all the notes were readable and the following pages contain faithful representations of the originals.

*Pitches*

Pitches change only in rare cases where there is clearly an error in notation. This occurred, for example, when the accompaniment and the vocal parts do not agree, usually one part will vary by a major or minor second. In these rare cases the prevailing harmony indicated the proper note choice.

*Accompaniment*

Both Te Deums have many measures of missing accompaniment and this matter is addressed in the body of this study. For the convenience of the reader, who may wish to play through the score, the missing accompaniments have been filled in with a keyboard reduction of the vocal parts. In all cases where this occurs, the keyboard reduction is presented in small notes contained in square brackets [ ]. No attempt has been made to complete Chadwick's missing accompaniments.

*Stemming*

Stemming follows the modern convention in all the voice parts and represents a change from Chadwick's original manuscript. Stemming in the keyboard scores has been retained from the original to indicate voice leading. This does not apply, of course, to those passages where the keyboard part is filled in using the vocal parts.

*Tempos, Dynamic markings, Articulations, and Text*

All written text, articulations, tempo indications and dynamic markings are as they appear in the original manuscripts.

*Cautionary key changes*

Due to the nature of the Sibelius software used in creating the scores, some cautionary key changes appear as an aid to those who wish to play through the score. These are not found in the original manuscripts.

# Te Deum Laudamus

Atto Primo

*Allegro Energico*

George Chadwick

SOPRANO

*ff*

We praise thee O God we ac-

ALTO

TENOR

We praise thee O God we ac-

BASS

Organ

*ff*

*f*

7

S.

know-ledge thee to be the Lord.

A.

*p*

All the earth doth wor-ship thee the Fa-ther ev- er

T.

*p*

know-ledge thee to be the Lord. All the earth doth wor-ship thee the Fa-ther ev-er

B.

*p*

Org.

12

S. *f* To thee all An - gels cry a - loud: the Heav-ens and all the

A. *f* last - ing. To

T. *f* last - ing. To thee all An - gels cry a - loud: the Heavens and - all the

B. *f*

Org.

19

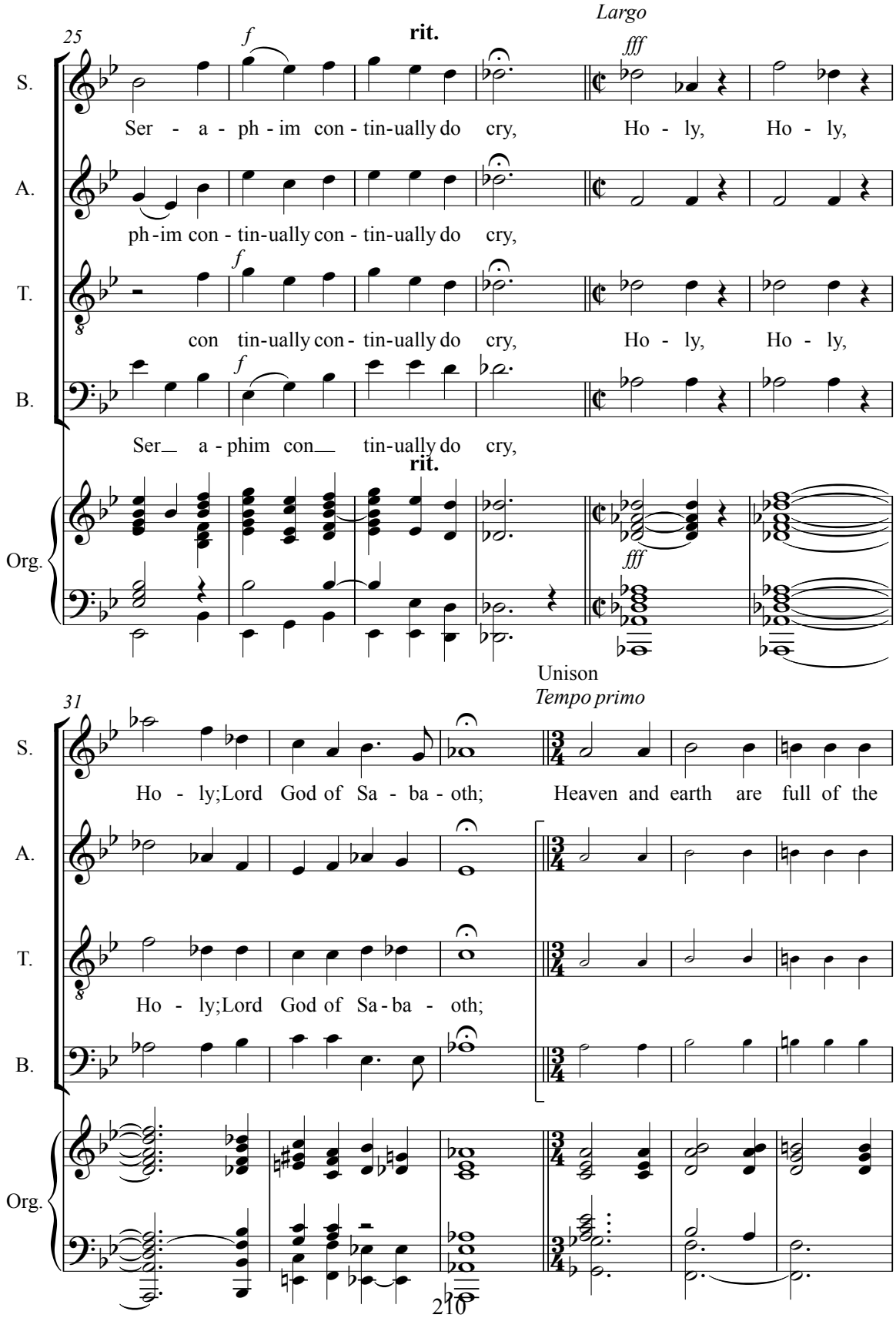
S. Pow-ers there - in. *p* To thee Cher - u - bium and

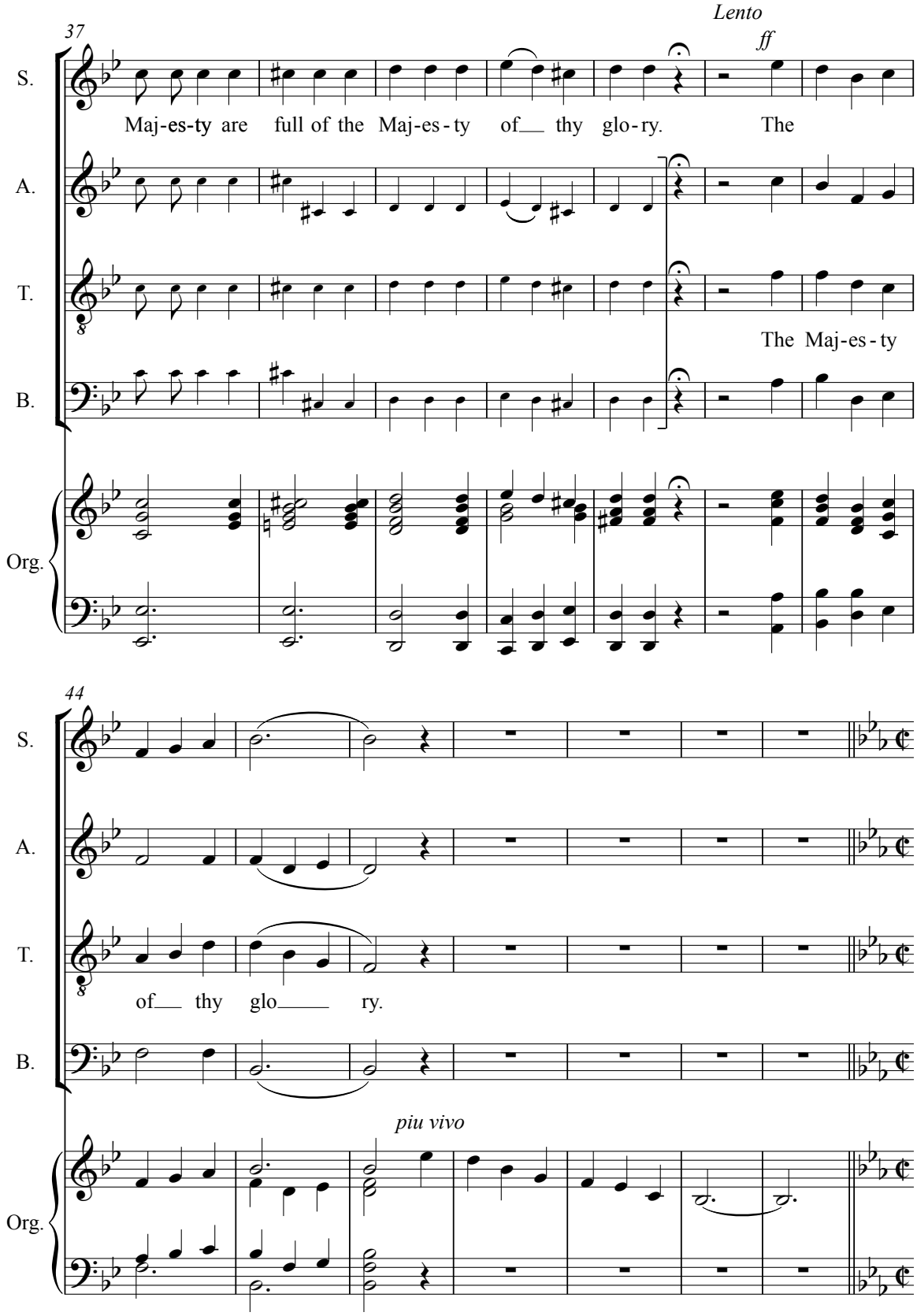
A. *p* To thee Cher - u - bium and Ser a -

T. Pow-ers there - in. To thee Cher - u - bi - um and Ser - a - phim

B. To thee Cher - u - bium and

Org.


25
Largo
rit.
S.
Ser - a - ph - im con - tin-ually do cry, Ho - ly, Ho - ly,
A.
ph-im con - tin-ually con - tin-ually do cry,
T.
con tin-ually con - tin-ually do cry, Ho - ly, Ho - ly,
B.
Ser a - phim con tin-ually do cry,
Org.
31
Unison
Tempo primo
Ho - ly;Lord God of Sa - ba - oth; Heaven and earth are full of the
Ho - ly;Lord God of Sa - ba - oth;


37
Lento
ff
S.
Maj-es-ty are full of the Maj-es-ty of thy glo-ry. The
A.
T.
The Maj-es-ty
B.
Org.
44
S.
A.
T.
of thy glo ry.
B.
piu vivo
Org.

51

S. *p*

The glorius company of the Apostles: praise thee. The

A. *p*

T. *p*

The glorius company of the Apostles: praise thee. The

B. *p*

Org.

56

S. *f*

goodly fellowship of the Prophets: praise thee. The noble army of

A.

T.

goodly fellowship of the Prophets: praise thee. The noble army of

B.

Org.

61

*moto piu libilo*

*dolce*
*pp*

S. Mar - tyrs: praise - thee. The Ho - ly Church through-out

A.

T. Mar - tyrs: praise thee. The Ho - ly Church through-out

B. The Ho - ly Church through-out

Org.

64

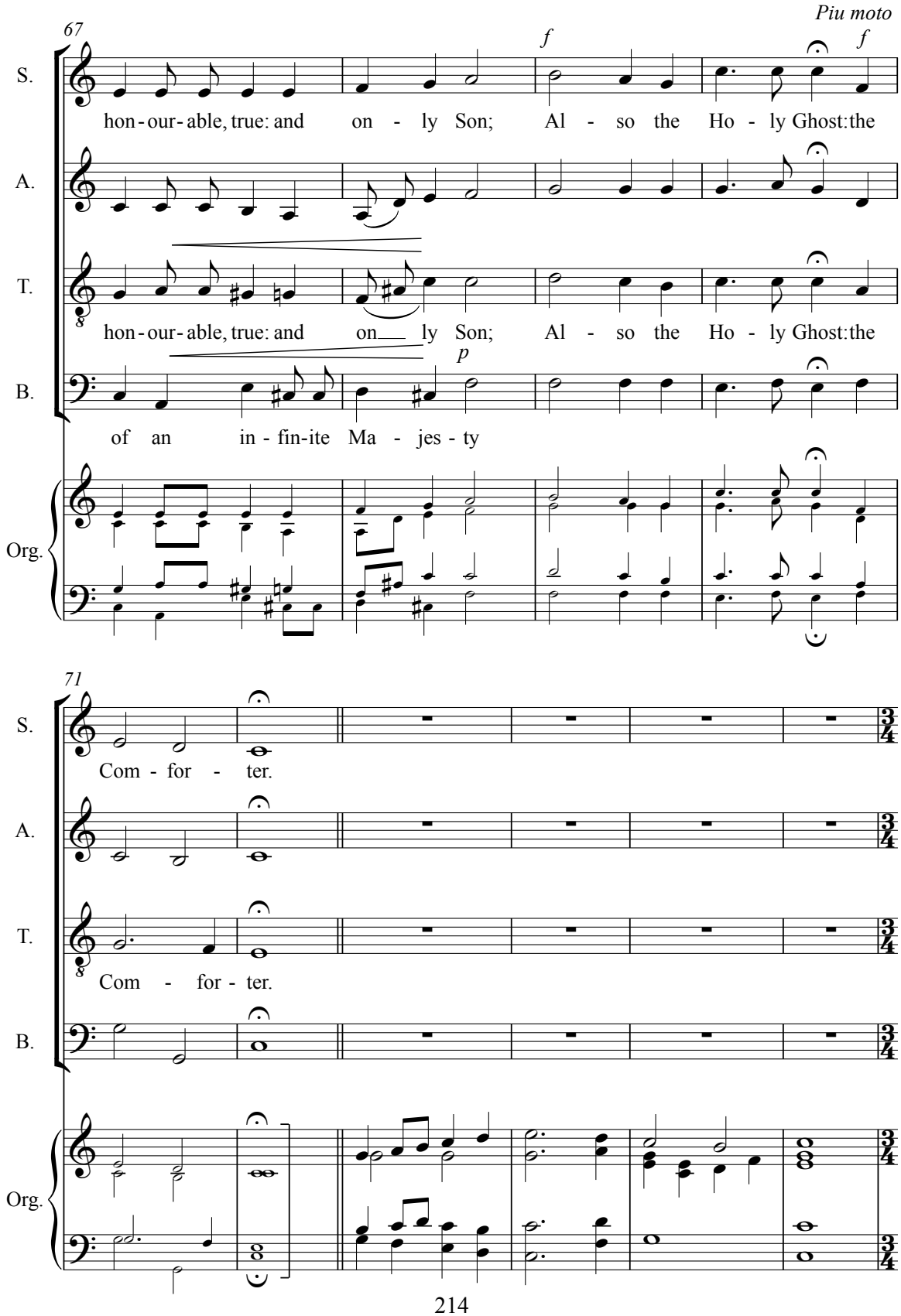
S. all the world dothac knowl-edge thee;the Fa -ther:of an in fin-ite Maj-es-ty Thine-

A.

T. all the world dothac knowl-edge thee:the Fa- ther:of an in-fin-ite Maj-es-ty Thine-

B. all the world dothac knowl - edge thee the thee the Fa - ther

Org.


Piu moto
67
S.
hon-our-able, true: and on - ly Son; Al - so the Ho - ly Ghost: the
A.
T.
hon-our-able, true: and on ly Son; Al - so the Ho - ly Ghost: the
B.
of an in - fin-ite Ma - jes - ty
Org.
71
S.
Com - for - ter.
A.
T.
Com - for - ter.
B.
Org.

*Tempo Primo*

77

*ff* Chorus in unison

S. Thou art the King of Glo- ry: O Christ. Thou art the ev-er-last-ing

A.

T.

B.

Org. *ff*

83

**rit.**

S. Son: of the Fa- ther.

A.

T.

B.

**rit.**

Org.

*Andante Grazioso*

89

S. When thou took - est up-on thee__ to de - liv - er to de-liv-er man:

A. Thou didst

T.

B.

Org.

Chadwick did not provide*s* the accompaniment for mm. 92-96.

94

S. Thou didst hum-ble thy self to the wo-mb of__ a__ vir__ gin.

A. hum-ble thy__ self to the wo-mb of__ a__ vir__ gin.

T.

B.

Org.

98

S.

A.

T.

B.

Org.

*pp*

102

S.

*con anima*

*p*

A.

*poco -*

*accelerando -*

When thou hadst over_ come the sharp-ness of death: the sharp-ness of

T.

B.

Org.

coup. Gr to Sw off



coup. Gr to Sw off

107

S.

A.

*tempo*

**rit.**

death: thou didst o - pen the King-dom of Heaven to all to all be - lie -

T.

B.

Org.

**rit.**

114

S.

Thou sit - test at the right hand of God: the

A.

vers.

T.

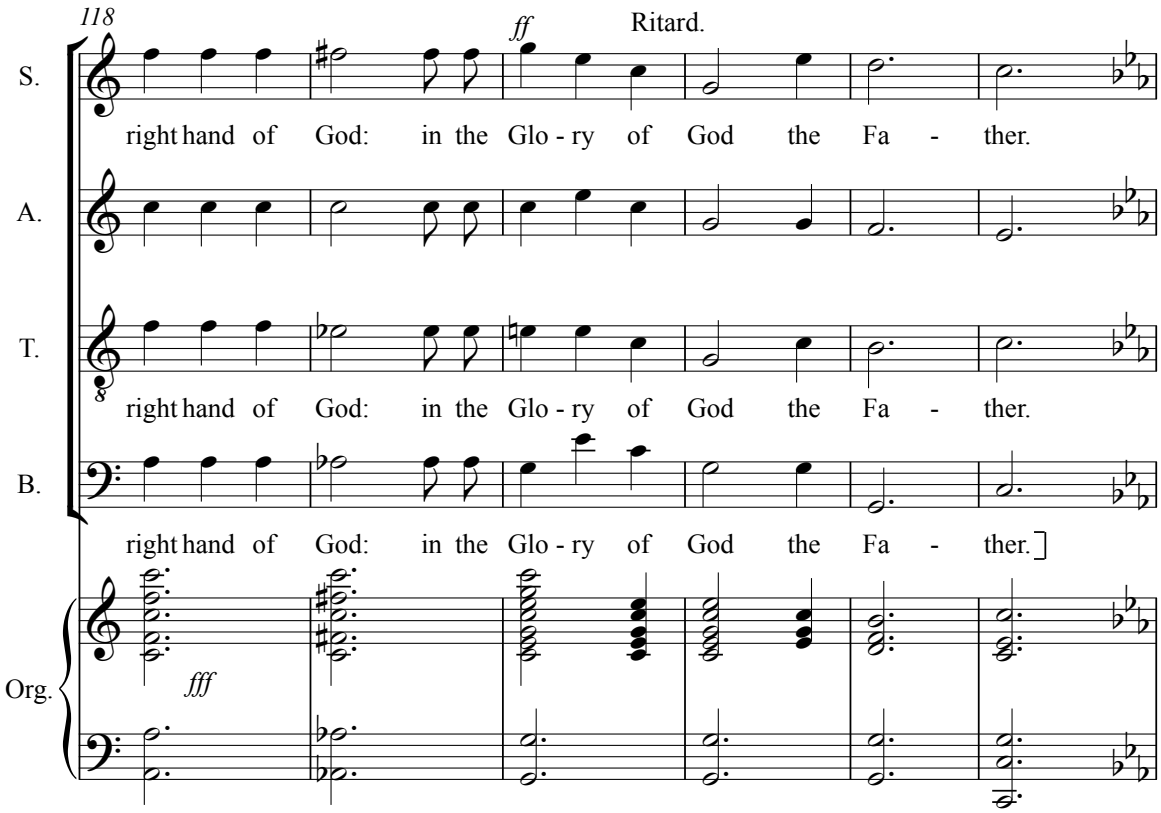
Thou sit - test at the right hand of God: the

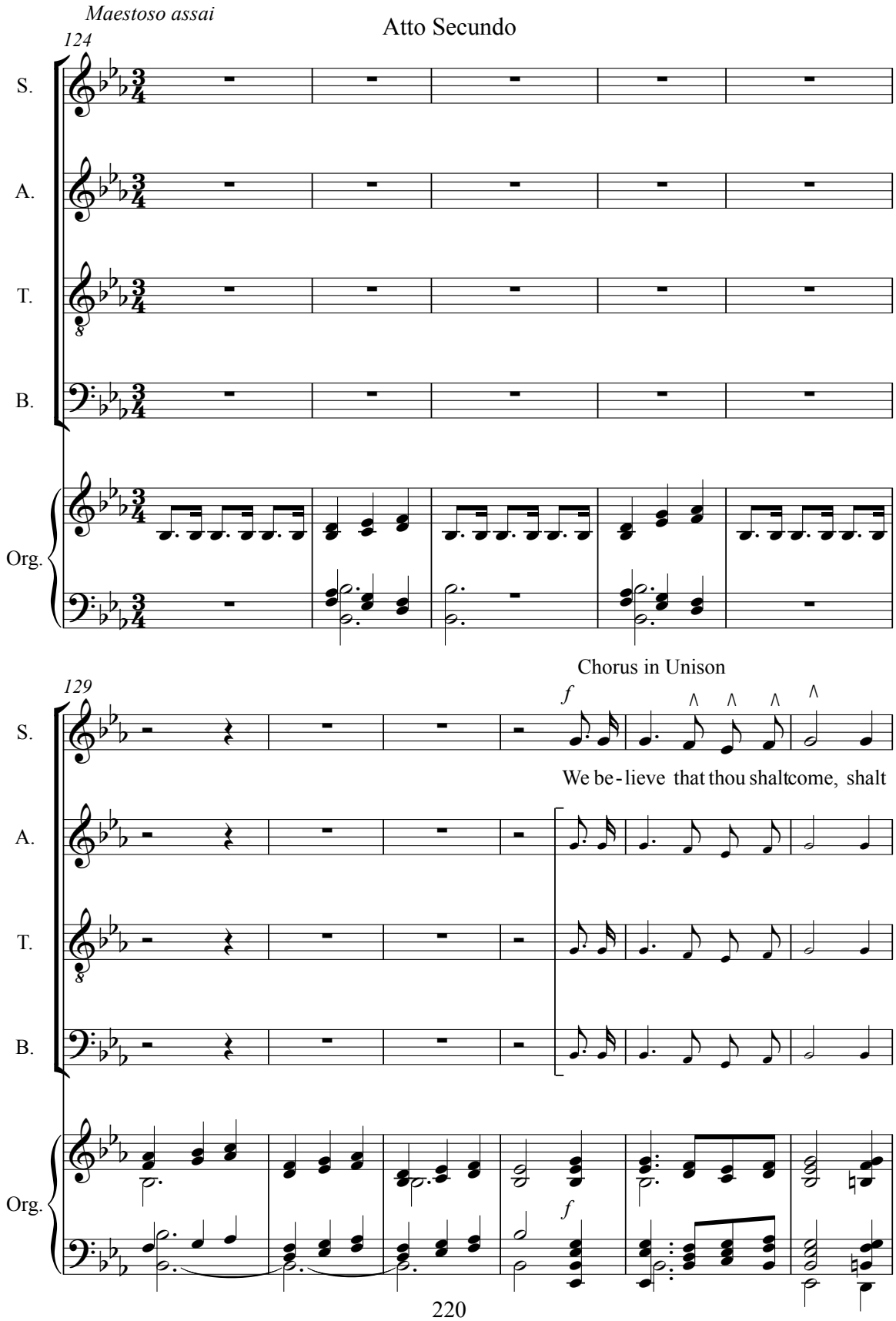
B.

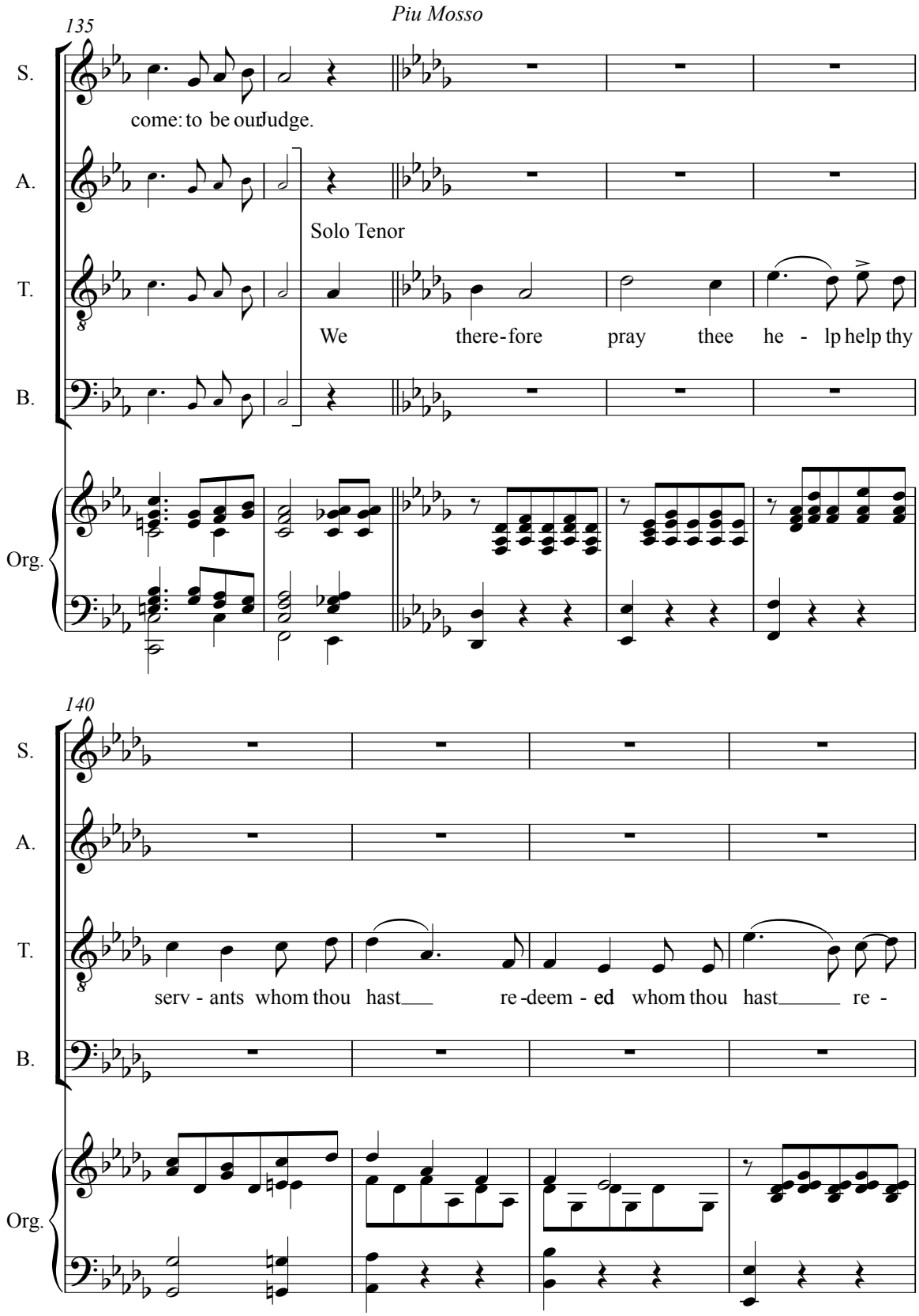
Thou sit - test at the right [ the

Org.

*f*


118
ff
Ritard.
S.
right hand of God: in the Glo - ry of God the Fa - ther.
A.
T.
right hand of God: in the Glo - ry of God the Fa - ther.
B.
right hand of God: in the Glo - ry of God the Fa - ther.
Org.
fff


Maestoso assai
Atto Secundo
124
S.
A.
T.
B.
Org.
129
Chorus in Unison
f
We be - lieve that thou shaltcome, shalt
f


Piu Mosso
135
S.
come: to be our Judge.
A.
Solo Tenor
T.
We there-fore pray thee he - lp help thy
B.
Org.
140
S.
A.
T.
serv - ants whom thou hast re -deem - ed whom thou hast re -
B.
Org.

144

S.

A.

T.

deem - ed whom thou hast - re - deem - ed with thy pre - ci - ous

B.

Org.

148

S.

A.

T.

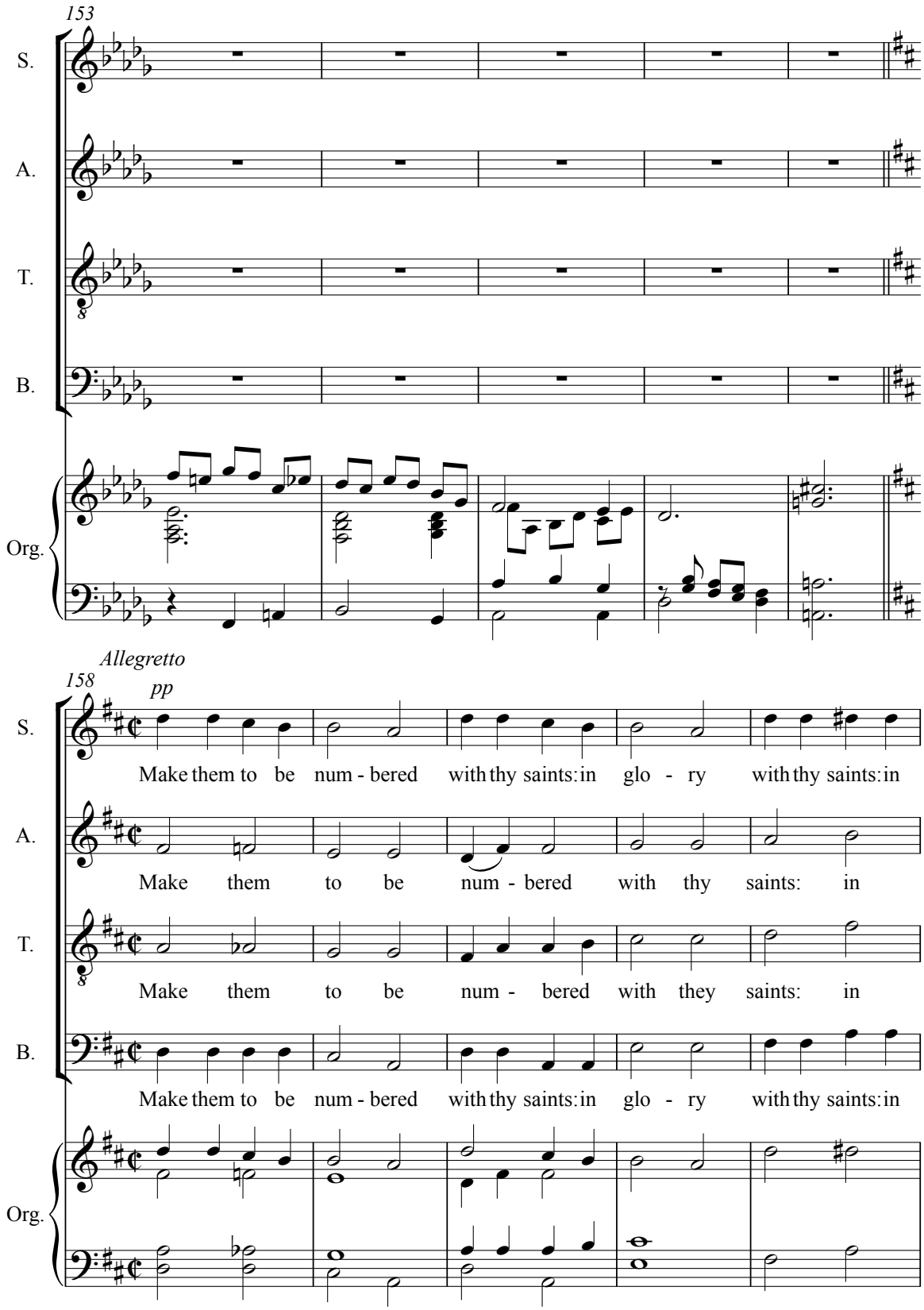
*f*

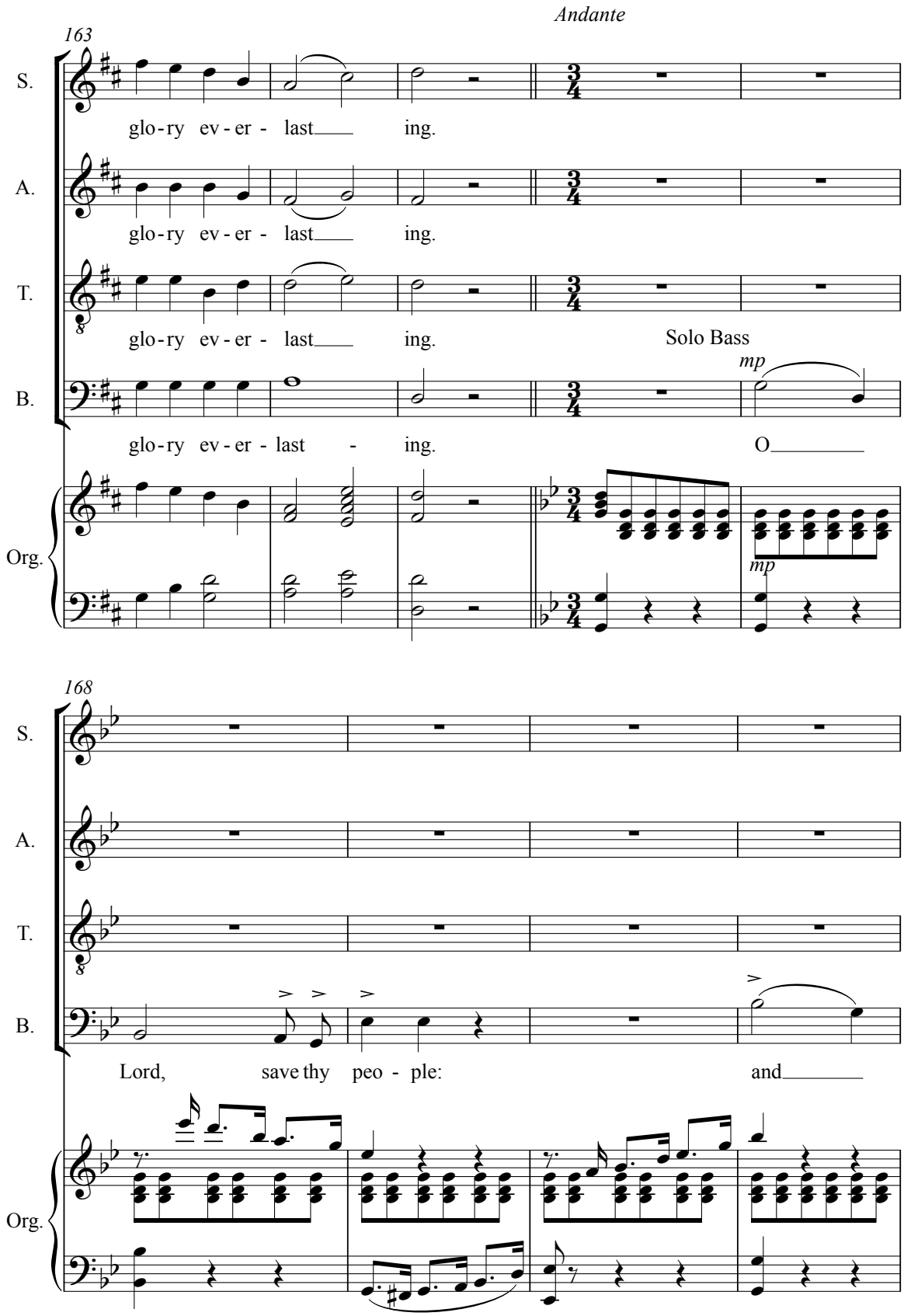
Rit.

blood, whom thou hast re - deem-ed with thy pre - ci - ous blood.

B.

Org.


153
S.
A.
T.
B.
Org.
Allegretto
158
pp
Make them to be num - bered with thy saints: in glo - ry with thy saints: in
Make them to be num - bered with thy saints: in
Make them to be num - bered with they saints: in
Make them to be num - bered with thy saints: in glo - ry with thy saints: in


Andante
163
S.
glo-ry ev-er- last ing.
A.
glo-ry ev-er- last ing.
T.
glo-ry ev-er- last ing.
Solo Bass
B.
mp
glo-ry ev-er- last - ing.
O
Org.
mp
168
S.
A.
T.
B.
Lord, save thy peo - ple:
and
Org.

172

S.

A.

T.

B.

bless thine her - i-tage.

Org.

175

S.

A.

T.

B.

Gov-ern them:and lift them up for - ev - - er. lift them

*f*

Org.

179

S.

A.

T.

B.

up lift them up for - ev - er.

Org.

*sf*

184

*Meno mosso*

Chorus in unison

S.

Day by day: we mag - ni-fy thee and we

A.

T.

B.

Org.

188

*p*

Rit.

*Andante con* [illegible]

S.

wor - ship thy Name: ev-er world with-out end. Vouch - safe, O Lord to ke ep up this

A.

T.

Vouch - save, O Lord to ke ep up this

B.

Org.

191

S.

day with-out sin.

A.

T.

day with-out sin.

B.

Org.

194

*Moderato assai*

S.

A.

T.

B.

*pp* sotto voce

Ritardando

O Lord, have

Org.

198

S.

*pp* sotto voce

O Lord, have mer - cy up - on - us:

A.

*pp* sotto voce

Lord have mer - cy up - on us:

T.

*pp* sotto voce

O Lord, have mer - cy up - - on us:

B.

Mer - cy up - on us:

Org.

203

*Piu ?*

S. Have mer-cy up - on us O Lord let thy

A. Have mer-cy up - on us [O Lord let thy

T. Have mer-cy up - on us [O Lord let thy

B. Have mer - cy up - on us O Lord let they

Org.

208

*ff*

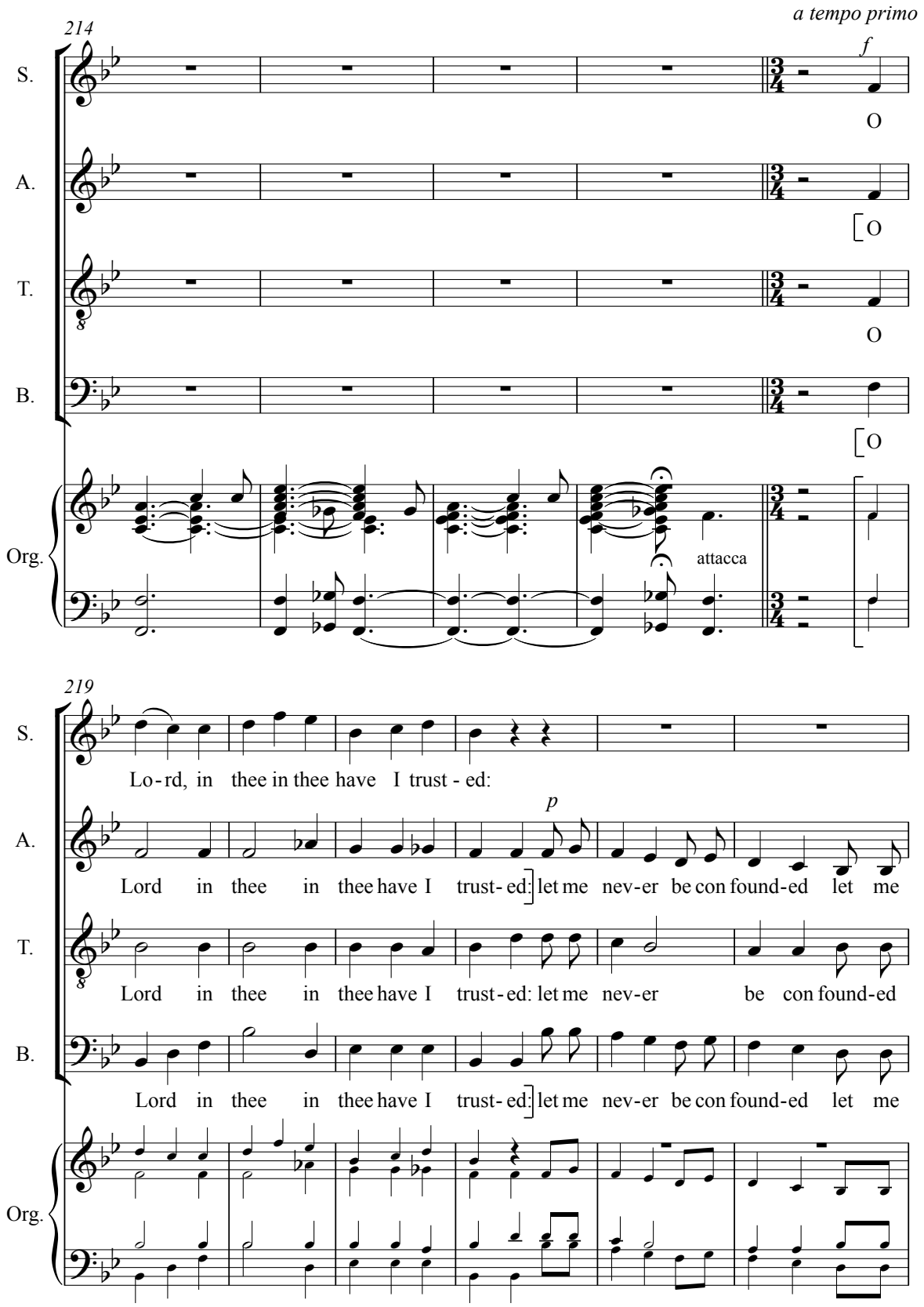
S. mer-cy [fall] up - on us as our trust is in thee,_ our trust is in thee.

A. mer-cy fall up on us as our trust is in thee,_ our trust is in thee.]

T. mer-cy fall up on us as our trust is in thee,_ our trust is in thee.]

B. mer-cy [fall] up on us as our trust [is in thee,_ our trust is in thee.]

Org.


a tempo primo
214
S.
A.
T.
B.
Org.
f
O
O
O
O
attacca
219
Lo-rd, in thee in thee have I trust - ed:
p
Lord in thee in thee have I trust- ed: let me nev-er be con found-ed let me
Lord in thee in thee have I trust-ed: let me nev-er be con found-ed
Lord in thee in thee have I trust- ed: let me nev-er be con found-ed let me

225

S. *p* O Lord in thee O

A. nev-er be con found-ed. O Lord in thee O

T. nev-er be con found - ed O Lord in thee O

B. nev-er be con - found - ed. O Lord in thee O

Org.

unison

231 Rit. *pp* *Largo*

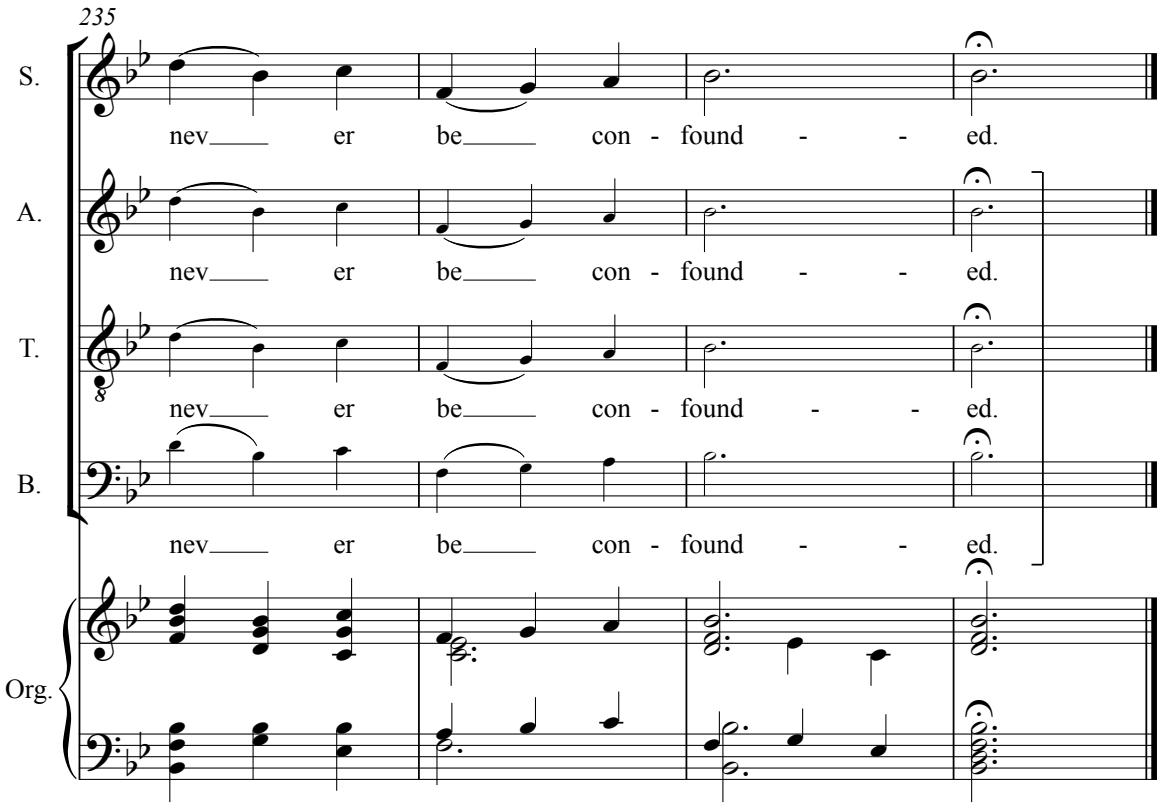
S. Lord in thee have I trust - ed: let me

A. Lord in thee have I trust - ed: let me

T. Lord in thee have I trust - ed: let me

B. Lord in thee have I trust - ed: let me

Org. Rit.

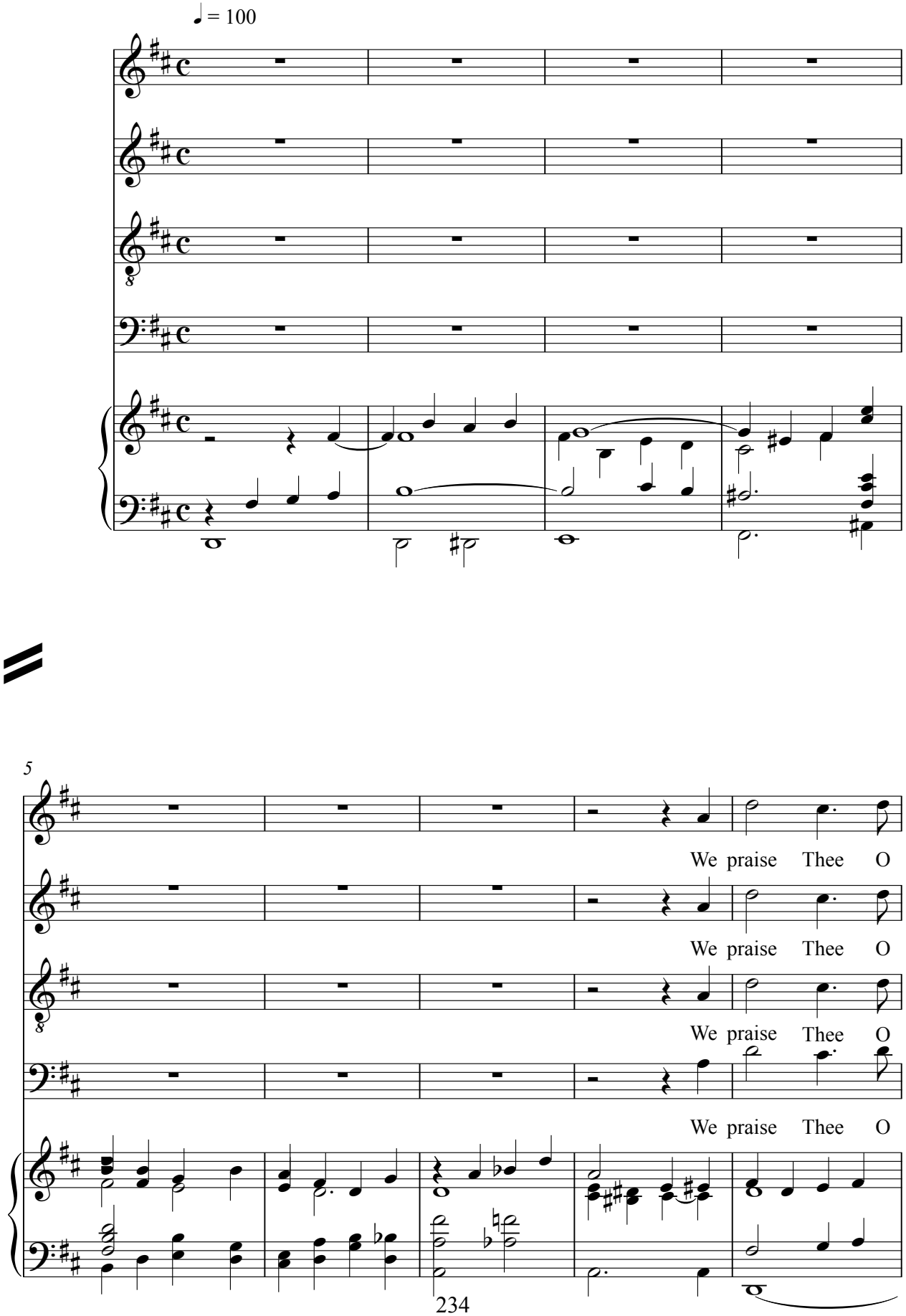

235
S.
nev er be con - found - - ed.
A.
nev er be con - found - - ed.
T.
nev er be con - found - - ed.
B.
nev er be con - found - - ed.
Org.

# APPENDIX F

## Score of *Te Deum in D* (circa. 1885) by George W. Chadwick

# Te Deum

George Whitefield Chadwick



10

God we ac - know - ledge Thee to be the Lord all the

God we ac - know - ledge Thee to be the Lord all the

God we ac - know - ledge Thee to be the Lord all the

God we ac - know - ledge Thee to be the Lord all the

13

saints doth wor - ship Thee The fa - ther ev - er last - ing To

saints doth wor - ship Thee The fa - ther ev - er - last - ing To

saints doth wor - ship Thee The fa - ther ev - er - last - ing To

saints doth wor - ship Thee The fa - ther ev - er - last - ing To

17

Thee all an-gels cry a-loud the heavns and all the powers there-in the

Thee all an-gels cry a-loud the heavns and all the powers there-in the

Thee all an-gels cry a-loud the heavns and all the powers there-in the

Thee all an-gels cry a-loud the heavns and all the powers there-in the

21

*ff*

Heavens and all the powers there - in

*ff*

Heavens and all the powers there - in

*ff*

Heavens and all the powers there in

*p*

To Thee

*ff*

Heavens and all the powers there - in.

*p*

To Thee cher-a

26

*mf*

To Thee Cher-a-bim and

*p* *cresc.*

*cresc* To Thee cher-a-bim to Thee Cher-a-bim and

cher-a-bim To Thee ser-a-phim to Thee Cher-a-bim and

*cresc*

bim To Thee ser-a-phim to Thee Cher-a-bim and

30

ser-a-phim con-tin ua-ly do cry Ho ly Ho ly

ser-a-phim con-tin-ua-ly do cry Ho ly Ho ly

ser-a-phim con-tin-ua-ly do cry Ho ly Ho ly

ser-a-phim co-tin-ua-ly do cry.

35

Ho - ly Lord God of Sab - ba - oth Ho ly Ho ly,

Ho - ly Lord God of Sab - ba - oth Ho ly, Ho ly,

Ho - ly Lord God of Sab - ba - oth Ho ly, Ho ly,

Ho ly

39

Ho - ly Lord God of Sa - ba - oth Ho ly, Ho ly,

Ho - ly Lord God of Sa - ba - oth Ho ly, Ho ly.

Ho - ly Lord God of Sa - ba - oth Ho ly, Ho ly.

Ho ly

43

**accellerando**

Lord God of Sab - ba - oth

Ho ly Lord God of Sab - ba - oth

Ho ly Lord God of Sab - ba - oth

Ho ly Lord God of Sab - ba - oth

47

Lord God of Sab - ba - oth *ff* Ho ly Lord God of

Lord God of Sab - ba - oth *ff* Ho ly Lord God of

Lord God of Sab - ba oth *ff* Ho ly Lord God of

Lord God of Sab - ba oth *ff* Ho - ly Lord of Sab -

51

**molto vivace**

*ff*

Sab - ba - oth. Heavn and

Sab - ba - oth. Heavn and

Sab ba - oth. Heavn and

ba - oth. Heavn and

55

earth are full are full of Thy

earth are full are full of Thy

earth are full are full of Thy

earth are full are full of Thy glo

61

glo - ry Heavn and earth are full are

glo - ry Heavn and earth are full are

glo - ry Heavn and earth are full are

ry Heavn and earth are full are

67

full of Thy glo - ry are full of Thy glo-ry are

full of Thy glo - ry are full of Thy glo -

full of Thy glo - ry are full of Thy glo

full of Thy glo - ry are full of Thy glo-ry are

74

full of Thy glo ry. Heavn and earth are full

ry Thy glo ry. Heavn and earth are full

ry Thy glo ry Heavn and earth are full

full of Thy glo ry. Heavn and earth are full

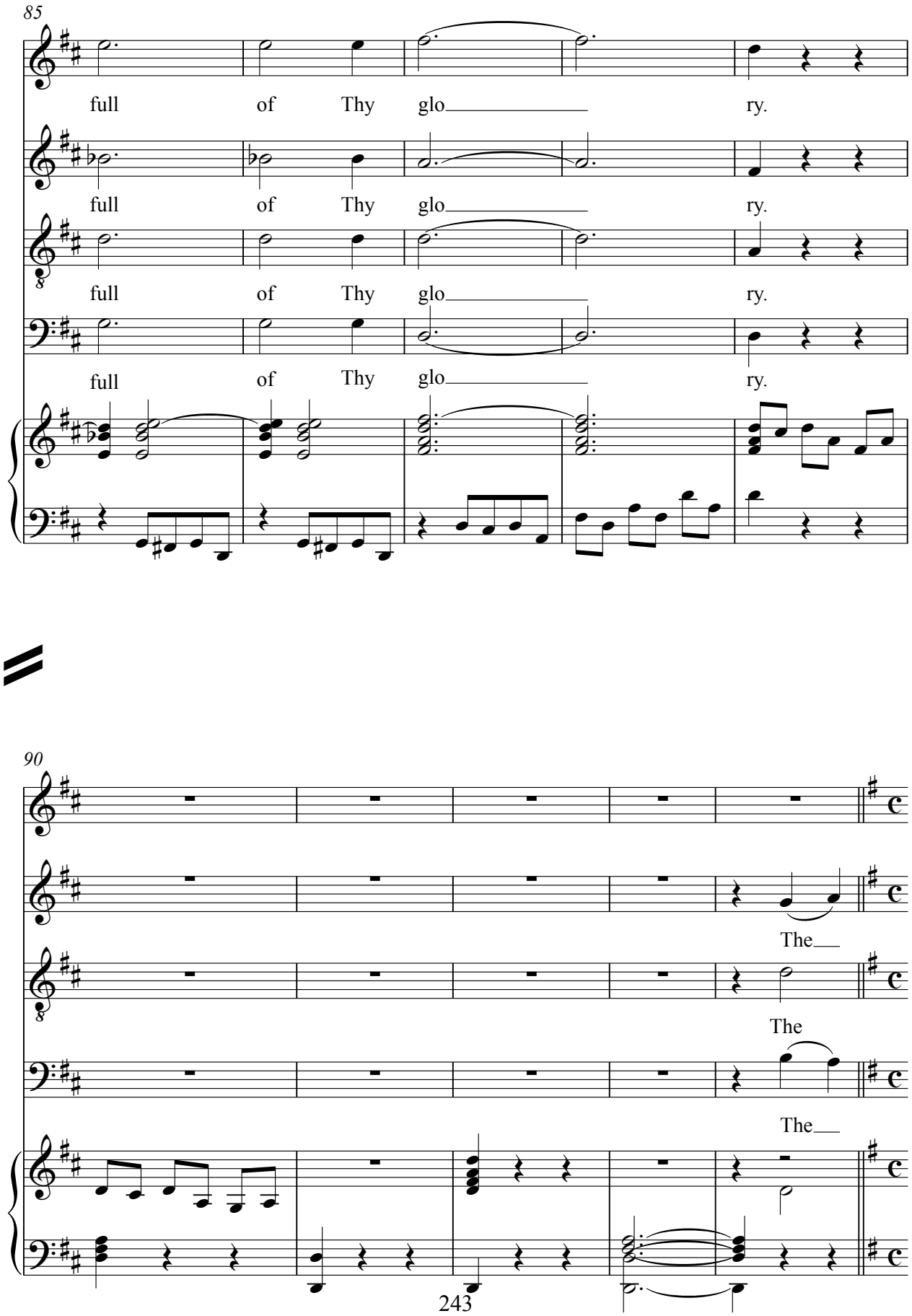
80

of Thy glo - ry. Heavn and earth are

of Thy glo - ry Heavn and earth are

of Thy glo - ry Heavn and earth are

of Thy glo - ry Heavn and earth are


85
full of Thy glo ry.
full of Thy glo ry.
full of Thy glo ry.
full of Thy glo ry.
90
The
The
The

95

glo - ri - ous com - pa - ny of the a - po - stles praise Thee

glo ri - ous com - pa - ny of the a - po stles praise Thee

glo - rious com - pa - ny of the a - po - stles praise Thee

98

The good ly fell - ow - ship of the pro - phets

praise Thee The good ly fell - ow - ship of the pro - phets

praise Thee The good - ly fell - ow - ship of the

praise Thee

101

praise Thee praise Thee The no ble ar - my of

praise Thee praise Thee The no ble ar - my of

pro phets praise Thee The no ble ar - my of

The no ble ar - my of

104

mar tyrs praise Thee the ho - ly church through - out all the world doth ac-

mar tyrs praise Thee the ho - ly church throughout all the world doth ac-

mar tyrs praise Thee the ho - ly church throughout all the world doth ac-

mar tyrs praise Thee the ho - ly church throughout all the world doth ac-

107

know - ledge Thee the Fath - er of an in - fi-nate mag-es - ty Thine a -

know - ledge Thee the Fath - er of an in - fi-nate mag-es - ty

know - ledge Thee the Fath - er of an in - fi-nate mag-es - ty Thine a -

know - ledge Thee the Father - er of an in - fi-nate mag-es - ty

111

dor - a - ble true and on - ly Son. Thine a - dore - a - ble true and on - ly

Thine a - dore - a - ble true and on - ly

dor - a - ble true and on - ly Son. Thine a - dor - a - ble true and on - ly

Thine a - dor - a - ble true and on - ly

115

Son Thine a dore - a-ble true and on - ly Son. Al - so the Ho - ly

Son Thine a - dore - a-ble true and on - ly Son. Al - so the Ho - ly

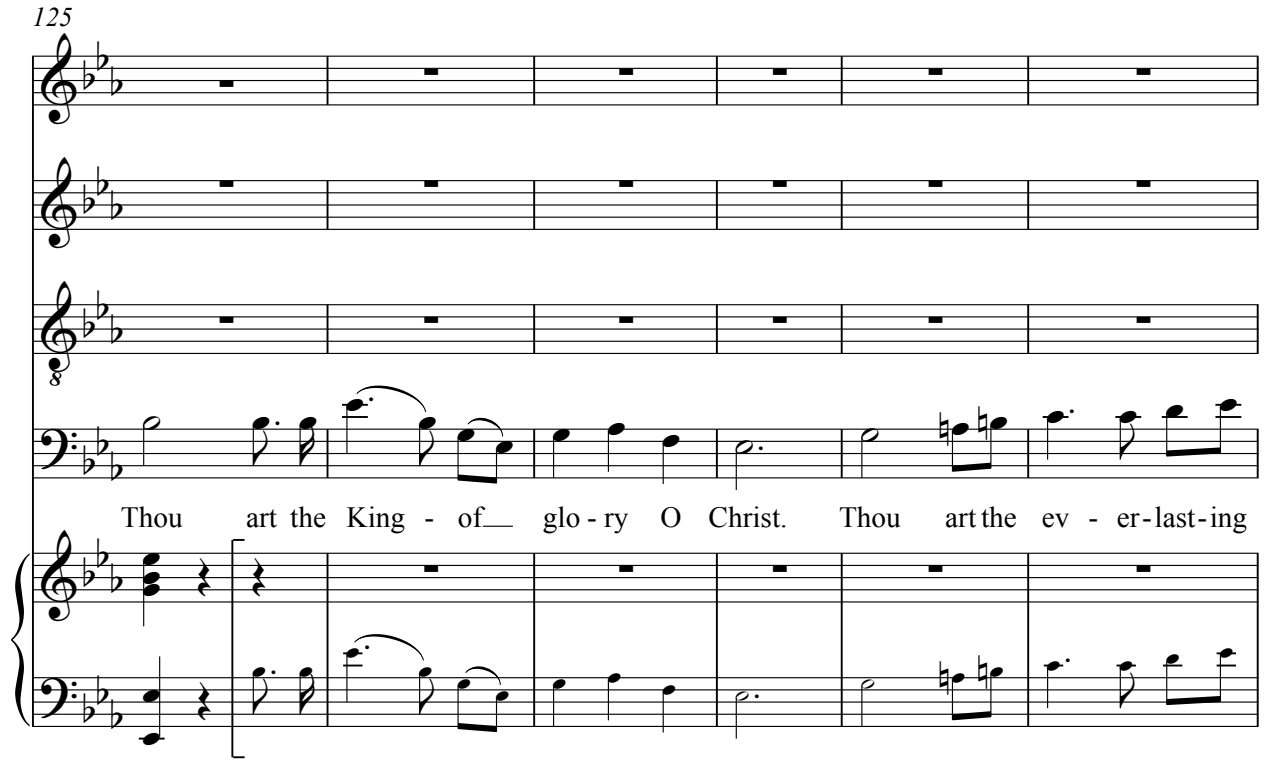
Son Thine a dor - a-ble true and on - ly Son.

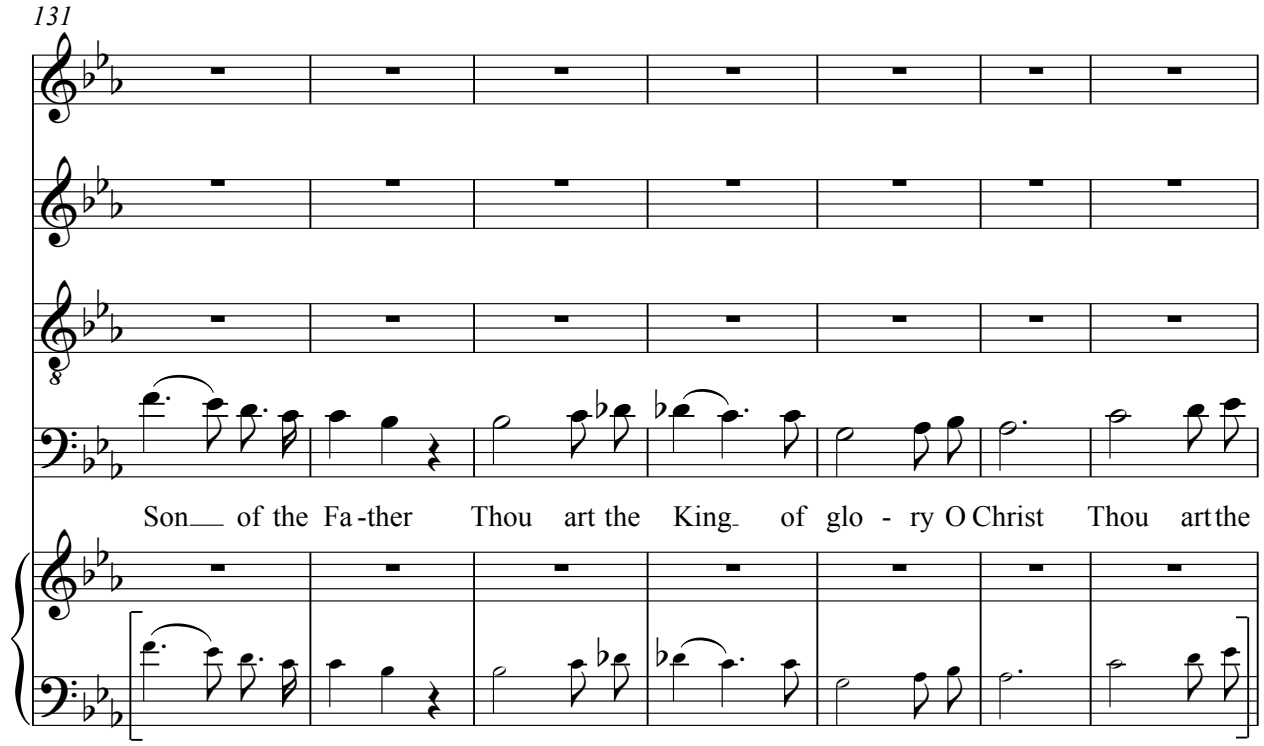
Son Thine a - dor - a-ble true and on - ly Son.

120

Ghost the com - for - ter

Ghost the com - for - ter


125
Thou art the King - of glo - ry O Christ. Thou art the ev - er-last-ing


131
Son of the Fa-ther Thou art the King of glo - ry O Christ Thou art the

138

King of glo - ry O Christ Thou art the e - ver - last ing Son the

145

Thou art the e - ver -

Thou art the e - ver

Thou art the e - ver -

e ver-last-ing Son of the Fa ther. Thou art the e - ver -

151

-last - ing Son the e ver-last-ing Son of the Fa

last - ing Son the e ver-last-ing Son of the Fa

last - ing Son the e ver-last-ing Son of the Fa

last - ing Son the e ver-last-ing Son of the Fa

157

ther.

ther.

ther.

ther

*Adagio*

when Thou took - est up - on Thee to de - li - ver to de

168

li ver man Thou didst hum - ble didst hum - ble Thy - self

171

To be bor of a vir - gin. *pp* when Thou had - st

174

**piu mosso**

ov - er come the sharp - ness the sharp-ness of death Thou didst

178

o - pen the king-dom of heaven Thou didst o - pen the king dom of

184

all be - lie vers. Thou

hea-ven to all, to all be - liev ers.

Thou

191

sit - test at the right hand the right hand of

Thou sit - test at the right hand the right hand of God of

sit - - test at the right hand the right hand of God of

Thou sit - test at the right hand the right hand of God Thou

197

God in the glo - ry the glo - ry of the Fa

God in the glo - ry the glo - ry of the Fa

God in the glo - ry the glo - ry of the Fa

sit - test at the right hand of God in the glo - ry of the Fa

204

ther.

ther.

ther.

ther.

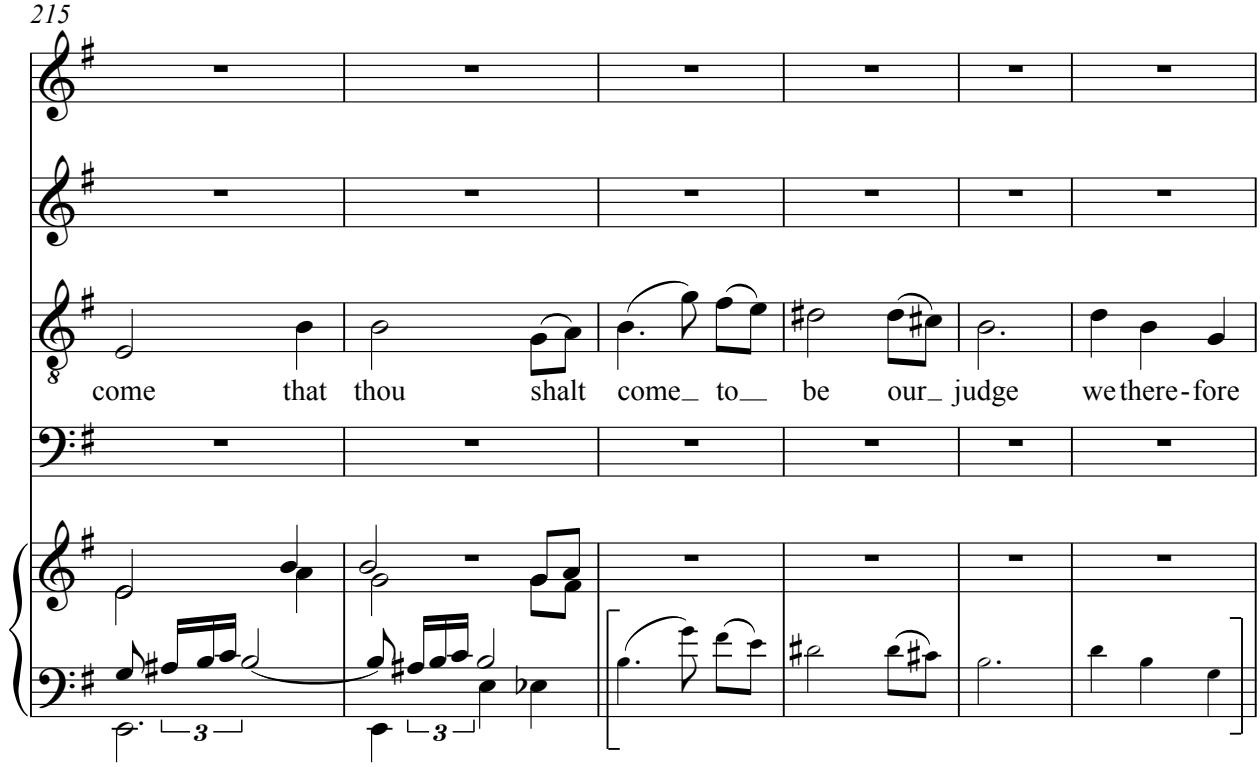
211

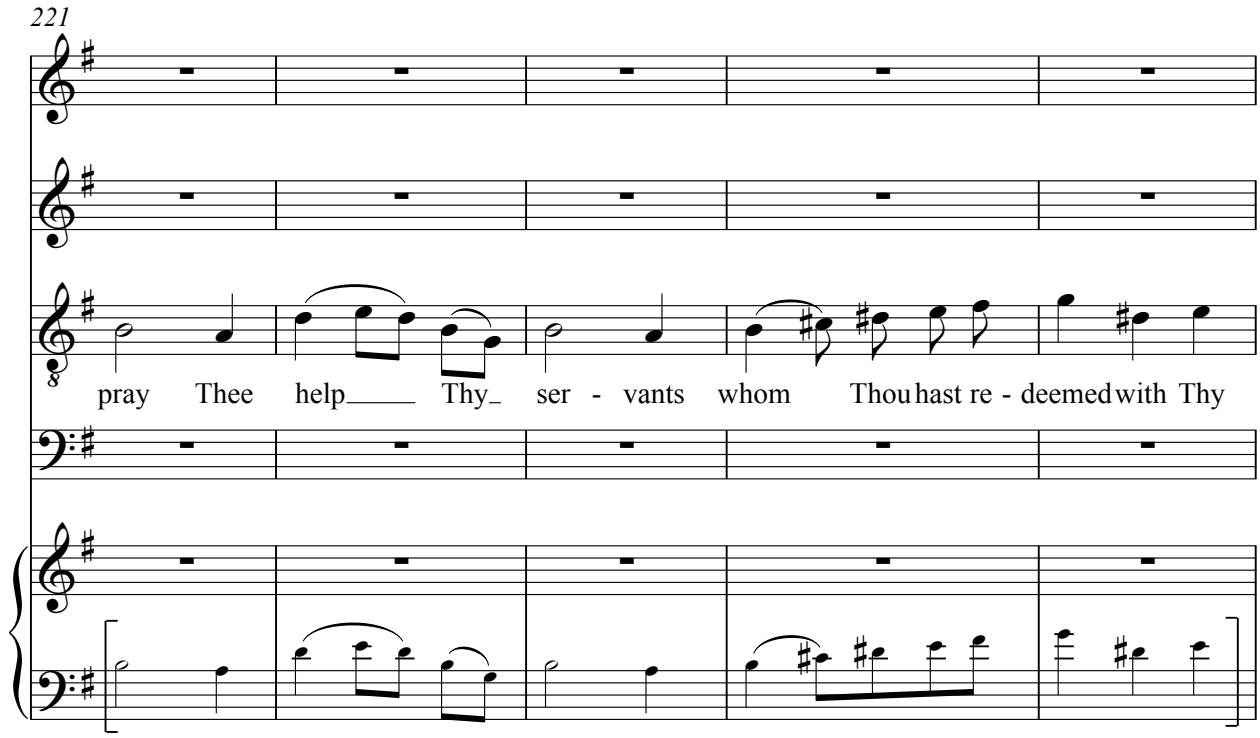
We be lieve that Thou shalt

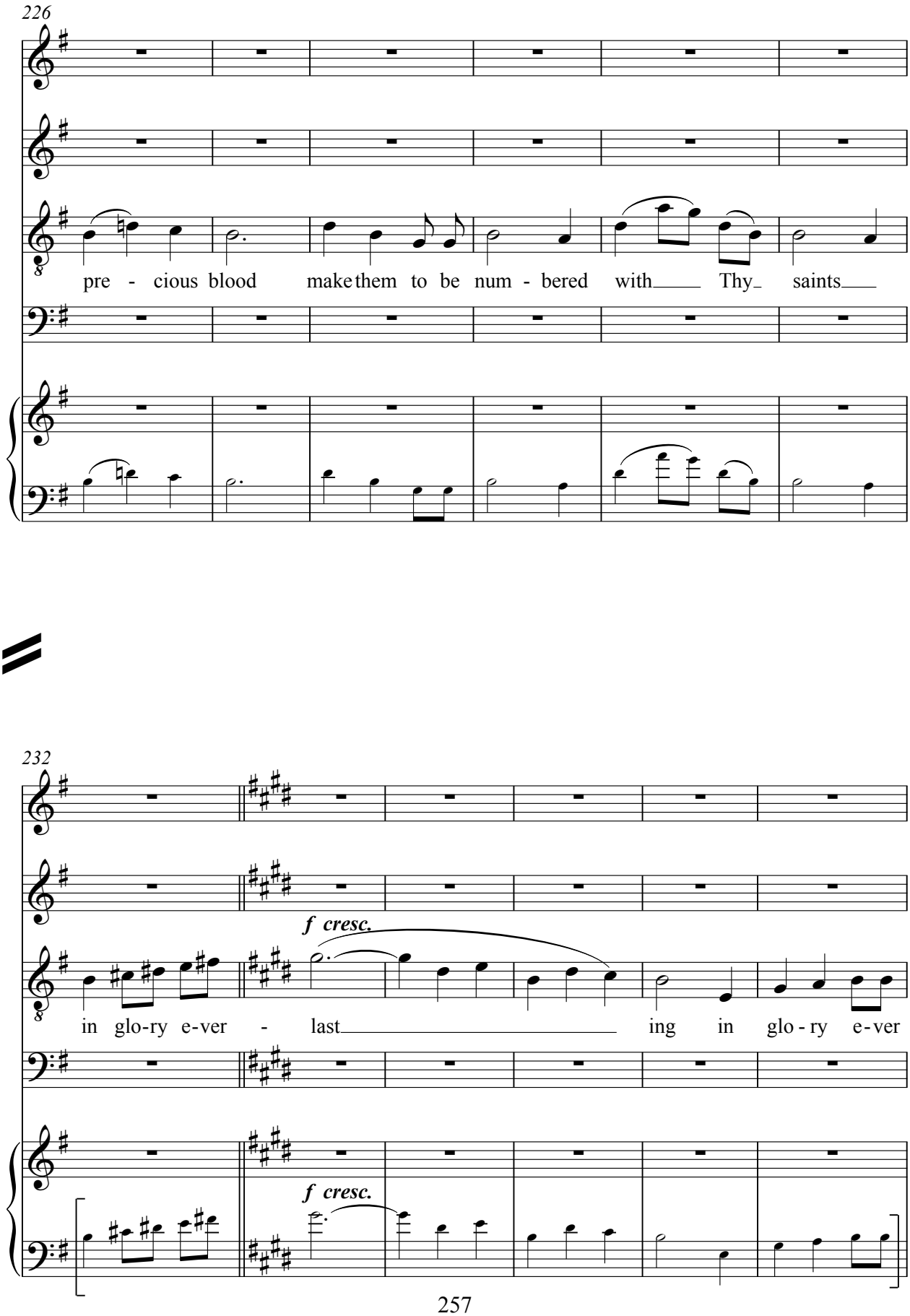
*Andante expressivo*

3:2

3:2


215
come that thou shalt come_ to__ be our_ judge we there-fore


221
pray Thee help____ Thy_ ser - vants whom Thou hast re - deemed with Thy


226
pre - cious blood make them to be num - bered with Thy saints
232
f cresc.
in glo-ry e-ver - last ing in glo - ry e-ver
f cresc.

238

**Allegretto**

O Lord save Thy peo - ple

O save Thy peo-ple

last ing O save Thy peo - ple

O save Thy peo-ple

245

and bless Thine her - i - tage go - vern them go - vern

and bless Thine her - i - tage go vern them and

and bless Thine her - i - tage go vern them and

and bless Thine her - i tage go - vern them and

251

them and lift them up for - e - ver and lift them up for -

lift them up for e ver lift them up for

lift them up for e ver. lift them up for

lift them up for e ver lift them up for

260

pp

e ver Day by day we mag-ni-fy Thee And we

pp

e ver Day by day we mag-ni-fy Thee And we

pp

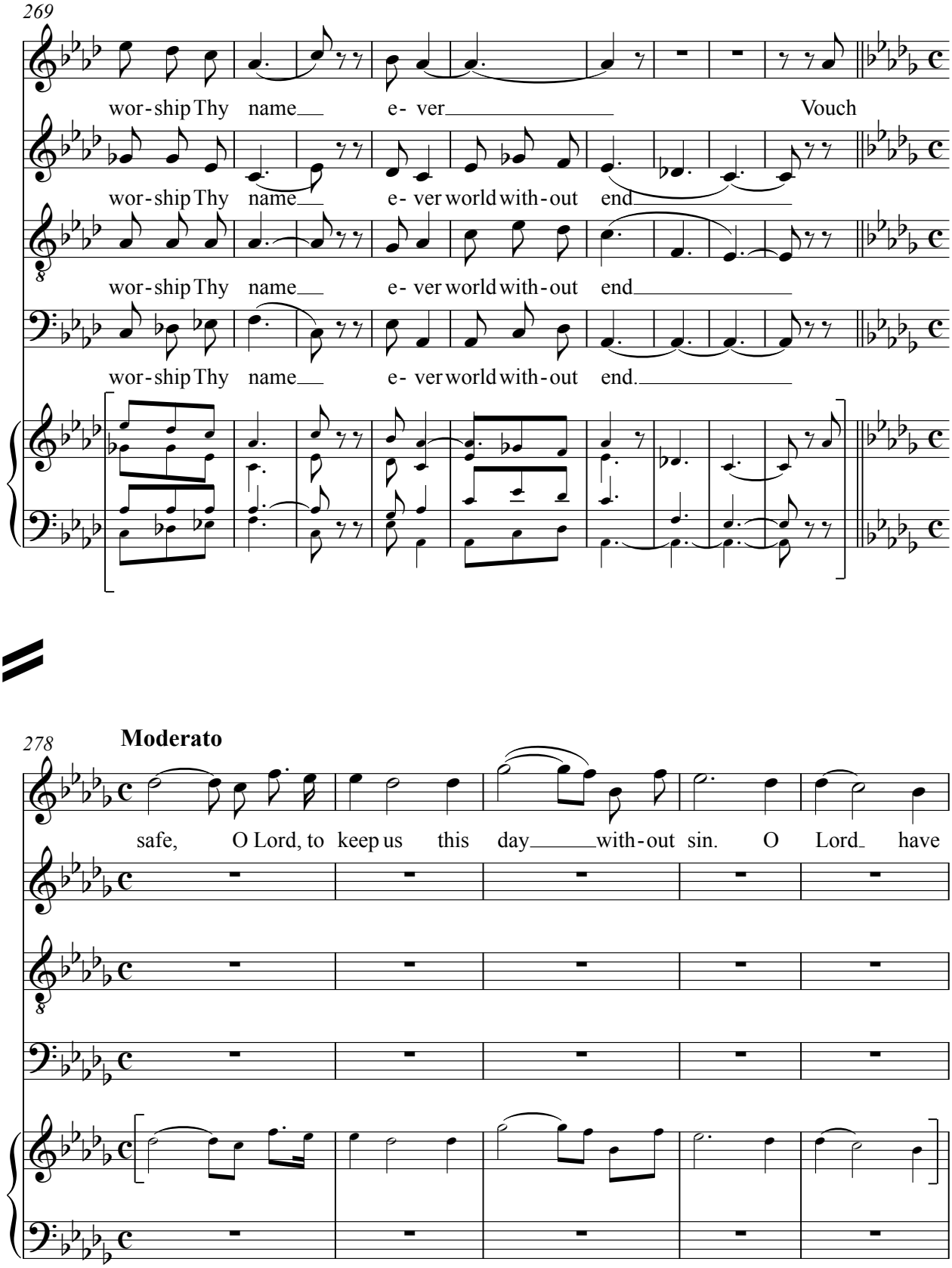
e ver. Day by day we mag-ni-fy Thee And we

pp

e ver. Day by day we mag-ni-fy Thee And we

pp

pp


269
wor-ship Thy name e- ver Vouch
wor-ship Thy name e- ver world with-out end
wor-ship Thy name e- ver world with-out end
wor-ship Thy name e- ver world with-out end.
278
Moderato
safe, O Lord, to keep us this day with-out sin. O Lord have

283

mer - cy have mer - cy up - on us, O Lord let Thy mer - cy Thy

288

mer - cy be up on us as our trust is in Thee our

293

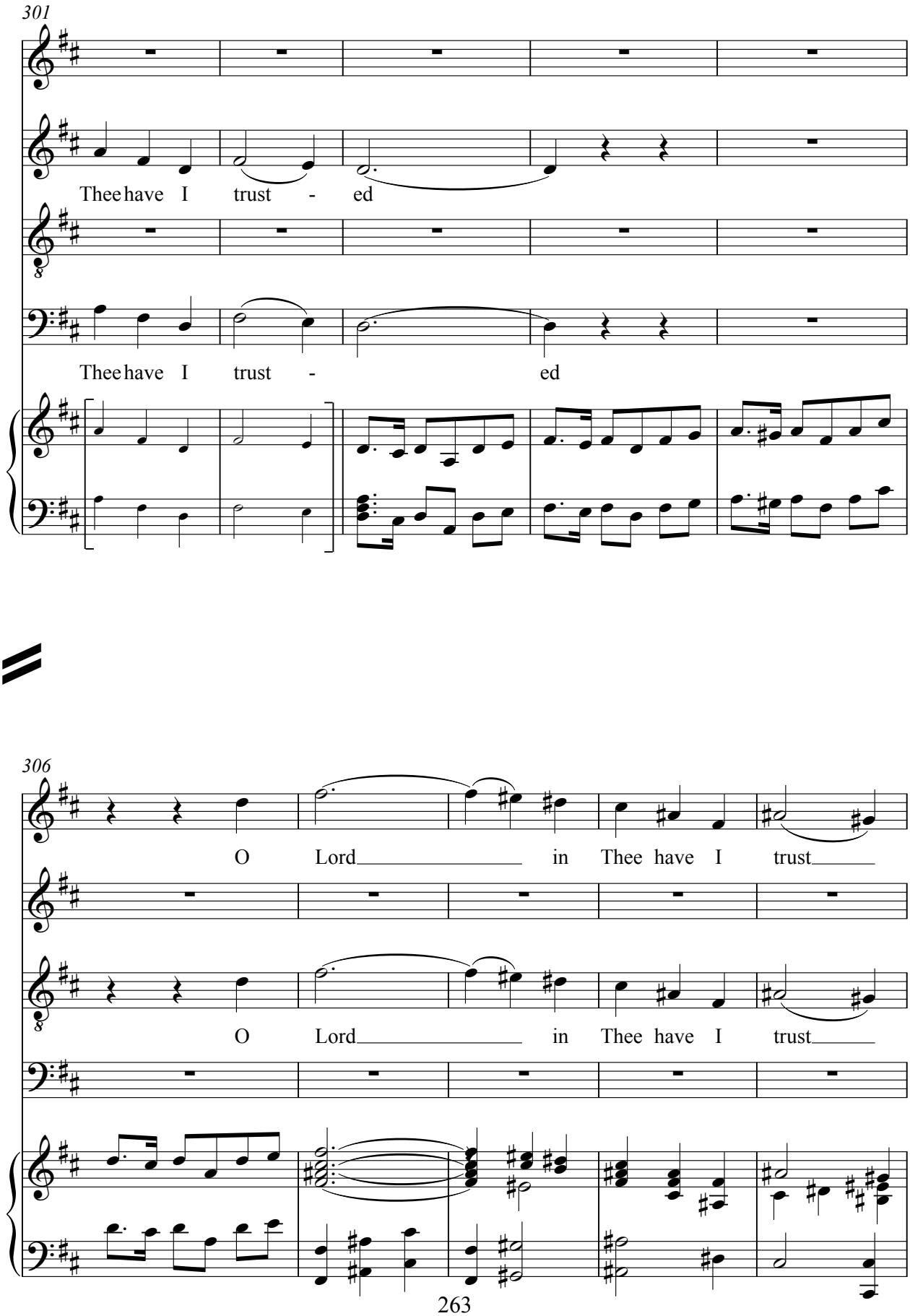
trust is in Thee

297

**Allegro vivace**

O Lord in

O Lord in


301
Thee have I trust - ed
Thee have I trust - ed
306
O Lord in Thee have I trust
O Lord in Thee have I trust

311

ed. Let me nev - er

Let me nev - er

ed. Let me nev - er

Let me nev - er

316

be con - foun - ded Let me nev - er be con - foun - ded

be con - foun - ded Let me never - er be con - foun - ded

be con - foun - ded Let me nev - er be con - foun - ded

be con - foun - ded Let me nev - er be con - foun - ded

322

Let me nev - er be con foun - ded nev - er be con -

Let me nev - er be con foun - ded nev - er be con

Let me nev - er be con foun - ded nev - er be con -

Let me nev - er be con foun - ded nev er be con

329

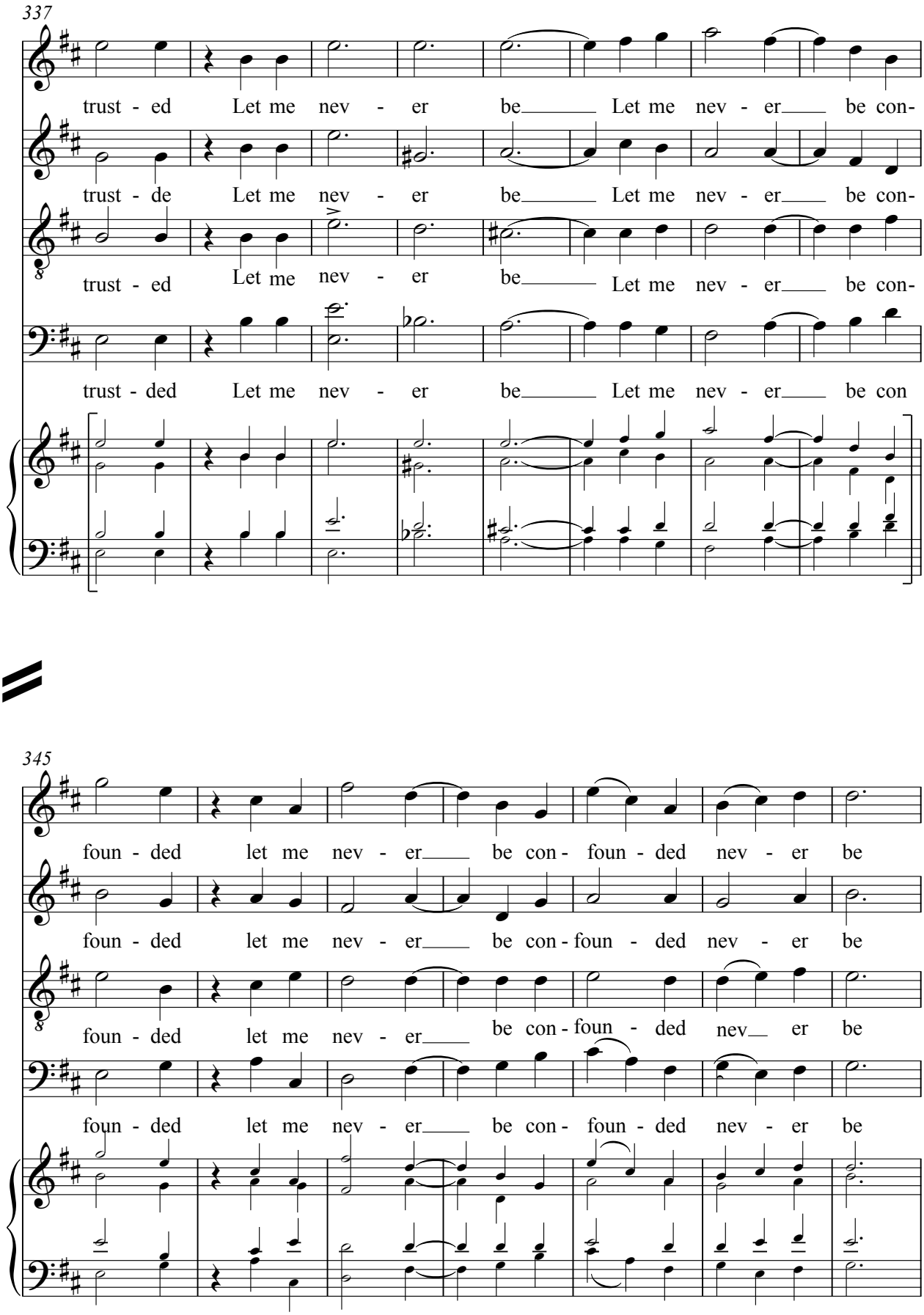
*ff*

foun- ded O Lord in Thee in Thee have I

foun- ded O Lord in Thee in Thee have I

foun- ded O Lord in Thee in Thee have I

foun- ded O Lord in Thee in Thee have I


337
trust - ed Let me nev - er be Let me nev - er be con-
trust - de Let me nev - er be Let me nev - er be con-
trust - ed Let me nev - er be Let me nev - er be con-
trust - ded Let me nev - er be Let me nev - er be con
345
foun - ded let me nev - er be con - foun - ded nev - er be
foun - ded let me nev - er be con - foun - ded nev - er be
foun - ded let me nev - er be con - foun - ded nev er be
foun - ded let me nev - er be con - foun - ded nev - er be

352

con - foun-ded Let me nev - er be con - foun - ded Let me

con - foun-ded Let me nev - er be con - foun - ded Let me

con - foun-ded Let me nev - er be con - foun - ded Let me

con - foun-ded Let me nev - er be con - foun - ded Let me

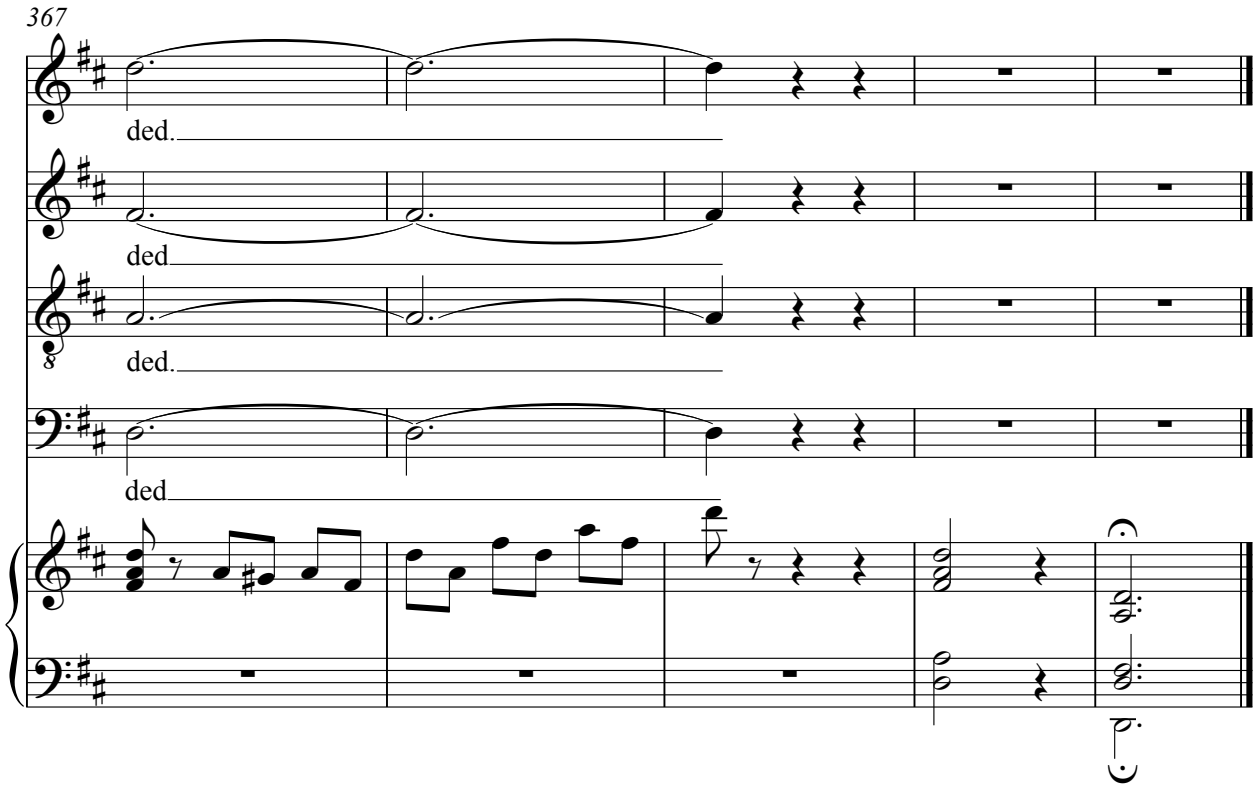
359

nev - er be con - found

nev - er be con - found

nev - er be con - foun

nev - er be con - foun


367
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