Finding their Voices:
Student Activism and the Beginnings of Music Instruction at Amherst
College and other New England Colleges and Universities

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5 Ibid.
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A Beginning: The Doctor and the Warbler

After the graduation of the class of 1884, the Amherst College Glee Club found itself in dire straits. The departure of its senior members had devastated the tenor section, and no new tenors had come to their fall auditions. Desperate to fill their diminished ranks, the remaining members made the decision to recruit from outside the college. Their corresponding search throughout the nearby town of Amherst turned up only one qualified man: William Pingry Bigelow, the son of the town physician.¹ Unbeknownst to the Glee Club, and even to Bigelow himself, by taking on the young tenor the group had irrevocably altered the future course of music at Amherst.

Though not a student in the college, and only fresh out of high school, Bigelow soon developed a reputation among the student-body as a musical wunderkind—not only had he been accepted into the Glee Club as a mere “sub-freshman” (already an unprecedented honor), but he had also been selected as a member of the College Quartette, then the most highly-regarded musical group on campus. With this head start into campus life, Bigelow officially enrolled in Amherst in 1885. He paid his way with his voice, earning a weekly sum of $10 as a singer in church choirs in neighboring towns, and also receiving his share of the concert proceeds of the College Quartette. More than just being a skilled performer, Bigelow exhibited a contagious passion for music, an enthusiasm that caught the attention of several Amherst faculty members, among them the president of the college, Julius H. Seelye.

Seelye and several other members of the faculty were already quite familiar with

¹ Howard D. French (Amherst Class of 1895), “Music at Amherst,” Amherst Graduates’ Quarterly 25, no. 1 (November 1935): 2 (the article is written in tribute to Bigelow on the occasion of his retirement from Amherst College in 1935).
Bigelow’s musical aspirations. The young tenor had been musically active all throughout his pre-collegiate life, singing in several church choirs and, in his high-school years, creating and leading a vocal quartette of some popularity. This quartette in particular had been in demand around the town of Amherst for social events, religious services, and funerals. Some members of the Amherst faculty, who often attended town events, seem to have been quite pleased with what they saw of this group—as Bigelow recalls in his memoir, Seelye and “Old Doc” Edward Hitchcock in particular were “great rooters,” often sending him notes of approval and encouragement after successful concerts.  

These initial impressions of Bigelow gave Seelye the first inklings of an idea that only grew stronger as the President watched Bigelow’s musical interests grow through his college years: Bigelow was to be Amherst’s first Professor of Music.

Seelye’s mind had been set on instituting a Professorship of Music at Amherst since he had first come to the Presidency in 1876. He had full support of the student body, which had petitioned for such a professorship several times between 1876 and 1889. Seelye knew that had he gone through with his plan in 1876, Amherst would have been at the forefront of the burgeoning American music-education movement. Unfortunately for Amherst, several obstacles stood in Seelye’s way. First, his hiring options were limited, as Amherst had a long-standing tradition of engaging only Amherst graduates as professors. Second, he lacked the support of the Board of Trustees, who did not like the notion of introducing the formal study of music at Amherst College.

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2 William P. Bigelow, *Early Days at Amherst* (an incomplete memoir), page 4, William P. Bigelow Papers: Box 1, Folder 10, Amherst College Archives and Special Collections (henceforth ACASC).
3 Detailed in chapter 1.
4 In 1880, for example, all but two of the 24 professors and instructors listed as employed at Amherst College were alumni. See Appendix C for a more complete survey of Amherst’s propensity for hiring its own graduates.
Seelye was convinced that in Bigelow he had found someone with sufficient skills and force of personality to sway the board. First, however, Bigelow needed the proper credentials. As I discuss in chapter three, at that point in America’s history only the conservatories and universities of Germany offered musical certification prestigious enough to catch the attention of the trustees, most of whom knew little of the music world.

In September 1890, Seelye approached Bigelow with a proposition: if he were to go to Europe to get a “proper” musical education, Seelye would guarantee a position for him at Amherst on his return. Bigelow, who had never seriously considered the possibility of music as a profession (he planned to follow his father into medicine), agreed, but raised the concern that he could not pay for the large cost of living and studying abroad. Luckily, Bigelow’s other “great rooter,” Professor Hitchcock, had come up with a solution.

Edward Hitchcock Jr., Amherst’s Professor of Hygiene and Physical Education (regimented exercise, a field Hitchcock pioneered), was the closest thing Amherst had ever had to a real patron of music. Deeply religious but unusually open-minded and well-loved by the student-body, Hitchcock felt a special connection to the musical arts. The professor viewed the oratorios of Handel in particular as representing the pinnacle of musical composition. When Amherst instituted a series of non-credit lectures on the fine arts in 1870, Hitchcock’s contribution was a lecture on Handel and his Messiah. Although the elementary analysis in this lecture betrays Hitchcock’s lack of formal musical training, Hitchcock’s addition to the fine arts course marked the first time music
had been given a formal place in the Amherst curriculum. Hitchcock gave this lecture over ten times in twelve years, and continued to give it informally even after Amherst stopped offering the Fine Arts Lecture Course in 1876.

Hitchcock was also an amateur performer, both as a cellist and a singer. He, along with several Amherst students, sang at both of Patrick Gilmore’s massive Grand Peace Jubilees in 1869 and 1872, and often invited students to his house to play chamber music. He also played an important role in supporting Amherst’s major musical groups. When in 1876 the college refused to assist in the purchase of a piano to help facilitate orchestra and Glee Club rehearsals, Hitchcock led the way in gathering donations from students, faculty, and alumni, eventually garnering a check from Rufus Kellogg, a wealthy banker and Amherst alumnus, for a significant portion of the piano’s cost.

Knowing of Bigelow’s new ambitions and wanting to help make them a reality, Hitchcock remembered Kellogg’s generous donation and decided to approach the banker about funding Bigelow’s education. After several exchanges between Hitchcock, Kellogg, and Bigelow, a deal was arranged where, in return for regular reports of Bigelow’s progress, Kellogg would give him a series of very favorable loans, to be repaid

5 Edward Hitchcock, Jr., “Handel: The Representative of the Oratorio” (c. 1869-1870). Edward Hitchcock, Jr. Collection, Box 4, Folder 4 (ACASC). Full text of the lecture can be found in Appendix D.
6 The Peace Jubilees of 1869 and 1872 were world-record-setting events, gathering literally thousands of volunteer performers from around the country to perform popular works, including the chorale “A Mighty Fortress is our God,” the Hallelujah Chorus from Handel’s Messiah and the Anvil Chorus from Verdi’s Il Trovatore. The Anvil Chorus from the 1869 Jubilee in particular was quite spectacular, with one hundred Boston firemen in full fire regalia beating the anvils while an electronically-controlled cannon fired on the downbeat of every measure. The 1872 Jubilee was a repeat of the first, but on an even larger scale, including a chorus of over 20,000 voices and an orchestra of 2000 instruments. The event’s ambitious plans were sadly defeated by the laws of physics. The sheer size of the chorus meant that the audience heard multiple sections of a piece at the same time: the sound from the closer performers reaching their ears before the sound of the more distant performers. The two-week-long series of concerts was, however, still highly popular, the unique spectacle of seeing so many people performing at the same time acting as a powerful draw on its own, even if the music itself was largely incomprehensible. For more information see Patrick S. Gilmore, History of the National Peace Jubilee and Great Music Festival (Boston: Patrick S. Gilmore, 1871).
whenever Bigelow was on steady financial footing. With this funding Bigelow was finally ready to leave for Europe.

Armed with nothing but his clothes and his father’s archaic English to German dictionary, Bigelow arrived in Germany in July 1891. He initially planned to speak as little German as possible while he was there, as he did not want to learn the language. He soon realized that taking some German lessons may “prove useful” to him later. He spent three years in Europe learning music in conservatories and from private tutors before heading back to the US. While there he discovered, in addition to a newfound taste for beer, a passion for the music of Richard Wagner (a composer who Bigelow would study for much of his life). Like other American music students in Germany, Bigelow’s exposure to the high social status music held in German culture gave him a new perspective on the state of music in America. When Bigelow’s borrowed funds finally ran out in 1894, it was with some regret and no small amount of trepidation that he headed home.

Bigelow’s return to Amherst was a hard one. By 1894, Seelye had retired, and could no longer keep the promise he had given Bigelow of a faculty appointment. Hitchcock had made a pitch to the new president and the Board of Trustees on Bigelow’s behalf, but had met with resistance. The trustees, still not interested in establishing the study of music at Amherst, and lacking the impetus an interested president may have given them, refused to release the necessary funds for a new hire. In desperation, Hitchcock suggested that Bigelow could take several roles—his experience in Germany meant he could teach German, and his musical experience meant he could direct and

7 William P. Bigelow in Berlin to a friend in America (31 July 1891). William P. Bigelow Collection, Box 1, Folder 37, “Letters from Berlin, c. 1891,” ACASC.
improve the Chapel Choir. The mention of German perked the trustees’ ears. The
country had gained a reputation in the USA for excellent scholarship, and knowledge of
the language was helpful for anyone who wanted to study there. Perhaps they could hire
Bigelow, on a temporary basis, to help the college teach the language.

And so it was that after being promised a music position and spending three years
and much more borrowed money studying music in Europe, Bigelow was instead hired to
teach a language he had learned only reluctantly. He would not be allowed to teach an
actual course in music for three more years, and it was not until 1907 that the college
allowed him to drop his German duties and focus solely on music. Bigelow was the sole
music instructor at the college until his retirement in 1935.

Bigelow’s tale may sound strange, but it was by no means a unique one. Music
had long held an awkward place in American culture. The country’s social and
intellectual scene was dominated by the moral outlook of its various Protestant
denominations—groups that had brought with them to America John Calvin’s views that
most music was sinfully grandiose and indulgent, its ego-centric nature equatable to idol-
worship. As I will discuss in chapter three, in practical terms these views translated into
whole-hearted support of simple psalmody in religious services, and a deep suspicion of
anything more complicated or secular. Most American colleges were founded with the
explicit purpose of training future ministers of various denominations, and almost every
college in New England had an affiliation with a Protestant group. As a result, these
institutions tended to treat music very warily. Protestant-controlled colleges were happy
to pay for the vocal training of their chapel choirs, but otherwise gave music no place in
the official curriculum.

Fortunately for people like Bigelow, America was changing. “Classical” music, previously rarely performed unless the work was of religious nature (and even then only by amateur organizations), was gaining more prominence among the middle and upper classes. An unprecedented number of German immigrants had come to the United States in the wake of their failed 1848 revolutions, and had brought with them an appreciation for the musical arts previously unseen in the New World. Many skilled instrumentalists (including, in one notable case, an entire professional orchestra)\(^8\) fled to the young country and immediately began to spread music by Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and other classic German Romantic composers. In addition to expanding the repertoire of American concert organizations, previously dominated by Handel, Haydn, and composers of light opera, these widespread performances exposed American audiences to musicianship of a caliber rarely heard before. With the newfound availability of skilled performers, American classical ensembles finally had the technical proficiency to perform difficult repertoire. Ensembles that had previously consisted largely of Americans soon came to be dominated by German performers, in at least one case resulting in an orchestra composed entirely of Germans.\(^9\) Many of these instrumentalists began offering lessons, raising the quality of private music education while at the same

\(^8\) I discuss this orchestra, known as the Germania Society, in more depth in chapter three.

\(^9\) While visiting New York in 1900, Oscar Sonneck, German himself, wrote the following anecdote: “A few weeks ago I attended a Messiah rehearsal of the Oratorio Society under Frank Damrosch. It made a singular impression on me that up on the podium English was being sung, while on the left and right Damrosch called his corrections to the orchestra in German. One of the first numbers absolutely did not work. The mistake clearly lay with the organist. Damrosch explained his wishes in such clear musical terminology that even a Frisian would have had to understand him. But nevertheless everything was once again uncannily wrong. Damrosch again tapped his baton for attention and addressed a long German speech to the organist. When he was interrupted with the words ‘I don’t understand German,’ the amazement and amusement were great; a full-blooded American among fifty Germans.” O. G. Sonneck, “Zum Verständnis des amerikanischen,” Die Zeit (Vienna), no. 296 (2 June 1900): 137, trans. Elam Douglas Bomberger, The German Musical Training of American Students, 1850-1900. (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1995), 281.
time training a new generation of American musicians.

As I will discuss in chapter two, changes were occurring in the collegiate scene as well. The passing of the Land-Grant Act in 1862, which gave states financial incentive to create their own non-denominational technical colleges (institutions that would lead to the development of the University system), signaled the beginning of the secularization of higher-education. As the popularity of these technical colleges grew, religious groups felt compelled to loosen their grips on their college policies in order to allow their older institutions to stay competitive. In this newly relaxed atmosphere, Charles William Elliot, Harvard’s twenty-first president (1869-1909), pioneered the elective system, allowing for students to take optional classes in addition to the normal prescribed sequence. Although not all institutions were keen to accept this new system, its influence spread, and by 1870 nearly all colleges included electives in their course catalogues. The wide-spread addition of music to college catalogues, however, took much longer. Neither did its acceptance happen all at once, as institutions offered music only reluctantly, even after the success of the first few pioneers became clear. As we have seen in the case of Amherst, this prejudice against the study of music lasted well into the end of the nineteenth century. Why was this the case? Why was the fight to include music in the college education often such an uphill battle? To fully understand how the study of music maneuvered (and in many cases forced) its way into the academic world, we must look to the complicated social forces in the United States that worked both for and against the acceptance of music.

In this thesis, I look at the beginnings of tertiary music education in America from both a wide lens (looking at the general social dynamics and historical events that shaped
the development of music education in the country) and a very focused one, looking specifically at the case of Amherst College. Surprisingly, there is very limited academic research on the subject. The history of musical developments in American primary schools is well documented, but the same on the collegiate level has been largely ignored. Many works exist on the history of music in America, including several supposedly covering the evolution of American music education. These works inexplicably ignore colleges entirely, even though some of the most prominent American composers and music theorists of the twentieth century would come out of collegiate music programs (including, but not limited to, Charles Ives, Virgil Thompson, Randall Thompson, Roger Sessions, Leonard Bernstein, and Eliot Carter). It is my hope that this work will begin to fill this void.

10 Among the most popular works that fail to cover collegiate music in a more than passing manner are Gilbert Chase, *America’s Music from the Pilgrims to the Present* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Richard Crawford, *America’s Musical Life* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001); David Nicholls, *The Cambridge History of American Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Michael Mark, *A Concise History of American Music Education* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2008). Even the few books and dissertations dedicated solely to the subject of collegiate music fail to explore exactly how colleges began including music in their curriculums, as in Maurice Faulkner’s “The Roots of Music Education in American Colleges and Universities” (PhD diss, Stanford University, 1955), which defines “roots” as the musical philosophies of Greek and medieval writers, spending no time on the practical matter of how Americans themselves conceived of music; Rosemary Basham’s “The Development of Music Curricula in American Colleges and Universities” (M. Ed. diss., University of Louisville, 1971), which gives only a very brief overview of early instruction, focusing on Paine’s efforts at Harvard; Roy Dickinson Welch’s *The Study of Music in College* (Northampton: Smith College, 1925), which does a good job of tracing ideologies that resisted music’s inclusion in college courses but fails to explore how the curriculum actually developed at any specific institutions; and Randall Thompson’s *College Music – An Investigation for the Association of American Colleges* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1935), which, while an excellent source on the contemporary state of music in American colleges, contains very little history. The best study on the subject, Rose Yont’s “Status and Value of Music in Education,” (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 1916) is too broad in scope to satisfactorily answer these questions, and is rapidly showing its age, nearing 100 years since its publication.
Chapter 1

From Singing Schools to The Singing College: The Story of Music at Amherst

In 1876, Sumner Salter ’77 and several other students with an interest in music presented the trustees of Amherst College with a petition signed by over half of the student body asking for a practice room and aid towards purchasing a piano for orchestra and choir rehearsals. Their petition was largely ignored. It would take concerted effort on the part of student musical groups and a few select faculty and alumni to ultimately force the college to begin to actively support music and musical studies. As a result of this resistance, Amherst would find itself very middle-of-the-pack amongst American colleges in establishing music as an academic subject. Students gave the college many opportunities to be a leader, but their repeated efforts brought no result. The story of the acceptance of music at Amherst, and some of the reasons for the college’s recalcitrance is the topic of this chapter.

The archival materials used in this chapter merit a brief disclaimer. A historian can only write about what has been recorded, normally in the form of a physical artifact or a piece of writing. The records pertaining to music at Amherst, especially from the years between 1830 and 1860, are particularly lacking. Many musicians and music groups passed through Amherst’s halls in its first century. Some live on only in the passing mention of their name in a student memoir or publication. It is impossible to know how many (or how few) have been lost entirely. Since the following analysis relies
on this scare source material, it is necessarily incomplete, Unfortunately leaving much room for speculation.

The student body played by far the most important role in giving Amherst its Music Department. By forming music groups and thereby exposing faculty to music of all types, by directly petitioning the college for more support for music, and by circumventing the college entirely and hiring their own music instructors, students were instrumental in shaping musical life at Amherst.

To give a sense of the wide variety of music groups that have appeared at Amherst since its founding, Table 1.1 (given further below) lists music groups at the college from 1821–1900, arranged by founding date, with a brief description of their activities. Not all of these groups were actively involved in the pursuit of furthering musical studies at Amherst, but their very presence implies healthy and growing interest in music amongst the student body. (Complete information on many of these groups can be found in Appendix A.)

Since the sheer number of groups in the table can obscure any kind of narrative coherence, a brief overview before its presentation is necessary. Organized music groups appeared at Amherst very soon after the college’s founding. For the most part, they can be classified into two groups: those that performed secular music, and those that performed sacred music. Faculty and trustees of the college actively supported groups in the latter category, providing them with funding in return for their services during Amherst’s many religious exercises. Secular groups lacked this financial and institutional support, and as a result were much more transient. They made up for this
impermanence in their sheer numbers. From 1821 to 1900, there were only two sacred
groups at the college, the Lutheran Society c.1821 to c.1830 and the Chapel Choir 1833
to 1967. Over seventy secular groups appeared during that same time period. Until the
Glee Club solidified its existence in 1876, none of these secular groups would last longer
than six years, most functioning for only one or two seasons. In contrast, the Chapel
Choir, which succeeded the Lutheran Society in 1833, existed continuously for the next
132 years. Such is the difference made by institutional support. A third variety of
student music group did exist, in the form of social clubs devoted to improving the state
of music in the college. They receive extended treatment later in this chapter.

Both sacred and secular groups appeared at Amherst soon after its 1821 founding.
The Lutheran Society, a sacred group likely formed in 1821 or 1822, carries the claim of
the first musical group to perform at the college. Unfortunately, no primary documents
detailing its existence survive. All that we do know comes from a short section on
Amherst musical groups in George R. Cutting’s 1871 book Student Life at Amherst, in
which the author briefly mentions that the Lutheran Society sang for the college’s
religious services and provided sacred music for Commencement and other campus
events.\textsuperscript{11} Unfortunately Cutting does not specify his sources, making this data impossible
to corroborate.

In 1824, a group of musically-inclined students formed the Paean Band, a group
devoted to playing martial music. Its instruments were paid for by student and faculty
donations under the agreement that the Band would give performances for free upon
request by the faculty or by student organizations. The Paean Band was quite popular,
with a cumulative membership of 80 individuals over the twelve years of its existence.

\textsuperscript{11} George R. Cutting, Student Life at Amherst (Amherst: Hatch & Williams, 1871), 89.
Henry Ward Beecher, who would later become known throughout the United States as a lecturer and preacher, was a member in 1833. The group dissolved in 1836 after it unsuccessfully petitioned the college for official recognition, and per its constitution its instruments were donated to the faculty.

The Chapel Choir was founded in 1833, taking on the role previously assumed by the Lutheran Society. The Choir regularly received financial support from the trustees of the college, who paid for their hymn books and for the services of the Chorister, a student charged with leading and training the group. The Chorister was also occasionally tasked with giving a Singing School to the college at large, teaching the basics of vocal production and musical notation.

Beginning in the mid 1850s, Amherst experienced an unprecedented growth in secular vocal singing. The impetus for this sudden proliferation originated in Yale College with recent musical developments on its own campus. Richard Storrs Willis, Yale class of 1841, was in a situation much like Bigelow’s: he had left to Germany to study music after graduation but was hired by his alma mater in 1848 solely to teach that country’s language. He brought to Yale a book of German college songs from his time in that country, which he enthusiastically shared with the college community. These songs, particularly *Gaudeamus Igitur* and *Integer Vitae*, quickly became popular on

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12 Record-book of the Paean Band, 1824-1836. Box 1, Folder 1, Music at Amherst Collection, ACASC. Beecher appears in pages 41, 62, 63, 79, and 80. Membership lists appear in pages 6-7 (1824 to 1828) and 40-41 (1828-1834). A full transcript of this record-book can be found in Appendix E.

13 “Petition of five college students to the faculty for permission to organize a band, given March 1836.” Amherst College Early History Manuscripts and Pamphlets Collection, 1820-1843 (Box 1, Folder 52), ACASC. An account of the instruments donated to the faculty, including a bassoon, a trombone, a pair of cymbals, and a serpent (an unusual instrument still held by the Amherst College Archives), see the final pages of the Paean Band Recordbook (reproduced in Appendix E).

14 “Constitution of the College Choir adopted Dec. 3rd 1833.” Amherst College Early History Manuscripts and Pamphlets Collection, 1820-1843 (Box 1, Folder 45), ACASC.

15 Richard S. Willis gives an account of his time at Yale as a student and a teacher in the *Yale Literary Magazine* 24, no. 3 (Dec. 1858): 103-108.
campus. Students were inspired to try their own hand at writing pieces in a similar spirit, but lacked the musical knowledge to write music in four parts, or even to compose any melodies of their own. Instead of composing entirely new music, they simply wrote lyrics and set them to pre-existing popular melodies. This new method made these songs possible to sing even if one could not read music, as the tunes were already widely known. These new student “compositions” eventually came to overshadow the German songs that had inspired them. The subject of these songs ranged from praise of the college, to rousing tales of bacchanalian pleasure, and to scenes from college life, and were almost always presented in a flowery and humorous manner. F.M. Finch’s “Smoking Song,” written in 1853, provides a good example of the tone of the prose:

Smoking Song
by F. M. Finch, ‘49
Air – “Sparkling and bright”

Floating away like the fountains’ spray,
Or the snow-white plume of a maiden,
The smoke wreaths rise to the star-lit skies,
With blissful fragrance laden.
Then smoke away till a golden ray
Lights up the dawn of the morrow,
For a cheerful cigar, like a shield, will bar
The blows of care and sorrow.

The musical spirit sweeping Yale’s campus inspired the formation of several new singing groups, many of which sang the new college songs. In 1853, just five years after Willis’s arrival, students of Yale published a book containing the texts for a selection of their new songs, adding the name of the popular tunes to which they were to be sung just

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16 Sparkling and Bright was a highly popular melody around this time—it is the most frequently set melody appearing in the Yale song-book. The tune is given in Appendix H.

17 Songs of Yale (New Haven: E. Richardson, 1853), 11.
below their titles.\textsuperscript{18} This collection, entitled \textit{Songs of Yale}, went through three editions in the next eight years and was published throughout New England.

The popularity of \textit{Songs of Yale} inspired a new proliferation of singing groups not only in Yale, but in college campuses throughout the country. The establishment of the “Cinyrea” Glee Club in the mid 1850s marked the first appearance of such a group at Amherst. Many would follow it. Most of the vocal quartets, trios, and quintets that appeared over Amherst’s history sang these college songs, along with other light “serenade” pieces.\textsuperscript{19} In 1860 Amherst students published their own collection of college songs, 62 in total, 55 of which were new literary compositions. The publication, titled \textit{Songs of Amherst}, was clearly influenced by \textit{Songs of Yale}—in addition to the title, the Amherst publication also borrowed its internal organization from the Yale book, which had split its songs into several categories based on subject matter.\textsuperscript{20} Among the “Examination Songs” of Amherst was a piece written by “a Sufferer,” which began with the following:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Air- “Vive l’Amour”}

Come classmates and swell the melodious song,
Examination’s done!
The jubilant shouts to the victors belong,
Examination’s done!
The terrible bore! The terrible bore!- \textit{Bis.}
We’ll crown it with fun! We’ll crown it with fun!
Examination’s done!\textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid. A second edition was published in 1855, and a third in 1858. A new volume, \textit{Carmina Yalensia}, was published in 1867, and went through several editions.

\textsuperscript{19} An example: “Oh Angelina, Miss Angelina, open your window and look down on me!,” as sung by the Calliopean Quintette, c. 1860. Robert W. Adams, “Doctor Frank, a Study in Motivation.” Preserved in the Francis W. Adams ’1862 file of the Alumni Biographical Files collection (ACASC).

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Songs of Amherst} (Northampton: Metcalf & Company, 1860). Published by the class of 1862. As in the Yale edition, the Amherst song-book had categories for Alumni and Parting songs, student Society songs, Biennial songs, and several pertaining to unique student traditions.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid, 17.
Clearly some aspects of the college experience are timeless.

As at Yale, once the college-song bug hit Amherst the college experienced a lasting revival of musical spirit, providing the impetus for continued formation of new musical groups. Amherst’s first recorded orchestra appeared in the fall of 1860, under the direction of Edwin R. Lewis, class of 1861. Its repertoire seems not to have departed too far from the marches of the Paean Band, although it featured a healthy selection of light works by Verdi, Schubert, and Beethoven as well. An 1861 program gives a representative sampling of their repertoire:

**Part I.**
1. National Airs - *Arranged* [likely by the orchestra’s leader]
3. Speculation Galop – *[Albert] Leutner*
4. La Nouvelle Polonaise [sic], Flute Duett – *[Charles] Nicholson*
5. Shrove Tuesday in Pandemonium – *Schubert*
6. Prison Song (flute solo) – *Trovatore [sic, Verdi, from his Trovatore]*
7. Un Ballo in Maschera – *Verdi*

**Part II.**
8. Patriotic Medley – *Arranged*
10. Marcia alla Turca – *Beethoven*
11. Ecco La Tromba – *Rossini*
12. Gypsy Polka – *[Albert] Leutner*
14. Ernani: Selections – *Verdi*
15. Farewell Music – *Composed and dedicated to the many friends of the College Orchestra by the Leader.*

The orchestra consisted of several clarinets, two violins, a cello, a double bass, and a large drum. Unfortunately it dissolved after its leader graduated. Although instrumental groups would continue to spontaneously appear throughout Amherst’s history, they seem to have been unusually volatile, rarely lasting more than one or two

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22 See concert program in Box 1, Folder 19 of the Music at Amherst Collection (ACASC).
years. The impermanence of these groups is not hard to explain. Instruments were expensive, and finding enough students who already happened to own the correct instruments was often difficult. Even when enough musicians were available, their particular combination of instruments tended to be a little unusual for most orchestral repertoire. The leaders of these groups required sufficient musical training to write out all the parts for each musician, and had to be ready to transcribe a given source for a wide variety of instruments. These talented individuals often provided much of the enthusiasm that kept their groups energized. When they graduated, their ensembles tended to disappear with them.

The Amherst College Glee Club was organized as an octet in the spring of 1865 by Thomas E. Babb, who was to graduate that year. The group had a very tenuous early existence, some years highly active and others threatening dissolution, until it came under the direction of Frederick Zuchtmann, a vocal instructor from Springfield, in 1876. It has existed continuously ever since, with a small hiatus during World War II (when many college clubs were suspended). Beginning in 1868, Class Glee Clubs—smaller vocal groups composed entirely of students of one class—began to appear. During the less active years of the Amherst College Glee Club, these groups seem to have served as a replacement, singing the same songs as the larger group and performing in the same locations. Although Class Glee Clubs still appeared after the Amherst Glee Club was permanently reorganized by Zuchtmann in 1876, they functioned as small subsets of the larger club rather than as independent organizations.

1875 marked the first documented appearance of fraternity-affiliated singing groups. These had likely existed informally for some time. Music groups associated
with fraternities (with distinct quartets for each fraternity) proliferated from 1876–1880 until 1881, when they disappeared entirely from the student yearbook. Despite the lack of documentation, these groups likely continued to exist even after 1881. The number of musical organizations appearing in the yearbook for the next several years dropped significantly, and, lacking any evidence of some dramatic musical calamity, it is probable that the editors of the yearbook had decided to list only the largest or most popular of the musical organizations.

In 1885, Amherst found itself involved in another musical phenomenon then sweeping the collegiate world. Banjos, guitars, and mandolins had grown exponentially in popularity ever since the Spanish Students, an instrumental ensemble from Spain consisting largely of strummed string instruments, had found enormous success touring of the United States in 1879. In 1882, students at Yale formed a “Banjo and Guitar Club,” dedicated to performing works similar to those introduced by the Spanish Students. Several other high-profile colleges followed suit in the ensuing years and by 1890 it had become unusual for a college not to have a Banjo Club of its own. Amherst’s own group, formed in the spring of 1885, immediately became successful, and would come to be a steady feature of student life for the next fifty years.
Figure 1.1 - Amherst College Banjo Club, c. 1890
Table 1.1 - Student-Run Musical Groups at Amherst, 1821-1900

The largest source for this data has been the college yearbook, first published in 1855. Issues of the student newspaper, first published in 1868, fill in some of the gaps. Materials in the Amherst College Archives fill others. Many gaps remain. Unless otherwise noted, the first date in the “Years Active” column refers to the fall semester of a school year, and the second date refers to the spring semester, after which members may have graduated or the group otherwise may have gone defunct. (S) = Spring and (F) = Fall.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Group</th>
<th>Years Active</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran Society</td>
<td>1821?-1830?</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Sang at church services.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paean Band (College Band after 1828)</td>
<td>1824-1836</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Played marches. Processed students and faculty between buildings for secular college exercises, also played for many of the exhibitions (debates and recitations) of the Amherst Literary Societies.</td>
<td>~10 per year. 82 students in total were members from 1824 - 1836.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beethoven Society</td>
<td>1830?-1869</td>
<td>Social. Often vocal as well.</td>
<td>Unknown. Well over 100 over the course of its existence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Choir (aka Chapel Choir)</td>
<td>1833-1965</td>
<td>Vocal. Accompanied by viol or organ.</td>
<td>Sang at Amherst’s religious services. 4-8 per year. Membership rises to 12 and above after 1894.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinyrea</td>
<td>1854(?)-1856</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartette made of members of the class of 1858. Called a “glee club” in the <em>Olio</em>.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calliopea (aka Calliopean Quartette, Quintette, and Calliopean Serenade Quartette)</td>
<td>1856(?)-1862</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet originally made of members of the class of 1860. Occasionally serenaded Mt. Holyoke girls with a portable melodeon hitched to a wagon. Its final year it was composed only of members of ’62.</td>
<td>9 total, never more than 5 concurrently.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Flute Serenade Quartet</td>
<td>1859-1861</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Quartet of flutes that seems to have been connected to the Calliopean Quartet.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Olenians</td>
<td>1859-1860</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal sextet formed of members of ’1861. Offered serenade services.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Orchestra</td>
<td>1860-1862</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Originally organized and lead by Edwin Lewis ‘1861. Played simple instrumental music – some marches and selections from light opera. Unsuccessfully petitioned the college for a rehearsal room in 1861.</td>
<td>12-15 per year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye Choir of Tuneful Hartes, Parte I.</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quintet of humorous bent. Associated with “Ye Touching Instrumental Symphonye.”</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartet of ‘63</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet formed by members of the class of 1863.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donizetti Glee Club</td>
<td>1861-1865</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Formed by David O. Mears ’65. Tourd the White Mountains in 1862. Originally a quintet, by 1865 was a octet, including two instrumentalists (flute and piano). Sang light vocal music.</td>
<td>5-8 per year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euterpean Quartette Club</td>
<td>1862-1864</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Vocal quartet.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meyerbeer Trio</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Vocal trio.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendelssohn Quartette</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Vocal quartet with organist.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst College Glee Club</td>
<td>1865-present</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Formed as an octet by Thomas E. Babb ‘1865. Continued on a shaky basis until 1875, when it was reorganized by Frederick Zuchtmann, a vocal instructor from Springfield. Has existed continuously to today. Several thousand individuals have likely been members over the years.</td>
<td>8-24 first 50 years. More afterwards, with some years over 100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Quintette Club</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quintet made of members of the class of 1865.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mammoth Orphean Orchestra</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>An orchestra that clearly didn’t take itself very seriously. Made mostly of flutes, along with two violins, a melodeon, accordion, and a set of “bones.” Possibly an early Minstrel group – see 1889 entry “Amherst College Minstrels.”</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Musical Club (later Instrumental Club)</td>
<td>1867-1868</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>An instrumental group, originally consisting of two violins, two flutes, a cornet, guitar, bass violin, and a piano.</td>
<td>8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class of ’70 Glee Club</td>
<td>1868-1870</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal octet formed of members of the class of 1870.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of ’71</td>
<td>1869-1871</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A 12 member vocal group, formed of members of ’1871.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of ’72</td>
<td>1869-1872</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal octet formed of members of the class of 1872.</td>
<td>8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical Association</td>
<td>1870-1883</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Successor to the Beethoven Society. Would alternate between one or two years of heavy activity and several of Began with 96 members.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Active Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Orchestra (temporarily called Euterpean Club in 1871)</td>
<td>1870-1872</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Another incarnation of the College Orchestra. Began with 9 members: three violins, three flutes, one clarinet, one cornet, and one double bass.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of '73</td>
<td>1871-1873</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A 12 member vocal group, comprised of members of '1873.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of '74</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Same as above, comprised of '1874 members.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartet of '74 (&quot;Glee Club of '74&quot; after 1873)</td>
<td>1872-1874</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet. Began as a subset of the above, but apparently superseded it after 1873.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of '75</td>
<td>1872-1875</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal septet, formed from the class of 1875. Became a quartet in 1873.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arion Quintette Club</td>
<td>1872-1878</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quintet that achieved huge success in and around Amherst.</td>
<td>5 per year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of '76</td>
<td>1873-1876</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet made of members of '1876. Octet by 1875.</td>
<td>4-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of '77</td>
<td>1873-1877</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quintet made of members of '1877. Octet by 1875.</td>
<td>5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;H.B.&quot; Quintette (became Amphion Sextette in 1876)</td>
<td>1873-1877</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quintet, later sextet. Had decent success within Amherst, occasionally performing in neighboring towns.</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Beauty’s&quot; Immense Octoquinquartocuplexal Philharmonic Orchestrian Combination</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>An instrumental group. Likely an early Minstrel troupe. Consisted of “Banjo, bones, first and second fiddle, brass piece, soloist, and 'supe.'” See 1889 entry.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'76 Orchestra</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Another orchestra, once again presented in The Olio in a humorous fashion.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of '78 (became the Orphean Quartette in 1876)</td>
<td>1875-</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal octet, made of members of the class of 1878.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glee Club of '79 (became the A.B.C.D. Quartette in 1876)</td>
<td>1875-</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet, made of members of the class of 1879.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psi U Glee Club (quartette in 1877)</td>
<td>1875-1878(F)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal sextet with piano accompaniment, associated with the Psi U fraternity. May have not been active in 1876.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Orchestra</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>6 member instrumental group.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan Trio</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Vocal trio.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sigh-rens</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Vocal quintet, of humorous bent.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence Serenaders</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A quartet subset of the ’77 Glee Club</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivy Quartette</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A mixed-class vocal quartet.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Years Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delta Kappa Epsilon Glee Club (Sextette in 1877)</td>
<td>1876-1880(S)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal octet (later sextet), formed by members of the DKE fraternity.</td>
<td>6-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’78 “Gym” Quartette</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet, assumedly sang for gym exercises.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’79 Orchestra (became College Orchestra in 1877)</td>
<td>1876-1878(F)</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>A small instrumental ensemble, originally featuring two violins, a flute, a tenor horn, a piano, and a bass violin.</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’80 Quartette</td>
<td>1877-1878(F)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet formed of members of the class of 1880.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’81 Quartette</td>
<td>1877-1878(F)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Hugely successful quartet, performed from 1878 to 1881. They would be known as the standard for fine vocal singing for years afterward.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Delta Phi Quartette</td>
<td>1877-1880(S)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet associated with the ADP fraternity.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi Psi Quartette</td>
<td>1877-1880(S)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet associated with the Chi Psi fraternity</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi Phi Quartette</td>
<td>1877-1880(S)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet associated with the Chi Phi fraternity.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osseo Quartette (became Delta Upsilon Quartette in 1878)</td>
<td>1877-1880(S)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet associated with the Delta Upsilon fraternity.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’81 Gym. Quartette</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet, assumedly sang for gym exercises.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestra of South Entry, East College</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>A six member instrumental ensemble.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’82 Quartette</td>
<td>1879-1880</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet formed of members of the class of 1882.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’83 Quartette</td>
<td>1879-1880</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A vocal quartet formed of members of the class of 1883.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torch and Crown Quartet</td>
<td>1879-1880</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A mixed-class vocal quartet, associated with the Torch and Crown secret society.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst College Quartette</td>
<td>1881-1890</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>A quartet made of the four best singers of the Glee Club.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst College Octette</td>
<td>1881-1885(S)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Possibly inactive 1882-1883</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’84 Quartette</td>
<td>1881(F)</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Vocal quartet, of the class of 1884.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandemonium Quintette Club</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Actually 7 members: flute, four violins, a cello, and a piano. Unclear if group listing is serious.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist Church Quartette</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Unknown.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’85 Quartette</td>
<td>1882-1883</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Not listed in Olio.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troubadours</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>A quartet of guitars and banjos. Often performed in conjunction with the Glee Club. Would soon morph into the Amherst College Banjo Club.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst College Banjo Club (aka Banjo and Guitar Club)</td>
<td>1885-1929</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>A rebranding of the Troubadours. This group, which often performed and toured with the Glee Club, would be highly successful, ultimately lasting well into the next century. It</td>
<td>4-10 per year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
merged with the Mandolin Club in 1909, continuing under the name of the newer organization.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrumental Club</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freshman Banjo Club</td>
<td>1887-1888</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Associated with the original Banjo Club, this group provided performance opportunities for Freshmen who normally would not be able to secure a spot in the other club.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst College Orchestra</td>
<td>1888-1890</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Another orchestra. Four violins, a cornet, a clarionet, a piccolo, a cello, a bass violin, and a piano. Led by T.W. Jackson.</td>
<td>7-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Band</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>A very large band, with 19 members. Instruments consisted of three “clarionets,” three cornets, three “alto,” one “baritone,” three “tenors” (it is unclear what these refer to; possibly flutes), one trombone, two tubas, one snare drum, one set of cymbals, and one bass drum.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst College Minstrels</td>
<td>1889-1890, 1893-95</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Amherst’s first lasting realization of a Minstrel Troup, a fad that had been sweeping the nation. Performers in black-face would give a musical extravaganza in two acts, giving humorous songs and skits based off of exaggerated racial stereotypes. Their concerts were enormously popular on campus.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical Association</td>
<td>1890-94</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>A group, unrelated to the previous Musical Association, formed by alumni and current students to manage the finances of Glee and Banjo Clubs. It was likely modeled after the Athletic Association, a group formed for similar purposes, albeit for college athletics, a few years beforehand.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandolin Club</td>
<td>1893-1929</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Similar to the Banjo Club, but made of mandolins and guitars. It merged with the Banjo Club in 1909, although its name remained unchanged.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'96 Quartet</td>
<td>1894-96</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>A vocal quartet with mandolin and guitar accompaniment. Also employed a dramatic reader.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'98 Quartet</td>
<td>1896-1897</td>
<td>Vocal</td>
<td>Vocal quartet. Employed a dramatic reader.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony Corner</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Nothing is known about this group beyond the name.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Orchestra</td>
<td>1900-?</td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Nine member group, lead by Irving Sobotky, class of 1903. Consisted of five violins, assorted winds, and piano.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One final disclaimer is necessary before moving on to the body of the study. Relying exclusively on student accounts creates a unique problem for the historian of an educational institution. The fact that the entire student body at a college like Amherst turns over every four years puts a spin on all of their records. Institutional memory, from a student’s perspective, is only as old as the oldest member present. An event that occurs in 1860 will become legend by 1864, and will be forgotten by 1867. This leads to the frequent reporting of hundreds of “best concerts ever given at Amherst” and constant bemoaning of the state of the Chapel Choir, even if it had measurably improved from a decade before. Faculty provided some form of long-term memory, but they tended not to be involved with student affairs. Knowing their time at Amherst would be impermanent, students rarely took any steps to ensure longevity in any of their activities: they lived for the present, without any appreciable past and without any vision of the future. This unique perspective had a negative effect on the ultimate permanence of any groups the students established without faculty support. Yet this limited perspective might also have had its benefits: if students had ever known the full extent of their efforts to further musical studies in the college, they might have given up in despair. But fresh minds and strong personalities, blind to the general failures of past efforts, were always there to keep up the fight with optimism and good humor.
I. A Drive to Improve: Student Interest in Music, 1821-1894

The Beethoven Society

The story of organized student interest in the improvement of the state of music at Amherst begins, as far as has been recorded, with an organization known as the Beethoven Society. In his 1871 history Student Life at Amherst, George R. Cutting gives the founding date of the group as c.1830, when it apparently replaced the Lutheran Society. No primary-source records of the Beethoven Society seem to have survived until 1856, when a list of its members appeared in the second volume of the college yearbook. The group had significant enrollment, with twenty-three members including three officers and two organists. Unfortunately we have no records of its actions or its organized purpose. Cutting’s description of the group’s activities is too vague to be of much use (“during its history, numerous teachers of music have been employed, and, by its various instrumentalities, the musical talent of the students has been greatly developed.” One wonders whether he knew any more than the name of the organization. His claims about the ultimate influence of the group, however, may hold some weight. In 1859, the Prudential Committee of Amherst College, a group made of trustees and faculty charged with channeling money to various college matters, voted to

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23 George R. Cutting, Student Life at Amherst (Amherst: Hatch & Williams,1871), 89.
24 The Olio, 2 (November 1856): 2. The publication’s title means “miscellany,” and refers to the fact that it records various aspects of student life that were not recorded elsewhere. At first containing only a few pages and listing only select student-run organizations and their memberships, by 1880 The Olio had become the size of a small book, with lists of full class and fraternity membership, short class histories, photographs, full coverage of sports teams, and satirical cartoons. It has been published yearly, without break, from 1855 to the present. Unfortunately, many of its earlier editions give musical organizations a short shrift, covering at most only the name of the organization and the names and positions of its members, never giving any description of its activities or stated purpose.
25 Cutting, Student Life at Amherst, 89.
grant a request of the Beethoven Society to purchase new hymn and music books, although what exactly was meant by “music books” is unknown.\textsuperscript{26} The committee also allocated funds to tune the church organ, again at the request of the Society. These requests suggest that the Beethoven Society was indeed concerned with improving the state of music at the college. No further records of the group’s actions are found until February 1868, when an article featuring the group appeared in the very first issue of \textit{The Amherst Student}, a newspaper published and edited by students of the college. The author of the article, a representative of the Beethoven Society, laments the state of the Chapel Choir, and gives a scathing review of one of their recent performances. According to the student, the performance “may have been devotion, but it certainly was not singing.”\textsuperscript{27} He finds, however, no fault in the singers, who, although they lacked technical skill, performed to the best of their abilities. Instead of lambasting the choir, the author uses the opportunity to notify the college that the Beethoven Society would be giving classes in the “art of reading by note” for the benefit of the Chapel Choir and for any other student who may be interested.

Towards that end, the Beethoven Society hired a voice instructor by the name of “Dr. Meekins.” Students seem to have been excited at the prospect of the upcoming lessons, as the Beethoven Society’s membership soon rose to over 70, significantly more than the 10 members registered two years earlier.\textsuperscript{28} The 1868–1869 yearbook lists only officers of the Society, making these new membership numbers hard to corroborate. It is possible that no full membership was listed simply because the group had too many

\textsuperscript{26} Prudential Committee meeting records, 1835-1864 (16 September 1859), p. 162. Amherst College Committee Records Collection (ACASC).
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{The Amherst Student} (2 February 1868): 5
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{The Amherst Student} (14 March 1868): 29.
members to record. The same yearbook also included a statement in praise of the success of the college’s musical groups and societies, which, compared to the lack of interest in music that characterized previous years, suggests that the efforts of the Beethoven Society had indeed had a measurable effect:

The musical element of our College deserves notice. Hitherto it has been a great cause of complaint that the students lacked the musical spirit so observable in the members of other colleges; but the success of societies and glee clubs already in existence and the formation of others, lead us to hope that the time is past when fault could be found with any for their lack of interest and the Amherst will soon excel in this as in other attainments.  

This initial interest did not translate to an entirely successful set of courses, however. *The Amherst Student* soon reported that, although Meekins was an excellent teacher, surprisingly few of the Society’s members attended his lessons.

Although Meekins was never given a first name in print, his last name is uncommon enough that some educated guesses may be made as to his identity. One person in particular fits the bill, a Dr. Thomas W. Meekins, a dentist from Northampton who had previously gained some distinction in that town for his musical activities. He was no stranger to vocal training, as he had previously organized a Northampton Choral Union, which, according to one town historian, had “performed a wondrous work in calling out and developing the musical talent of the community.” He was particularly noted for the diversity of his musical skills and for his great executive ability. Meekins’s 1859 production of Giuseppe Verdi’s *Il Trovatore*, which he arranged entirely from scratch, provides an excellent example of these traits. Meekins single-handedly assembled an orchestra, a chorus, and an ensemble of soloists; wrote out full orchestral

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29 *The Olio*, 14 (September 1868): 4.
and vocal scores; planned scenery and costumes; acted as stage manager and general
director; and still somehow found the time to sing the part of Count di Luna.\textsuperscript{32} He clearly
knew what he was doing, and without a doubt would have provided fine instruction at
Amherst.

It may have been his high ambition that ultimately discouraged Amherstians from
attending his lessons. Students complained that the music he taught in his courses was
too difficult for beginners.\textsuperscript{33} An editor of \textit{The Amherst Student} defended Meekins’s
repertoire, claiming that “our greatest deficiency is the lack of musical taste, which can
only be acquired by hearing and practicing good music.” He did agree, however, that
some extra elementary training might be needed, as Meekins had only devoted a single
class to musical basics.\textsuperscript{34}

Mysteriously, the Beethoven Society disappeared from Amherst records the very
next year. Judging from patterns that would be set by similar groups still to come into
existence at Amherst, the reason for this disbandment was likely financial. The group
that would succeed the Beethoven Society, the Musical Association, was almost
perpetually in debt from hiring instructors. It seems likely that the Beethoven Society,
which relied entirely on student donations and membership fees for funding, over-
extended itself in 1868, and subsequently drove itself irredeemably into the red. The
author of the last article appearing on the Beethoven Society advises Dr. Meekins to train
a chorus that could give some concerts in order to “add interest to our music, show what
we can do, and get some money for the treasury.”\textsuperscript{35} It is unfortunate that this proposed

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 83.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{The Amherst Student} (14 March 1868): 29.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{The Amherst Student} (18 April 1868): 45.
chorus never came to be, as the future success of the Musical Association seems to have hinged on concert proceeds from other musical groups trained by the instructors it hired. Even though the Music Association, too, was perpetually in debt, at least it had a reliable source of income.

**The Musical Association**

The Amherst College Musical Association rose dramatically from the ashes of the Beethoven Society in the fall of 1870. As soon as it appeared, it began offering a “Singing School,” hiring a voice teacher named “Prof. Cheney” from Vermont to lead the lessons, and quickly garnering a full membership of 96 members, an enormous number given that the college had a total enrollment of 261.\(^{36}\) Subsidized by the Musical Association, the Singing School cost two dollars for twenty-four lessons and was offered both to students and to residents of the town. At the end of the course, Cheney’s students gave a joint concert with the Glee Club. According to *The Amherst Student*, the concert was “not a great success.”\(^{37}\) Cheney seems not to have been a very effective teacher. One of his students at Amherst wrote: “[Cheney] tried to give us a little inspiration with his violin and rather unappealing tenor voice, but it soon became evident that his efforts were inadequate to the needs of the situation.”\(^{38}\) Even so, his cheap price must have won out over his skills, as Cheney continued to find business in Amherst for several more years. Although he would not offer another Singing School until 1874, some musical groups at Amherst seem to have relied on him for training and for musical supplies. The Glee Club secured him to help direct their rehearsals in 1871 and 1874, and the College

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\(^{36}\) About the formation of the school see *The Amherst Student* (24 September 1870): 5, 6; about Musical Association membership numbers see *The Olio*, 16 (September 1870).

\(^{37}\) *The Amherst Student* (11 February, 1871): 5.

\(^{38}\) Sumner Salter ’77. Quote taken from a 1942 letter written to “Mr. Dyer,” found in the Sumner Salter ‘1877 Alumni Biographical Files, ACASC.
Orchestra, inaugurated in late 1871, soon hired him as an instructor. The orchestra also received some of their first sheet music from Cheney, purchasing a set of music books from him in June 1872 for the relatively low price of $5.00. Cheney offered one final Singing School in 1874 before disappearing from Amherst life entirely.

Just who this Cheney was remains something of a mystery. Like Meekins, his first name was never mentioned in print. A Cheney family from Vermont, many members of which gave voice lessons, did exist in the mid 1840s, and were fairly well known in musical circles for the vocal concerting they had done as a family around that time. Many of them had moved out of the state by 1870, but one, Simeon Pease Cheney (who was said to have a tenor voice) still lived in Vermont. The only aspect of this Cheney that does not quite fit with the Amherst narrative is that he was said to possess a very fine voice. Simeon, born in 1818, would have been past 50 years of age if he had appeared in Amherst in 1870, which might explain the “unappealing” vocal qualities described by Salter. Another possibility is Albert Baker Cheney, one of Simeon’s two sons, who would later go on to teach Vocal Music at Emerson College. Albert would have been 18 in 1870.

**The College Orchestra**

Although Cheney had remained active in Amherst for four years, his involvement with the Musical Association seems only to have extended to his first Singing School. For the next several years the activities of the Musical Association were limited to a vote

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39 About the Glee Club and Cheney see *The Amherst Student* (3 June, 1871); about Cheney’s connections with the Orchestra see *The Amherst Student* (5 May, 1872).
40 *Orchestra Account Book* 1872-1873; p. 3. Box 1, Folder 21 of the Music at Amherst Collection, ACASC.
for new officers at the end of every school year. Amherst’s next step in furthering musical studies began through another student organization, the College Orchestra. Led by McGeorge Bundy ’76, also the president of the otherwise inactive Musical Association, and assisted by Sumner Salter ’77, the Orchestra had long lamented the lack of a proper space in the college dedicated to music. In 1876 the Orchestra, joined by the Chapel Choir, formulated a plan to make the college recognize the need for a space dedicated to musical activities. The two groups wrote a joint petition, addressed to the trustees of the college, arguing for this need, as well as for the necessity of a piano for rehearsals and for storage space for both groups. They circulated the petition amongst the student-body, where it quickly found overwhelming support. The petition was ultimately signed by over half of the college’s 400 students, many of the signatories also “subscribing” to the petition by donating a dollar to a piano fund. The completed petition was sent to the faculty and trustees—who refused to consider it. Although the faculty did allow the petitioners the choice of one of three small rooms to be designated a Music Studio, the Trustees were unwilling to provide any funds for the purchase of the piano.

Finding a new reason for its existence, the Musical Association arose from its slumber and took the matter into its own hands, running a fundraiser amongst the students and alumni to come up with the requisite funding. The only contribution they received from any alumni came in the form of a $50 subscription from Rufus B. Kellogg, Bigelow’s future benefactor, whom the Association had contacted at the suggestion of Professor Hitchcock. Nevertheless, through the original subscriptions, continued student donations, and the proceeds of several Benefit Concerts put on by the Orchestra, the

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42 For the surviving text of this petition, see Appendix F.
43 *The Amherst Student* (29 April 1876): 110-111.
Association was eventually able to procure enough funds to purchase a Steinway piano on a monthly payment plan. In October of 1876 the Association officially dedicated a room in Athenae Hall as the college’s new Music Studio.\textsuperscript{44} 

**Zuchtmann and the Glee Club**

Just as the music room was being christened, music at Amherst received yet another stimulus. Two members of the A.B.C.D Quartette\textsuperscript{45} had previously taken voice lessons in Springfield from Frederick Zuchtmann, a German immigrant who had run a small conservatory at Springfield for several years. Through these two students, the Musical Association decided to engage Zuchtmann at Amherst.\textsuperscript{46} The instructor’s arrival on campus marked the beginning of a firestorm of musical activity. Zuchtmann’s first act at the college was to institute a class in vocal music under the auspices of the Musical Association, which had enrolled over sixty students within a month.\textsuperscript{47} The course was a resounding success. Almost too much, in fact: some students despaired that too many singers with no talent were trying their hand at singing. As one hostile editor of *The Amherst Student* remarked: “every blamed idiot in this college, whether he has the voice of a nightingale or a jackass, thinks it his bounden duty to sing since that singing class has been formed.”\textsuperscript{48} Regardless of the skill of its members, Zuchtmann’s course would come to inspire a new renaissance of vocal music at Amherst.

\textsuperscript{44} *The Amherst Student* (28 October 1876): 34.
\textsuperscript{45} Formed in 1875, the A.B.C.D Quartette was a decently popular vocal quartet that had previously been known as the ’79 Glee Club. Members were G.D. Adams, W.P. Burgess, J.J. Chickering, and E.H. Dickinson, all class of 1879. The quartet’s moniker arose from the last names of its four members.
\textsuperscript{47} *The Amherst Student* (11 November 1876): 45.
\textsuperscript{48} *The Amherst Student* (25 November 1876): 59.
The vocal class, which met in Amherst’s new Music Studio every Wednesday, soon became split into two groups based on skill, with 24 of the best musicians in the advanced course and the rest in the other. Members of this advanced class seem to have already been able to read sheet music and were instead drilled in basic vocal culture: proper voice production, management of breaths, proper phrasing, etc. Zuchtmann taught the students of this class several choral pieces, and before they really knew what was happening he had them out on stage performing. Needing a name, they settled on that of an old Amherst staple, which had gone all but defunct a few years earlier: the Amherst College Glee Club.

Zuchtmann taught private groups and individuals at Amherst in addition to the two groups under the Musical Association. His time became increasingly caught up between leading the “advanced class,” now effectively transformed into the Glee Club, and these private engagements. The elementary course suffered as a result, with Zuchtmann giving it less and less of his attention. Zuchtmann might have had a financial incentive to focus his attention on individuals and performing groups: while the Musical Association relied on student donations and membership fees for its funding, performing groups could pay Zuchtmann from their concert proceeds. If through his training and artistic direction Zuchtmann were able to establish a reputation for the Glee Club as a high-quality musical group, the Club’s profits would go up, and they could then afford to pay him more for his services. This is exactly what happened.

After the Glee Club’s first concert, given on 15 December, 1876, the group would proceed to have nine more concerts in the next six months, including events in Holyoke, Norwich, New London, Northampton, and Springfield. These concerts were by and large
deemed an enormous success, and the resulting good press allowed the group to make engagements at the prestigious Boston Music Hall for the next school year. Zuchtmann had decided on what he viewed to be a winning method of running the group. He would conduct them, with his gold-tipped baton, through the “heavy” songs (which tended to be part-songs by German composers), and would allow them to sing their various college songs on their own, an arrangement that allowed for a successful mixture of trained precision for serious songs and a more raw “college boy” feeling for the light-hearted works. As an added benefit to running a group that gave regular concerts, Zuchtmann had a perfect opportunity to showcase some of his vocal students from the conservatory in Springfield, with one or two of his students, almost exclusively female, providing solo selections in between pieces by the Glee Club. Zuchtmann’s daughter, Kate Zuchtmann, provided piano accompaniment.

Zuchtmann’s success only grew as time went on. At the end of 1877 he gave a series of lectures before the Musical Association on “vocal culture.” Around the same time he organized a joint concert of the Glee Club and another large chorus, somewhat confusingly named the Beethoven Society. This group had no relation to the Beethoven Society of previous years, and consisted of members of Zuchtmann’s conservatory in Springfield. The conservatory apparently had an unusually large enrollment, as the total number of voices appearing at the concert exceeded 150, not counting the 16 of the Glee Club. The Glee Club’s selections during that concert were highly appreciated, with all but one of their pieces encored. A reviewer from The Amherst Student reported: “The college songs, as is invariably the case, tickled the audience immensely. Sanders’

50 The Amherst Student (16 March 1878): 126-127.
51 Moses King, King’s Handbook of Springfield Massachusetts (Springfield, Mass.: J.D. Gill, 1884), 170.
crowing, Chickering’s cackling, Crowell’s bellowing, together with Johnson’s innovations in the ‘Black Brigade’ fairly brought down the house.”\textsuperscript{52}

Zuchtmann’s great success in training the Glee Club and the Musical Association seems to have made a strong impression on the students of the college. It is not a coincidence that right around this time we find the first instances of students explicitly pressing the college to endow a professorship of music.

**Push for a Musical Professorship**

At the end of the 1876–1877 school year, an article appeared in *The Amherst Student* that revealed a desire among the students to have full-time music professor at the college. Mostly focused on a plea to help support the Musical Association and praising current efforts by the class of ‘77, the article ends by imagining the most ideal state of affairs that could exist at the college:

If the three remaining classes will but strenuously endeavor to continue the work so well inaugurated [by the class of ‘77], there can be no reason for regarding else than a reality the dream of some of the muse’s more hopeful devotees: A college association, with its well furnished studio; a musical library, with well lined shelves; a flourishing orchestra and glee club; yes, and a professor in music, and above all, a lively interest and activity in all musical concerns.\textsuperscript{53}

A full time music instructor was clearly one of their ultimate goals. Several months after this article was published, a rumor began to circulate among the students that President Seelye was soon to appoint a professor of music. Although the source of this rumor was unknown, one student was excited enough to write home about it:

\textsuperscript{52} *The Amherst Student* (19 January 1878): 80.

\textsuperscript{53} *The Amherst Student* (16 June 1877): 200-201.
It is rumored that President Seelye is going to have a professorship of music established in the college before a great while. I certainly hope so for until within a few years music has been at a comparatively low stand-point.⁵⁴

Although Seelye would never actually appoint such a professor, the very existence of this rumor seems to have solidified the idea amongst the students that the college should endow such a position. A year later another article, more explicit than the previous, turned the matter towards the college:

When now our alumni are bout to return again to Amherst we have a word to whisper in their ears. The college needs a regular professor of music, and consequently money to support him. […] There is somewhere in the curriculum, just where nobody knows, a so-called course of lectures on music which we presume might be highly beneficial to the student.⁵⁵

This article has several interesting features. First, it is addressed to alumni, not to trustees. The author apparently assumed that once the funds appeared, the trustees would need no further convincing: “What we need is money; when we get that we know our trustees will do the rest.” His trust in the trustees may have seemed at the time to have some substance. Ever since Zuchtmann had appeared at the college, Amherst had taken the opportunity to include him in its yearly Course Catalogue (essentially a college publicity booklet listing instructors, courses, and terms of admission) as the college’s official “Instructor in Vocal Music.”⁵⁶ This, of course, was a highly inaccurate inclusion, as the college administration had no hand in hiring Zuchtmann or in paying him for his services. The administration clearly thought it would be beneficial for the college’s image to include him—beneficial enough to essentially lie in the college’s publicity material. Zuchtmann’s inclusion may have suggested to students who knew that

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⁵⁴ Russell M. Little, letter to a friend written on 7 October, 1877. Russel M. Little ‘1880 Alumni Biographical Files, ACASC.
⁵⁵ The Amherst Student (15 June 1878): 194.
⁵⁶ Zuchtmann is listed as such from the 1877 to the 1883 Course Catalogues, online at: clio.fivecolleges.edu/amherst/catalogs/. Accessed 7 December, 2012.
Zuchtmann was being paid by the Musical Association that the college would be willing to officially hire him if it could afford to. The reality, however, was quite different. From 1877 to 1883, the college made nine new hires, bringing its total employment from 22 to 31. This is hardly the sign of a struggling institution. As long as the student-run Musical Association was able to keep Zuchtmann associated with the college with its own meager funding, the college was happy to freeload on the positive effect his presence might have had on the college’s recruiting efforts.

The second interesting feature of the article lies in what the author thinks music courses should cover: vocal and instrumental training (the instrumental portion mostly referring to piano), but no music theory. The only “theoretical” instruction suggested is a course on the “great composers,” which, the author believed, had the potential of building college culture:

We don’t claim that all can warble with equal grace or that everyone can become a skillful performer on the piano. We think, however, that all can appreciate a good course of lectures upon music and that such a course will be worth ten times as much as many of the dry dissertations about Romulus and Remus which we agonize under at the present time. Not everyone has an ear for the “concord of sweet sounds” but all can learn to admire and love them. The ignorance, even among students, about our great composers and their productions, is as surprising as it is painful.57

This apparent lack of knowledge about theoretical aspects of music, and subsequent ignorance of the worth of its study, would come to be a theme in future student writing.

The two articles that appeared in 1877–78 had little impact on Amherst’s administrators, and solicited no alumni donations. No more such editorials appeared for another two years. Even if they had no measurable effect, the fact that they appeared at all suggests that a marked change had been wrought in how the student body viewed

57 *The Amherst Student* (15 June 1878): 194.
music and how they viewed the responsibilities of the college they attended. Students had begun to feel that the college should have some responsibility for providing them with a musical training.

After a hiatus of a few years, articles pushing for musical professorships began to reappear. Rumors that the administration was considering appointing a professor in music had apparently begun to resurface. Again, the source of these rumors is unknown. Although students knew these rumors were essentially unsubstantiated, some still took the opportunity to put forth Zuchtmann as the perfect choice for the role:

Founding our hopes upon these rumors and building a castle in the air we have thought that no one would be so well worthy to fill such a chair as Prof. Zuchtmann. [...] To him we owe in a great measure, the reputation we have so justly earned, for possessing the first among college organizations.\footnote{The Amherst Student (28 April 1880): 121}

Late in the next year, an editorial appeared asking why the trustees had not yet taken any action:

The question has been repeatedly asked, the subject has been agitated by the musically inclined in our midst, and still the cause of delay is as yet wholly unexplained. The necessity and utility of such a chair is a patent fact, and this for various reasons. [...] If such a step is impracticable in the judgment of the college authorities, let some measure be undertaken to remedy present evils, and accomplish the desired result. Some action in the matter seems highly desirable.\footnote{The Amherst Student (12 November 1881): 52-53}

This article, like that of 1878, provides details of why specifically college-supported musical instruction would be a good idea. Again, most of the author’s focus seems to be tied in with Zuchtmann’s specialty: vocal training. The author argues that training in vocal culture would be greatly beneficial for public speaking, which would be particularly useful for those going into theology or law. Furthermore, he argues that musical training would provide pleasure and profit to both the college in general and to
the surrounding areas. He particularly mentions the Musical Association, through which the Glee Club had attained a high degree of training. The Glee Club’s successful touring, he argues, has served as the most effective advertising medium the college has ever had, resulting in increasing applications and attendance from locations the reputation of Amherst College alone had failed to reach. Hiring Zuchtmann full-time would allow this influence to spread even further.

Again, as in the previous article, the author makes no mention of the theoretical aspects of musical training. Zuchtmann, while an excellent vocal teacher, seems to have lacked the technical knowledge to teach theory. Assuming the students’ discourse was limited by their personal understanding of music study, which in turn was likely shaped by Zuchtmann’s training, one can assume that Zuchtmann’s courses had focused solely on those aspects of music involved with performance. As we will come to see in later chapters, this exact issue may have been the crux of Zuchtmann’s lack of success in being hired by the college. The first men’s institutions to hire music instructors did so only when the content of their courses most closely matched the intellectual goals of the college. These instructors formulated the subject as an intellectual discipline, focusing on the theories of harmony and rules of composition, rather than on practical performance skills.

Matters began to reach a head in 1882. Zuchtmann, still based in Springfield and finding his home business steadily growing, began to find his weekly trips to Amherst harder and harder to justify. The ride was long, and the time he spent on the road was essentially hours of potential pay lost, not to mention the fact that his Amherst pupils often could not pay as well as his Springfield ones. In fact, knowing that some students
would not be able to pay, Zuchtmann had apparently donated his services for free to some select groups for several years.\(^{60}\) Adding to his dissatisfaction, the time he actually spent at Amherst was always rushed, as he only had 6 hours in which to cram a lesson for the Glee Club, lessons for the elementary class, and lessons for a large number of private pupils. Amherst musical groups soon clued in to Zuchtmann’s growing reluctance, and redoubled their efforts to try to attain financial support for his services from the college. Two separate articles appeared in *The Amherst Student* of June 27, 1882 concerning the matter. The first appealed directly to alumni and college “authorities”:

For the past years musical interests in the college have been successfully supported by the students alone; the time has now come, however, when we can no longer hope to retain our present reputation without coöperation from the alumni and authorities of the college. Surely there can be no better time than the present to found a professorship of music and so retain permanently the valuable instruction of Professor Zuchtmann, of which we have never obtained the full benefit, and with the loss of which we are now threatened.\(^{61}\)

The second, more detailed article, covers Zuchtmann’s situation, and tries to explain why the college should be interested in helping the Musical Association retain him. The author’s reasoning is much the same as that of the article from the previous year, the difference being mainly in the level of detail. The author gives specific data on how many students had decided to attend Amherst as a direct result of recent touring of the Glee Club, and argues that the college thus has a financial obligation to the group. He concludes:

In view of the facts is it not reasonable that the college should appropriate a yearly sum for the musical interests as well as for any other department? If this could be done our professor could afford to give us ample time for the club and second class and also lectures, which would aid us not only in singing, but in voice culture and speaking. We know of no one so well suited to our wants in this line as our present instructor, and we hope the trustees will help us keep him

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\(^{60}\) *The Amherst Student* (27 June 1882): 221.

\(^{61}\) Ibid., 220.
among us, as we deem it due both to the students and Prof. Zuchtmann, who for two years gave his services to the college and who is now working at a disadvantage both pecuniarily and professionally.62

Five months later, The Amherst Student published a notice that Zuchtmann had become a member of the faculty, and congratulated the college on its good judgment.63

Unfortunately, this celebration seems to have been a little premature.

The college had by no means hired Zuchtmann or given him a salary. Instead, the trustees had voted to give the instructor a one-time payment of $100.64 This was hardly sufficient for Zuchtmann’s needs. Zuchtmann came to Amherst, clearly very reluctantly, only a few times at the beginning of the 1883-1884 academic year. His name was mentioned for the last time in a September 1883 article of The Amherst Student:

As there is no competent instructor of music resident in Amherst, we are obliged to go as far as Springfield for one whose abilities are thoroughly recognized. For such an Instructor, on whose time and attention there are large demands, the trip to Amherst means a waste of time and thus of money, with little or no compensation. Thus for several years Prof. Zuchtmann, our instructor in music, has grown more and more unwilling to come to Amherst, and it has only been the entreaties of the Glee Club and his interest in that organization that has kept him. But now matters have reached a crisis. Only by the persistent and personal endeavor of the Glee Club has the Professor been induced to come to Amherst at all this year, and that only on the condition that some definite action should be taken by the Trustees. There is a wide-spread demand among the students for at least some musical education, and we earnestly request the Trustees to take the matter into really serious discussion.65

If the trustees did ever seriously discuss the matter, they decided against it. Lacking sufficient financial compensation, Zuchtmann left Amherst for good at the end of 1883.

The Musical Association appears to have disappeared with him. Its last appearance in any Amherst record occurs in a brief notice of their most recent elections

62 Ibid, 221.
63 The Amherst Student (25 November 1882): 62.
64 Trustee Records (October 1882): 77. Early Board of Trustee Records, 1821-1911 Collection (ACASC).
65 The Amherst Student (29 September 1883): 17.
in late 1883 in the student newspaper. Like the Beethoven Society, the Musical Association likely dissolved for financial reasons. It had been struggling to properly pay for Zuchtmann’s services for years, and it very probably had been using borrowed money to make ends meet.

After Zuchtmann’s departure, no more articles appeared in The Student regarding the establishment of a chair of music. The loss of Zuchtmann and the disintegration of the Musical Association were surely a blow to any momentum students may have had. The absence of any other interested and qualified instructor near Amherst may also have discouraged them from pursuing their cause. Musical courses would not be available to the students at large again until the college hired Bigelow in 1894. The Glee Club engaged an instructor, Edward Sumner of Northampton, with its own funds to give its members vocal training, but, in the absence of the Musical Association, this new instructor had no financial incentive to continue giving group classes of the sort that Zuchtmann had instituted.

II. Musical Support from the Faculty and Trustees, 1821-1894

Music of the (Ungreased) Spheres: Amherst College and the Chapel Choir

Interest in the improvement of music at the college was not limited to students. Members of the faculty and trustees took an active interest in the subject from the very beginning of the college. Unlike students, however, the central interests of the college lay firmly with sacred music. As an explicitly religious institution, Amherst gladly
provided funding for the purpose of perpetuating and improving its sacred music. More specifically, the college eagerly funded the Chapel Choir.

From at least 1828 on, the trustees allocated $50 (equivalent to $1,000 today) on a yearly basis for the purpose of improving the state of sacred music in the college.66 The 1833 trustee meeting minutes show exactly what this money was to be used for:

Voted: to appropriate fifty dollars for the support of sacred music in the Chapel during the present year. Viz: ten dollars for books and other contingencies, and forty dollars to pay the Chorister, it being understood that besides leading the Choir in the Chapel and at other devotional exercises, he shall instruct young beginners from the lower classes by holding a school once a week for the space of one term in the course of the year.67

This entry was unusually specific, as most years the trustees only earmarked money for the “improvement of sacred music in the College Chapel.” As the 1833 entry clearly indicates, this funding was meant to be directed towards the Chapel Choir.

The extra duties of the Chorister are particularly interesting, as the college was essentially hiring him as a voice instructor to the student body. The classes, such as they were, would have been very rudimentary lessons in learning how to read music, along with some basic voice training. It is worth noting that the classes were not meant to exist for the general cultural improvement of the college, but rather to prepare the more talented underclassmen for potential future positions in the Choir. Obviously the college only concerned itself with the music of its religious services.

Ironically, all the money the college was dumping towards the improvement of sacred music seems to have had little beneficial effect on the actual quality of the

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66 “Excerpts from the Trustee Records pertaining to the Music Department” (25 August 1828). Box 4, Folder 72, Music at Amherst collection (ACASC). A summary of Trustee actions towards music at Amherst is given in Appendix B.

performances. With one single exception very near its founding, the Chapel Choir seem to have been a target of ridicule in student publications. A survey of such student writing reveals just how bad the group was seen to be.

*The Horae Collegianae* of 1838 gives a scathing account of a recent performance:

After all, the audience was no great shakes; but the music *was*. Its like we have seldom heard, its equal never. True some wickedly inclined persons have spoken rather disparagingly of it, comparing it to the winds bursting from the cave of Aeolus, to the clatter set up by Alcides to frighten the Stymphalian birds; to the music of the *ungreased* spheres; to a solo on a conch-shell with a chorus from the pig-sty; to a simultaneous cackling of all the Hadley geese; and to several other things not to be mentioned among respectable people; but it is very clear they could have had 'no music in their souls,' and one greater than us has pronounced upon such the suitable malediction. No lover of music, we are sure, will be apt to forget his entertainment on that day.

The 1848 *College Cucumber* gives a tongue-in-cheek announcement of an upcoming Choir concert, suggesting that the choir does as much as it can to make its concerts miserable:

The Chapel Choir give notice to, and warn the natives of North Pelham, that they will hold one of their Diabolical Concerts, with Bull Fiddle and Flute accompaniment, in the open air on the first rainy day. Children half price. Vocal Babies thrown in.

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68 *The Shrine*, 1, no. 6 (November 1832): 185. Student and Alumni Publications Collection, Box 13 (ACASC). The author compliments the group for the recent quality of their performances.
69 Aeolus was the ruler of the winds in Greek mythology.
70 This refers to the rattle given to Hercules (alternately named Alcides) by Hephaestus, the Greek god of smiths, to aid him in defeating the Stymphalian birds, giant man-eating avians with bronze beaks and deadly sharp metallic feathers. Hercules could not pass into the swamp in which they lived, and thus needed something loud and abrasive enough to startle the birds into the air, where he would shoot them down with arrows. The rattle gave such a terrible noise that it scared the birds into the air from miles away.
71 A reference to Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice*: “The man that hath no music in himself, Nor is not mov’d with concord of sweet sounds, Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils.”
72 *The College Cucumber*, 1, no. 1 (1848): 3. Student and Alumni Publications Collection, Box OS1 (ACASC). Bull Fiddle is another term for a Double Bass. The line about Vocal Babies suggests that crying babies would be let in to the concert for free.
The Indicator of March 1849 implies that the Choir was a little lacking in intelligence: “if you have but a bright fire and a tea-kettle, that sings, (like some of the Chapel Choir,) through its nose, and last and least, in point of importance, in brains.”

And finally, from the April 1852 Scorpion, an absolutely blistering review of a recent performance given by the Choir, then consisting of ten members:

Music, when breathed with true melody, is most agreeable to the senses; but when perverted, […] sounds as pleasingly on the ear as the tin-kettle-drum of a ragga-muffin band of idle street boys. Pro exemplo, the evening Chapter is read, and the pronouncing of the hymn scarce concluded,

When at once arises so loud a yell,
As if the foul fiends of the lowest hell,

had suddenly broke forth with all their fury, and were venting their rage on the empty air. The terrible and base of the vocalists, headed by the feeble, broken-winded strains of that organic mass of wood and lead, now swelling to its utmost capacity, and anon dying away with groans that cannot be uttered, and the accompanying variations too, combining the melodious symphony of a saw-mill discourses, the harmony of undressed cart-wheels, and the lamentations of oppressed Grimalkin, her tail crushed by the iron heel of youth, all contribute much to the ridiculousness of the scene. The great compass of the tall Junior's voice, whose needle always points to the zenith, the vibrations of the Triton's scale, and the shrill yell of the afrighted Freshman, are now heard simultaneously and again alternately; and that peculiarly interesting pitch of voice, which were it of good quality would undoubtedly stick in their throats, sticketh in out ears, 'even unto this day.' Six days must we listen to this operatic troupe, and the seventh, which is the Sabbath, we must hear perverted by still more demoniacal notes. The Vocalists make an extra exertion; more steam is applied; handkerchiefs and throats are used and cleaned more frequently, while the alternate elevation and depression of the once is strictly accompanied by the head and ears. How pleasing a pastime is it to watch the motions of these various appendages. One catches his breath, as a dog catches at his winged torments; another rolls his head like a tempest-tossed ship.

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73 The Indicator, 1, no. 7 (March 1849): 253. Ibid, Box 9.
74 This refers to the Chapel’s small, apparently quite out-of-tune organ.
75 “Grimalkin” is an old or evil-looking cat, the term originating from the 1570 horror novel Beware the Cat by William Baldwin.
76 This refers to the Greek god Triton, son of Poseidon, who had a magical conch shell that controlled the waves of the ocean when it was blown. Its sound was supposedly such a terrible cacophony that it frightened even giants, who imagined the noise to be the cry of some unimaginable dark beast.
77 The Scorpion, 1, no. 1 (April 1852): 2. Student and Alumni Publications Collection, Box OS2 (ACASC).
Somehow the college authorities failed to notice that even with their financial assistance the choir remained in a very sorry state. They seemed content to rely on students to improve themselves, never taking any steps further than asking the Chorister to give some singing lessons on his own initiative. The college apparently never felt it would be worth the cost to hire an outside professional instructor, and contented itself that it was doing something by giving the choir $50 per year. Perhaps the trustee appropriations were not ultimately meant to improve the music, but rather to ensure that there was any music at all. With such consistent negative press one has to wonder if the Chapel Choir would have continued to exist without the lure of pecuniary compensation.

**Instrumental Concerns**

In addition to paying for books and a Chorister, the trustees also allocated funds to purchase and repair instruments to accompany the Chapel Choir. Up until the mid 1840s, the Choir was accompanied by a bass viol, with the purpose of providing starting pitches and giving a solid bass-line. The college clearly valued the addition of this instrument, as it voted to pay for its repair in 1840, and two years later voted to spend $60 ($1330 in 2013) for the purchase of a new one. Sometime between 1846–48 the college acquired a “very faint and feeble” parlor organ, with two stops, on loan from the wife of a local merchant. Even this low quality instrument was deemed an improvement over the viol, which was soon sold. Only a few years later, Edward Hitchcock, Jr., recently

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78 Prudential Committee meeting records, 1835-1864 (14 April 1840 and 10 May 1842): 26 and 35. Amherst College Committee Records Collection (ACASC).
79 A parlor organ is an organ the size of an upright piano, producing pitches from metal reeds rather than through pipes.
80 Edward Hitchcock, Jr, “Recollections of E. Hitchcock begun March 6, 1902” (transcription of spoken interviews with Hitchcock) Music at Amherst Collection, Box 4, Folder 67 (ACASC).
graduated from Amherst (much too young yet to be “Old Doc”), discovered a better organ for sale, recently displaced from one of Northampton’s churches. He asked his father, then the president of the college, about purchasing it. Finding that the college lacked the funds, Hitchcock Jr. put together a subscription paper and managed to fundraise enough from the faculty of the college that he could successfully bargain for the instrument.\footnote{Ibid. Subscribers included Professors Warner, Tyler, Snell, Rev. Mr. Collum, and the tutors Henshaw and March.} This organ served the college for a little over a decade, before it was replaced and given to a “black church.”

Although a step up musically, organs required skilled players, and, in the days before widespread electricity, also necessitated the labors of some poor soul to pump the organ’s bellows to provide constant air-pressure. To ensure reliability and competency, both of these positions had to be paid. The college was again happy to provide the funding. In 1856 the Prudential Committee voted to increase the amount of funding to “support sacred music” to $75, presumably to help accommodate the cost of paying for organ services. The Chorister still received the largest distribution of funds, at $35, but he was closely followed by the organist at $25. The job of “blowing the organ,” a simple but dreary task, netted only $5. The remainder went towards the purchase of what the records vaguely describe as “books.”\footnote{Prudent\’ial Committee meeting records, 1835-1864 (4 February 1856): p. 124. Amherst College Committee Records Collection (ACASC).}

Hitchcock’s organ was replaced sometime near 1863 by a cabinet organ,\footnote{Another small reed organ.} a gift from Dr. R. S. Storrs upon his being appointed a trustee. In 1870 the college built a new chapel, and decided to replace Storrs’s already “antiquated and effete” organ with an expensive new pipe organ. The cost was originally to be borne by the father of a current
student, but when the organ arrived the parent refused to pay. As Hitchcock remembers, the organ had already been delivered, so it had to be paid for somehow. Amherst’s President Stearns took the full $5,000 cost of the organ (almost $100,000 today) from the salaries of the college’s professors—Hitchcock did not remember entirely how this was done without a professorial revolt.\textsuperscript{84}

The administration’s continued purchase of better organs might have been taken as a sign that they were actively interested in the quality of music had not these instruments not been acquired only when the administration thought it would involve no financial burden to the college. The first organ was a loan, the second purchased through donations, the third a gift, and the fourth was originally to be funded by a concerned parent. Similar to the college’s very tenuous claim to Zuchtmann in its Course Catalogues, the institution was happy to claim and accept musical improvements if they were provided without cost, but was unwilling to take the step of actively seeking out and paying for these improvements on its own.

\textbf{Hitchcock and Handel: Music in the Academic Sphere}

Although the faculty and trustees as a whole did not make music a priority, a few individuals among them did. The first and most prominent among them was Old Doc Hitchcock. Edward Hitchcock, Jr. had lived in and around the college for his entire life. His father was Amherst’s third president, and after he had come of age Hitchcock attended Amherst himself, graduating with the class of 1849. He showed much interest in music while he was at the college, singing in the Chapel Choir and occasionally

\textsuperscript{84} Hitchcock, “Recollections of E. Hitchcock begun March 6, 1902.” No records exist of the faculty’s reaction.
playing the organ. His graduating class began a lasting tradition of hiring well-regarded (and relatively expensive) outside musical groups to perform during their commencement ceremonies.\textsuperscript{85} In 1862, after teaching for several years and attaining a PhD in medicine from Harvard, Hitchcock was hired by Amherst as Professor of “Hygiene and Physical Education.”\textsuperscript{86} When the college’s first experiments with an elective system in 1865 resulted in a course in the Fine Arts, Hitchcock happily offered to give some lectures on the subject of music. Surprisingly, his offer was accepted. Although Hitchcock’s part in the grand scheme of the course was small (the full course, lasting only half a term, was to cover Architecture, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Music, and Oratory, essentially everything that was normally ignored in the college education), Hitchcock’s lectures provide the first example of the college officially supporting a musical subject from an academic standpoint. The subject of Hitchcock’s lectures, unsurprisingly, addressed sacred music. The manuscript version of one of these lectures, on Handel and his \textit{Messiah}, still exists in the Amherst College Archives.\textsuperscript{87}

In the lecture Hitchcock describes Handel’s life, glazing over his composition of operas and mostly focusing on his oratorios, with the explicit assumption that the oratorios are of more musical interest than the operas, representing the culmination of Handel’s work. Before launching into an extended descriptive analysis of \textit{The Messiah}, Hitchcock gives an overview of the history of the oratorio. He seems to have taken much

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86} This field, which Hitchcock pioneered, is represented today in the Physical Education courses now offered in high schools throughout the country.
\textsuperscript{87} Edward Hitchcock, Jr., “Handel: The Representative of the Oratorio.” Likely written c. 1869-1870. Edward Hitchcock, Jr. Collection, Box 4, Folder 4 (ACASC). The following Hitchcock quotations are all from the same source. Full text of the lecture can be found in Appendix D.
\end{flushright}
of his material from the 1869 *New American Cyclopedia*, only barely rewording entire sections of various entries. As an example:

From the *Cyclopedia*:

[...] the rapidity with which he [Handel] produced his greatest compositions has hardly a parallel in musical history: ‘Atlanta’ in 19 days; ‘Rinaldo’ in a fortnight; ‘Alexander’s Feast’ in 17 days; concertante for nine instruments in one day; the ‘Messiah’ in 23 days; and ‘Samson,’ begun only eleven days afterward, in 35.

From Hitchcock:

The rapidity with which Handel apparently accomplished some of his work, deserved almost as much immortality as do the works themselves. His opera Atlanta he composed in 19 days: Rinaldo in 14: The Messiah in 23 days, and the Sampson begun only 11 days afterwards, in 35 days.

Notice that Hitchcock, uninterested in Handel’s secular music, drops *Alexander’s Feast* and the instrumental piece from his listing. Hitchcock did not bother footnoting his source. He did occasionally cite the *Cyclopedia*, but only when he used its text without alteration.

The prime focus of the lecture, and the section with the most original material, is Hitchcock’s description of Handel’s *Messiah*. Because of his lack of theoretical knowledge, Hitchcock mostly examines the text. When he does include music he cannot move beyond generalities, speaking of the overall dynamic level, tempo, the prettiness of a given melody, etc. Inserted into his description is a good deal of proselytizing.

Then comes that sublime passage 'For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder: this name shall be called wonderful counselor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.' This chorus in a pleasant and moderately rapid movement gives a repetition of these words four times: and at each recurrence of the words *Wonderful Counsellor* [sic], the *mighty God*, every instrument and every voice does its

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88 The *New American Cyclopedia* was a sixteen-volume encyclopedia first published from 1857-1866. Karl Marx was one of its contributors.

utmost to swell the volume of the sounds. The trumpets roar, the drums rattle, the bass bellows, and everyone conspires by their loudest efforts to express force, intensity, and sublimity in the fact that the Messiah has come, the most gracious presence that can ever visit the earth.

Hitchcock continued to edit the lecture for several years after he wrote it, crossing out entire sections and adding new pages as he found interesting new material. Most of these insertions are taken almost verbatim from the 1871 book *Music and Morals* by Hugh R. Haweis, an ordained minister. Haweis’s lengthy and poetic analysis of *The Messiah* is written in a style that compliments Hitchcock’s own sermon-like text.90

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Figure 1.2 – Old Doc with his cello
Even if ultimately a rephrasing of the work of others, Hitchcock’s lecture makes for a surprisingly competent lesson on Handel’s life. Although Hitchcock was not equipped to talk about the theoretical aspects of Handel’s music, the literary training he had received in the college left its mark on his historical discourse. Amherst’s first lectures on music could thus be considered a small portion of today’s Music and Culture I, with a little bit of musical appreciation thrown in, and mixed with a healthy dose of hearty New England Protestantism.

The Fine Arts elective, offered only to seniors once a year for half a term, lasted for twelve years. The professor who lectured on oratory left the college in 1873 and Professor Snell, who lectured on architecture, died in 1876. Seelye, who taught painting, became Amherst’s new president that same year. The absence of two of the original lecturers, and the new time-commitment of Seelye’s presidential duties, seem to have signalled the end of the course, which was offered for the last time in 1877. Hitchcock appears to have continued to give his lectures on music informally, recording in his personal notes that he had presented the Handel lecture five times between 1879 and 1882. After 1882, however, Amherst offered no real opportunities for music education until the hiring of Bigelow in 1894.

Like the administration of the college, Hitchcock consistently favored sacred music. In his memoirs he provides a detailed history of Amherst’s organs, but does not once mention the Beethoven Society or the Glee Club. To some degree this has to do with the general disconnect from the faculty of the college to general student life. Of all the professors at Amherst, however, Hitchcock was known for being particularly
involved with his students.\textsuperscript{91} He regularly read \textit{The Amherst Student} (Amherst’s current archive of the newspaper was largely left by Hitchcock), and he assisted the Chapel Choir and College Orchestra in their 1876 petition to the college, suggesting amendments to the motion and pointing to alumni who were most likely to donate to their cause. Why then did Hitchcock consistently ignore secular music in his official capacities?

The answer lies in Amherst’s professed goal as an academic institution. Amherst College was above all a place to train good Christian men (a common goal of nineteenth-century colleges, explored more generally in Chapter Three) and the faculty, guided by a president carefully vetted to have unshakeable faith and contagious conviction, firmly believed it their duty to lead by example. This manifested itself musically in a blind focus on music in religious contexts, along with a dismissal of secular music as unimportant or, worse, potentially distracting from the ultimate goal of creating moral men. These attitudes began to change in the early 1880s, a difference that was largely encouraged by Amherst’s new president, Julius H. Seelye.

\textbf{Secular Music Gains Ground}

Seelye was a highly religious man of strong convictions, but he had a more open mind towards music than previous administrators. He had been Hitchcock’s classmate in 1849, the same class that instituted the practice of hired bands for Commencement. After graduation he had spent a year of academic study in Germany, where he was exposed to a culture that valued music highly. It was just after his inauguration as president that the first rumors of a chair of music being established begin to circulate. There is a chance

\textsuperscript{91} William P. Bigelow reflected fondly on Hitchcock and his student interactions in “Early Days at Amherst,” 17-18. Manuscript. Box 1, Folder 10, Music at Amherst Collection (ACASC).
that it was Seelye himself who started them. After Zuchtmann’s long battle to get compensation from the college came to its end, the Board of Trustees, which Seelye headed, seems to have had a change of heart on what they were willing to fund. Just as the new president assumed his duties at the college, the amount allocated yearly to music in the church rose dramatically, from $75 to $250, and soon rose to as much as $310.92

Under his administration the Board made its first tentative exploration into funding professional musical instruction, starting with the $100 appropriation to Zuchtmann in 1882. Perhaps inspired by their failure to retain the instructor, the Board put aside a full $300 in 1884 (nearly $7,500 today) for the purpose of musical instruction.93 Just what exactly this money was supposed to cover is unclear, as the minutes of this trustee meeting do not give any specifics. Considering the circumstances, it likely went towards paying the Glee Club’s new instructor, Edward Sumner, to give lessons to the Chapel Choir. The Board repeated this appropriation, on a somewhat smaller scale, for the next several years: $250 in 1885 and $200 from 1886 to 1887.

In the 1884 annual “Report to the Amherst Alumni,” Seelye finally released in writing his plans for the future of music at Amherst:

> Additional funds would be wisely bestowed on the endowment of a Professorship of Music, in the building of a new and much needed chemical laboratory, in the erecting and furnishing of an art museum, and in the transformation of the old gymnasium into a science hall.94

Even though the professorship in music was listed first in Seelye’s list, it would be the last of these items to be realized.

92 “Excerpts from the Trustee Records pertaining to the Music Department” (September 1880, $250; October 1882, $250; October 1883, $250; November 1884, $310; October 1885, $270; November 1886, $265; etc.). Box 4, Folder 72, Music at Amherst collection (ACASC). A full transcript of all trustee actions towards music in the nineteenth century can be found in Appendix B.

93 Ibid. (November 1884).

The Board of Trustees began addressing secular music for the first time in 1888, when it decided to give the Glee Club $200 for the year. The Board went on to give the group $100 in 1892 and 1893. The college also twice granted $200 to the Musical Association, a new organization established by alumni in 1890 to manage the finances of the Glee Club and the Banjo Club (and entirely unrelated to the Musical Association of past years). These entirely secular appropriations may have been the result of the actions of one man: Michael Burnham, Amherst class of 1867. Burnham had been made a trustee of the college in 1888, the same year the Board first decided to give money to the Glee Club. While a student at Amherst, Burnham had been unusually active in musical groups, having been a member of the Donizetti Glee Club, the Beethoven Society, and one of the eight original members of the Amherst College Glee Club. As a trustee, his past experiences with music at Amherst may have lent him the energy to argue for the value of giving money to the Glee Club and its related organizations. Even more, Burnham made it abundantly clear that he was interested in the creation of a chair of music at the college. In 1893 he published an article in The Amherst Student titled “A Plea for a Department of Music and Arts by Alumni,” which featured a history of the Glee Club and closed with the following statement:

I would add, as among the needs of Amherst College, this suggestion: A Department of Music and Voice building in the College, this should be a part of the College course. A student in Amherst ought to have opportunities for musical culture, vocal and instrumental. Some of our professional schools are today trying to furnish what has too long been neglected. Some of our colleges are waking up to the importance of this. [...] There are a hundred reasons why Amherst boys should graduate with at least some knowledge of “The Music of the Spheres” as well as of “Mathematics and Philosophy and Chemistry and Language and Biology of the Spheres.”

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95 An early Amherst singing group. See Appendix A for more information.
Burnham and Seelye, however, were only two against fifteen other trustees.

When William P. Bigelow entered Amherst in 1885, the year after Seelye published his request for a Professor of Music, the president immediately picked him as the best candidate for the job. As detailed in the introduction, Seelye proposed to Bigelow to travel to Germany in order to receive a thorough education in music, promising that if Bigelow were able to complete his training, there would be a position at Amherst waiting for him upon his return. Unfortunately, Seelye was forced to retire from the presidency due to ill health in 1890, leaving Bigelow’s ultimate fate at the college uncertain. True to form, Hitchcock appeared to save the day, suggesting to the Board that Bigelow could teach German in addition to music, and could use his musical training to improve the standards of the Chapel Choir. Even with this added argument and the vocal support of Burnham, it took a monetary gift from Arthur C. James ’89 and Charles M. Pratt ’79, both wealthy industrial entrepreneurs, to cover Bigelow’s initial salary for the trustees to accept Bigelow’s appointment. Just as they were not willing to fund organs but were happy to take them when offered, they were not willing to spend money on music instruction but were happy when wealthy alumni offered to cover the costs.

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As we have seen, apart from a yearly stipend for the sacred choir Amherst consistently refused to spend money on musical matters. Although it did not actively discourage the formation of secular groups, it did not encourage the groups either. Music instruction at Amherst first arose entirely from the efforts of secular student groups interested in improving the state of music at the college, hiring various individuals to give
singing schools or even provide private practice for groups and individual students. In addition to their own efforts at hiring instructors (and perhaps in an effort to reduce their own financial burdens), students continuously advocated for the college to hire a professional instructor. As long as the Musical Association continued to secure the services of Zuchtmann and his successor Sumner, Amherst was content to use their efforts to its own advantage, listing an “Instructor of Vocal Music” on its yearly academic advertisements even though the college itself had nothing to do with his employment. Although some important members of the faculty and the Board of Trustees agreed with students on the necessity of hiring an official instructor, they were continuously outnumbered by those who believed the cost could not be justified. Even when the college went through a hiring spree from 1877–1883, the institution refused to hire Zuchtmann, who would have been a convenient choice as he lived nearby, was a good musician, and already had attachments to the college. It took Bigelow, an Amherst man specifically groomed for the position by two well-respected Amherst figures, and a promise from two wealthy alumni to subsidize the position for the Board to finally officially sanction music instruction at the college. Even then the college forced Bigelow to focus his attention on teaching German, a situation that did not change until Bigelow received tenure in 1906. How did Amherst’s actions compare to those of other institutions in New England? What was the state of music instruction in the rest of the collegiate world? The next chapter explores the beginnings of music education in New England colleges throughout the nineteenth century in an attempt to place Amherst into a larger national context.
Chapter 2
A Wider Lens: Music in New England Colleges, 1830 to 1880

I. The “Feminine Arts”: Music in Women’s Colleges

The history of music in American women's colleges has been left woefully under-studied, even in the already limited world of academic study of music in American colleges. This fact is particularly confounding because many of these institutions adopted music into their curriculums at a much earlier point than their all-male counterparts. Much ado has been made of John Knowles Paine's appointment as the "first full Professor of Music in America" at Harvard in 1876, but the same writers who have celebrated Paine’s appointment seem to have conveniently forgotten that Edward Wiebé held that title at Vassar in 1865. At the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, later to become Mount Holyoke College, vocal music had been taught since 1838, nearly surpassing even the claims of Oberlin College, which had appointed an Instructor of Sacred Music in 1835. The reasons for these broad oversights are not clear. In my work

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97 The few works that deal with collegiate music often either ignore women’s colleges entirely or give them a very brief overview. Among the worst offenders are Rosemary Basham’s “The Development of Music Curricula in American Colleges and Universities” (M. Ed. diss., University of Louisville, 1971), where the author treats all women’s colleges with a single sentence; Maurice Faulkner’s “The Roots of Music Education in American Colleges and Universities,” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1955), which fails to mention a single women’s institution; and similarly Edmund Jeffers’s Music for the General College Student (New York: King’s Crown Press, 1944) explores early musical practices in many men’s institutions but has little to say about institutions for the opposite sex.

I intend to fill in some of these analytic gaps.

Women of the nineteenth century could not vote, were not expected to work, and, once married, all of their money, lands, and possessions legally belonged to their husbands. After getting married (an act often “achieved” quite young), the role of the white middle- to upper-class woman was to remain at home, care for her husband, and raise well-adjusted children. As the author Charles Butler wrote in his 1839 primer on American women, a woman’s duty lay:

First; in contributing daily and hourly to the comfort of husbands, of parents, of brothers and sisters, and of other relations, connexions [sic], and friends, in the intercourse of domestic life, under every vicissitude of sickness and health, of joy and affliction. Secondly; In forming and improving the general manners, disposition, and conduct of the other sex, by society and example. Thirdly; In modeling [sic] the human mind, during the early stages of its growth, and fixing, while it is yet ductile, its growing principles of action.99

Boarding schools for young women had existed since the early eighteenth century, designed to teach them “useful” skills such as knitting, cooking, and, most importantly, how to read the Bible, but this was as far as a woman could go with her education. As men’s colleges began to proliferate in the early nineteenth century, however, a demand began to rise for women educated enough to be suitable wives for this new male intellectual elite. Female seminaries, advanced private religious schools for women, began to appear. New movements for equality in education in the latter half of the century, spurred on in part by the early stirrings of the first American feminist movement, led, after much debate, to the first tentative experiments in co-education in some institutions as well as the formation of new colleges for women only. Vassar, one of the first institutions explicitly founded as a women’s college (explored in-depth later in this chapter), opened to students in 1865. Although these new institutions were modeled to

give an education to women equivalent to that given to men, differences rooted in perceived gender-roles still remained. Most importantly for our study, women were allowed, and in some cases even expected, to study the practice of an art, either in the form of painting, drawing, sculpture, or music.

By 1894 there were seven major women’s colleges in the northeastern United States, later known colloquially as the Seven Sisters: Smith, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, and Wellesley in Massachusetts; Vassar and Barnard in New York; and Bryn Mawr in Pennsylvania. Of these seven, all but Bryn Mawr offered courses in music within ten years of their founding. As Mount Holyoke predates these other institutions by over forty years, it provides a fitting starting point for my analysis.

Although it did not become an official college until 1888, the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary had offered music as part of its curriculum since 1838, when it instituted a class in vocal music to be given to three of its four grades of instruction.100 The institution also offered the use of a piano for instrumental practice. Although little specific information from this time exists concerning the actual content of these vocal classes, later information suggests that they largely consisted of simple choir practice. A student memorial for Charlotte M. Steele, a music teacher employed by Holyoke from 1875 to 1886, reveals that the person who held the position was essentially the conductor of a choir, choosing repertoire and rehearsing the vocal class:

Those years of constant association with Miss Steele deepened my love for music and broadened my appreciation of the highest forms. […] As teacher of choral classics, she brought about wonderful results for those days, when little, if any, preliminary instruction was given in elementary schools. Her pupils were led on and up to a high order of music and to many of the classics.101

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101 “In Memoriam: Charlotte M. Steele,” The Mount Holyoke 17, no. 7 (March 1908): 359.
The most difficult part of such a position would likely have been the task of training students who had no prior knowledge of singing, or even of basic music notation, to sing “choral classics.” Just what repertoire was meant by this term is unclear, although, as explored in chapter three, based on contemporary views of music it likely encompassed several Handel oratorios. Perhaps the most interesting fact illuminated in the memorial was just how over-qualified Steele was for her position. Her brother, George W. Steele, was one of the founders of the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, and went on to be a highly regarded professor of music at Smith College.\footnote{W. R. Cochrane, 	extit{Families of Antrim, New Hampshire} (Baltimore: Clearfield Publishing Company, 2009), 692.} Charlotte graduated from Oberlin in 1866, and immediately went abroad to study music in Leipzig, Germany. After three years she returned to teach piano at her brother’s conservatory from 1869-1871.\footnote{Ibid, \textit{General Catalogue of Oberlin College, 1833-1908} (Cleveland: Hubbell Printing Co., 1909), Int. 175.} She began teaching at Mount Holyoke in 1875. Her skills must have far exceeded her assigned duties, which were limited to serving as conductor and instructor in music fundamentals. Before Steele was hired, Holyoke had contented itself with a decidedly less skilled pool of instructors: recent graduates of the institution, or, more often, current students. None of these instructors remained for more than a year after graduation, and most were replaced as soon as they finished their four-year course.

The quality of this student instruction could never have amounted to much. Students at the Holyoke Seminary ranged in age from 12 to 20, and excepting those who had had unusually precocious childhoods, they likely came to the institution with only a very amateur grasp of music. Additionally, students had very little opportunity for their own independent study of music, as their personal lives at the seminary were highly

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restricted. The poet Emily Dickinson, who attended Mount Holyoke for ten months from 1847–1848, reported to a friend a sample of an average day life at the institution, revealing just how regimented their day was:

At 6 o'clock, we all rise. We breakfast at 7. Our study hours begin at 8. At 9 we all meet in Seminary Hall, for devotions. At 10:15 I recite a review of Ancient History, in connection with which we read Goldsmith & Grimshaw. At 11 I recite a lesson in ‘Pope’s Essay on Man’ which is merely transposition. At 12 I practice Calisthenics & at 12:15 read until dinner, which is at 12:30, & after dinner, from 1:30 until 2, I sing in Seminary Hall. From 2:45 until 3:45 I practice upon the Piano. At 3 I go to Sections, where we give in all our accounts for the day, including, Absence – Tardiness – Communications – Breaking Silent Study hours – Receiving Company in our rooms and ten thousand other things, which I will not take time or place to mention. At 4:30, we go into Seminary Hall, & receive advice from Miss Lyon in the form of a lecture. We have Supper at 6 and silent-study hours from then until the retiring bell, which rings at 8:45, but the tardy bell does not ring until 9:45, so that we don’t often obey the first warning to retire. Unless we have a good and reasonable excuse for failure upon any of the items that I mentioned above, they are recorded and a black mark stands against our names. As you can easily imagine, we do not like very well to get “exceptions,” as they are called scientifically here.104

Of Dickinson’s 14-hour day, one and a half hours were spent in the pursuit of music. Surprisingly, only 30 minutes were devoted to the vocal class. One can only speculate on how much could be accomplished in such a short time, and with such amateur instruction. What is curious is not that they had been contented with such mediocre instructors, but that they then went out of their way to hire such a talented individual as Charlotte Steele, likely at much greater expense. The explanation for Holyoke’s change of heart may lie in simple competition.

When Vassar College opened its doors in 1865, it immediately received wide acclaim, garnering a huge initial enrollment of almost 400. From the outset the college employed a full Professor of Music (Edward Wiebé from 1865–1866 and Frédéric Louis

Ritter from 1867–1891), who gave lectures on music history (accompanied by performances of music examples), as well as instruction on various instruments. EdwardWiebé, a German émigré described by a contemporary student as a “nervous, ambitious, strenuous man,” did not fit well at the college and soon left for other employment.\footnote{Mary Norris, \textit{The Golden Age of Vassar} (New York: Vassar College, 1915), 136. Vassar’s online Encyclopedia cites Wiebé as having left to teach at Mount Holyoke, but I was unable to find any records of his employment there. At \url{http://vcencyclopedia.vassar.edu/faculty/original-faculty/edward-wiebe.html} (accessed 15 January, 2013).}

Frédéric Ritter, however, flourished, and under his direction Vassar’s music department flourished as well.

Vassar’s success inspired other women’s colleges in the nation, and several began to change their own curricula in response. Mount Holyoke may have hired Steele simply in an attempt to stay competitive in the face of Vassar’s success. The influence of Amherst College may have also contributed to Mount Holyoke’s new outlook on music. Both Edward Hitchcock, Jr. and Julius H. Seelye became trustees of the institution between 1869 and 1872. I have already discussed their musical interests in the previous chapter. Hitchcock, who was to give his lecture on Handel to young women of the Holyoke Seminary in 1874, clearly had an interest in furthering music in the institution.\footnote{Edward Hitchcock, “Handel, the Representative of the Oratorio,” Box 4, Folder 4, Edward Hitchcock, Jr. Collection (ACASC). Hitchcock records having read the lecture to “the Holyoke Seminary” on 18 December, 1874.} Although the two men faced tough resistance towards the adoption of serious music studies by the Board of Trustees in their own college, the overseers of a women’s college likely would have felt differently on the subject. The decision to appoint a highly trained musician to teach at Mount Holyoke may have been influenced by the presence of Hitchcock and Seelye.

Even after Mount Holyoke hired a competent instructor, the duties of the position...
remained unchanged. The college would not introduce any courses in music beyond choral practice until 1891, when it announced the official creation of its music department. In contrast, as soon as Ritter replaced Weibé at Vassar, the college’s music curriculum expanded greatly. Upon Ritter’s appointment in 1867, five distinct courses were offered, including lessons in solo singing, chorus, piano, and organ, with a course in “Thorough Base [sic] and Composition” offered to any interested student. Ritter also gave occasional lectures on the history of music, bringing in musicians to perform examples from musical works covered in the lecture. Ritter enlisted the services of nine additional instructors, all women, to assist in giving music lessons. Unusually for the college, many of the music courses required extra payment in addition to the normal college tuition. Instrumental lessons cost $80 per year, solo singing and the course in thorough-bass and composition both cost $60, and any student who wanted to rent the piano for practice had to pay a monthly fee of $1. Ritter’s history lectures and the choral class were both offered free of charge.

Vassar actively encouraged the taking of “Art studies,” albeit in strict moderation. From very near the college’s founding the course catalogue included a short paragraph on the subject:

Students will usually be able to take one Art study in addition to the Regular Course, and are strongly advised to do so, when it is possible, as an important element of education. In the Junior and Senior years, after the completion of the more disciplinary studies, proficiency in Music or the Arts of Design may be

108 $80 in 1867 would be $1300 today [2013]. Similarly $60 would be $970. It is worth noting that this model for instrumental instruction is still followed today. Such “practical” instruction, which is not always offered, often requires a substantial fee in addition to the institution’s normal tuition. In such cases, the college acts more as a “hub” for groups of music instructors to gain pupils than as an academic institution. There is still debate as to whether such lessons should be worth academic credit. Today, Amherst College students must pay a substantial fee for any instrumental lessons (covered by financial aid if you have it), and each course is worth only half a credit.
accepted as an equivalent for some one of the prescribed studies in Literature or
Science.\textsuperscript{109}

Music for Vassar was long lumped into the category of “art” along with painting
and drawing, all “unpractical” studies largely denied to men in their collegiate education,
but still apparently deemed appropriate for a woman to learn. Presumably learning such
skills served to give her an attractive polish of culture. Art courses were electives,
offered only to juniors and seniors, and, as described above, it was suggested that each
student take only one such course during their college career, in the place of one of the
other more “disciplinary” studies. A woman could thus take either design or music, but
apparently it was assumed that studying both would take too much time away from her
other studies. The underlying implication seemed to be that the required courses, which
encompassed a wide variety of languages and branches of science and philosophy, were
more important.

Music courses were structured similarly to the art courses. Both were separated
into two main branches: practical training (with a small amount of theory) and illustrated
historical lectures. They were both lumped together under the “Extra Collegiate or Art
Studies” Department of the college—it apparently was considered necessary to distance
such departments somewhat from the normal college courses.

The early success of Vassar’s music department was almost entirely due to the
energy and scholarship of Professor Frédéric Ritter. Born in 1834 in Strasbourg, France,
on the border between France and Germany, he grew up speaking German. He originally
studied music in Paris, under the direction of his cousin, the music historian Georges
Kastner. At 18, Ritter was appointed Professor of Music at the Protestant Seminary of

\textsuperscript{109} Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Vassar College, 1868-1869 (New York: S.W. Green, 1868): 22.
Fénéstrange, Lorraine, again close to the German border. After teaching there for four years he emigrated to the United States, where he immediately became active in the burgeoning music scene. In Cincinnati he founded and directed the Caecilia Choral Society and the Philharmonic Orchestral Society. In 1861 he moved to New York, becoming director of the Harmonic Society as well as a German Männerchor. While teaching at Vassar he pioneered the field of musicology in America, writing several books on the history of music, including a seminal study of the history of American music. He was among the first instructors to teach the history of music, and, in collaboration with his second wife, Fanny Raymond Ritter, he introduced the practice of giving illustrated historical lectures, where Frédéric would lecture and Fanny, a virtuosic pianist, would perform representative examples. Once music became accepted as a general study, this model would come to be used nationwide. His enthusiasm, skill, and obvious deep knowledge of the subject gave him an almost legendary reputation both on campus and elsewhere.

Ritter’s partner, Fanny Raymond Ritter, was a highly active and successful musician herself. She whole-heartedly believed in the benefits of teaching music in women's colleges, and had maintained that women, if only they were trained properly, could become composers and performers as famed as any of their male counterparts. She


111 The 1870-1871 Vassar Course Catalogue describes Ritter as a “gentleman of the first rank in the profession [who] aims at the highest standards of classical culture, both as to taste and execution.” *Sixth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Vassar College, 1870-1871* (New York: S.W. Green, 1871): 22.
wrote an essay on the subject in 1877, which was soon printed in a widely read journal of music. In it, she traces the role of women in music through history, and extols the successes of a number of women as singers, actresses, and poets. She compares this success to the relative dearth of famed female composers, and argues that the reason for the disparity is simply that women have not had the educational opportunities to fully master the subject. There is just too much for them to learn on their own:

Mathematics, acoustics, psychology, languages, as well as general literary acquirements, the practice and technicalities of several instruments, and the science of music, must all be mastered by the aspirant in composition, and gradually, through the application and assimilation of long years of study, become the “second nature” of his mind.\(^{112}\)

Clearly some kind of guided instruction is required, she writes, and on a broad scale. She closes by arguing that musical studies should be a part of every woman's college curriculum:

There is surely a feminine side of composition, as of every other art. And I would suggest the adoption of the science of composition as an elective, if not obligatory, branch of the higher course of study in ladies' colleges. From actual personal experience, I do not hesitate to pronounce it equal—merely as a mental discipline—to mathematics, while it enriches the mind to a far higher degree, and is more likely to prove of practical benefit to women in after life, than the study of the other science.\(^ {113}\)

Ritter's claims about the relative skill of women, quite bold for the time, provoked many hostile reactions. When the editor of The Musical Times in the United Kingdom read her article in 1882, he promptly wrote a rebuttal, deconstructing her essay section by section, and giving dismissive statements about women for his reasoning. Among his quips: "Woman, as a creative musician, can hardly be said to exist;" in music, "a woman does not originate, she only interprets or reproduces;" and:

\(^{113}\) Ibid.
[...] there is no need to discuss further the question of woman's musical barrenness. A few gifted members of the sex have been more or less fortunate in their emulation of men, and that is all. Not a single great work can be traced to a feminine pen.\textsuperscript{114}

He later directly refutes Ritter’s claim that music should be taught in women's colleges, and in general that broad education is necessary, or even desired, in the training of a composer:

A man, or woman, may be a great composer without crossing the \textit{pons asinorum}, or making the smallest acquaintance with the "ologies." All knowledge is good, truly, and worthy to be desired; but the greatest masters of music contrived to do with singularly little, outside the range of their own art. Wherefore, let the pernicious theory that ladies' colleges can manufacture composers be put aside once and for all. The musical instinct—apart from which musical studies are no more useful than clothes on a skeleton—comes as a gift of God. It is a fire no man can kindle; and the function of the teacher with regard to it is simply that of direction and control.\textsuperscript{115}

Such was the resistance put up against musical education in women's colleges, and to some extent in men's colleges as well. Blatant sexism aside, there was an underlying current of thought that any successful study of music required, first, innate talent, and second, intense focus on the subject, to the detriment of all other aspects of life. Both of these assumptions were incompatible with the collegiate sphere. If music were only an option for a select few of talent, it had no place in a general curriculum. And if musical studies were only ever taken to the detriment of other subjects, then the Conservatory, devoted entirely to music, was the proper place for musical learning.

Several aspects of the Vassar music course changed in 1876, all in response to these concerns. Under the heading of "Extra-Collegiate Departments," a new disclaimer appeared:

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In providing for instruction in music and the arts of design, two things have had to
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\textsuperscript{114} The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular 23, no. 476 (1 October, 1882): 521.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid, 522.
be reconciled, —a proper subordination to the claims of the academic course, and a high order of instruction in the arts themselves. The first is secured by allowing no regular student to take more than one art study at a time, and by strictly limiting the time spent in lessons and practice; the second, by adopting the highest standard of taste in the instructions given and placing them under the direction of accomplished masters.  

Although the catalogue still encouraged students to take an "art study" at some point during their time at the college, college administrators were clearly even more uncomfortable with allowing those studies to become any sort of a focus. Music students now faced more restrictive limitations on lessons and practice time, with an enforced maximum of two lessons a week, not to exceed forty minutes of daily practice. Perhaps in an effort to discourage students who wanted "easy" collegiate credit, students who applied to take a music course in place of part of the normal curriculum now had to be in good academic standing, and were required to spend some part of their time in the study of harmony. The college believed that a worthwhile musical course was still possible under these new restrictions:

There seems to be a prevailing impression that little can be accomplished for high musical cultivation under such unusual restrictions; but experience proves the contrary. A sound method, rigid economy of effort, and the disciplinary influence of the College Course, have combined to produce the most satisfactory results, and gone far to solve the problem whether a high aesthetic culture can be successfully united with thorough intellectual discipline in the education of women.  

The fact that the institution felt the need to argue that one could learn music under these reduced terms reveals stereotyped assumptions about both music and women’s education. Music was something that distracted the mind, taking too much of the student’s time to be worth studying in an institution aimed at creating a well-rounded

116 Eleventh Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Vassar College, 1876-1877 (New York: S.W. Green, 1869): 22.
117 Ibid, 23.
individual. The increasingly rigorous and scientific wording of the Music section of the catalogue, now using phrases like “rigid economy” and “intellectual discipline,” seem to have changed in reply to the opinion that music was a frivolous pursuit, ultimately unworthy of the time taken to learn it. Theoretical courses, like those on harmony, were more desirable than practical ones. Ultimately, changing musical studies to seem more scientific helped to justify their inclusion in the college course.

In addition to general prejudices against the study of music by all sexes, women in particular faced further discrimination, especially in the field of composition, based on societal prejudices on what was and was not a proper occupation for their sex. If a woman wrote a piece of music, it had to be feminine: soft and light, without any hint of overtly “masculine” qualities. These terms were rarely—if ever—defined, their vagueness allowing critics to argue that a woman was overstepping her compositional bounds no matter the actual content of her music. In his critique of Raymond Ritter’s essay, the editor of The Musical Times concludes by quoting a translation of another piece by a French critic, “M. Scudo,” written on the subject of the female violin prodigy and composer Teresa Milanollo:

The distinctions which nature has established between the two sexes should display themselves in works of art, which are but the manifestation of the harmonies of creation. A woman who, when taking a pencil, pen, or music-sheet, forgets what are the character and the obligations of her sex is a monster who excites disgust and repulsion. For one or two who succeed in gaining a masculine celebrity which robs them of the mystery of grace and enchantment that forms their appanage, there are thousands who remain mutilated and become objects of general scoffing. They are neither men nor women, but something which has no name and no part in life […] No one debars the woman from enlightening her spirit and purifying her heart by solid instruction and by the culture of arts which open up infinite horizons, provided she remains within the limits God has imposed upon her. […] A singer, an actress, a painter, a pianiste ought to carry

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118 Possibly a misprint of P. Scudo (the author’s name was Paul Scudo); more likely referring to “Monsieur” Scudo.
into the art they profess the distinctive qualities of their sex. Forgetfulness of this fundamental rule not only wounds decency, which is their prestige, but troubles the economy of God's work. In the human duality, the woman expresses the eternal sentiments of the soul, and her heart is a fountain full of tenderness and poetry. If she abandon the sweet empire of grace to look to other destinies,… she disturbs the equilibrium of life, and her fall is inevitable.\(^{119}\)

Though the editor of *The Musical Times* says that Scudo’s claims are “slightly exaggerated,” he nonetheless agrees with the tone of the quotation, and sees no issue with including it in his article as a positive example.

For critics such as these, music created by women was required to seem effortless, containing none of the mental “struggle” discernible in the music of Beethoven or Wagner. Exertion, mental or otherwise, was not something women were allowed to show. They could be emotional, but only pleasantly so; creative, but not calculating. As a result, any music written by a woman in a style that seemed to be encroaching on the domain of the “masculine” side of composition would be labeled imitative, derivative, or, worse, as a betrayal of the composer’s sex. Women were meant to be wives and mothers, and the music they wrote must naturally be confined to what could be performed in the home, else it might be suggested that women could succeed in roles outside the private sphere. This attitude would continue to be prevalent well into the next century, and discrimination against women in composition was a major factor in the relative dearth of well-known female American composers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.\(^{120}\)


These general attitudes towards women manifested themselves in education in a variety of ways. Perhaps most significantly for our purposes, women’s lives in early educational institutions were restricted to the point where they had very little personal agency. As a result, even though women were given opportunities to sing and play instruments in their institutions, female students in early women’s colleges rarely formed musical groups of their own. Groups dedicated both to musical performance and to personal musical improvement were almost universal in leading men’s institutions, but similar groups often failed to appear in women’s colleges. Restrictions on personal time in early institutions for women made it all but impossible to find time to organize an extracurricular music ensemble. In addition, women’s institutions required that all extracurricular groups be registered and approved by the faculty before being allowed to hold meetings, a requirement that may have proved too daunting for the interested parties to fulfill.

As the quality and content of women’s education slowly changed to match that of men’s, rules about women’s conduct began to loosen. It is not a coincidence that around this time (1870-1890) female analogues to contemporary musical trends in men’s colleges begin to appear. Glee and Mandolin Clubs began to be organized in the mid-1880s, and several musical groups had appeared at Vassar (which had been founded explicitly to match men’s institutions) since its founding, though their activities were always closely monitored and supervised by Ritter.

University Press, 2000). One major early exception to the rule of women in composition was Amy Beach, a self-taught composer and virtuosic pianist who gained widespread national fame between 1892 until her eventual death in 1944.
Figure 2.1: Mount Holyoke Banjo Club, c. 1895-1900. Accessed on 20 Feb, 2013, from the Mount Holyoke Digital Collections website: mtholyoke.cdmhost.com/cdm/ref/collection/p1030coll8/id/10285
Of all the Seven Sisters, Bryn Mawr was the only institution to reject the study of music outright. At its founding in 1886 the college faced the same issues that had caused Vassar to restrict the amount of time students could devote to music. Bryn Mawr took a different route than Vassar, instead deciding to leave music altogether out of its program. Bryn Mawr’s first president specifically addressed the issue of music at the college in his inaugural address:

That a system of education should not neglect to develop and guide the sense of the beautiful is admitted. […] But how far attention can usually be given in a college to art, as expressed in form, color, and sound, is debatable. It is scarcely compatible with the scheme of a college to compete with the schools of art established in our large cities, and to endeavor to give a technical education in drawing, painting, and sculpture. But inasmuch as facility in drawing is very useful in scientific study and in daily life, while it trains the powers of observation and the use of the hand, it will be taught in its more simple forms. It is intended, also, that lectures upon the history and principles of art, properly illustrated, shall be given to the more advanced students. The demand upon the time and strength of students made by the teaching of music, and the certainty that proficiency in the practice of it can be gained only at the expense of thoroughness in studies of pressing importance, have sufficed to exclude it from our course.  

Bryn Mawr was setting itself up to be first and foremost a scientific institution. Whereas some aspects of art were useful for “scientific study,” the founders of the college could not justify the inclusion of music. At this point, there was little to no perception of the study of music as existing beyond instrumental training, and purely artistic study had no place in a scientific institution. The restriction of the arts in women’s education was a controversial move, and in this aspect Bryn Mawr stands as a pioneer in divesting itself of commonly-accepted gendered stereotypes about what a woman should be made to study.

Although Bryn Mawr was unusual in rejecting music altogether, its narrow-

sighted view of music as an entirely practical study was by no means an uncommon one. Almost every college in New England that included music in its curriculum prioritized private instrumental instruction in their musical curriculum, often to the complete exclusion of any theory courses. Why was this so? For one, it made more financial sense to the institutions involved. Since a relatively large number of extra instructors were required to be able to teach instruments, colleges often paid these subsidiary teachers only nominal salaries, expecting that they would make up the rest by charging students for private lessons. Although this may seem an unfair arrangement, the large potentially untapped market present in many college campuses proved to be quite tempting to available instructors.

Second, due to the fact that most instructors had been trained in music conservatories (often in Germany, as explored in chapter three), the conservatory model of instruction prevailed, with private instrumental instruction and class-based theory lessons (which were treated as composition classes). Students at these institutions were required to learn an instrument, most often the piano, to graduate. “Music study” at that time meant the learning of a musical instrument such as the voice or piano, as the concept of a purely theoretical approach to music did not yet exist. It was assumed that in order to truly learn music one had to first spend the time and effort of learning an instrument; theory would come only afterward as an afterthought, even then only if one first expressed interest. This instrument-centric model would be stubbornly maintained for several decades before largely being transformed in the process of its transplantation to American men’s colleges. This change only began as liberal-arts instructors and administrators balked more and more at the idea of including practical studies in their
colleges, which were otherwise devoted to the abstract ideal of intellectual and moral improvement of the mind. In an attempt to make the study of music more amenable to the collegiate sphere, music educators began to invent new, more cerebral methods of approaching the subject. John Knowles Paine (whose career will be discussed in depth later in this chapter) proved to be the most vocal advocate of these new ideals. Outspoken for his time, Paine believed that no credit should ever be offered for the practice of music and that composition, theory, and history should be the focus of music education.

This issue came to a head at Vassar after Ritter’s death in 1891. Only a few months after the old professor was buried, James Monroe Taylor, the president of the college, issued a notice to the board of trustees in which he questioned the usefulness of the curriculum that Ritter had created:

All who have watched carefully the recent development of the College, must have felt that the relation of it to our schools of Painting and Music involves a source of weakness, and even the possibility of an influence antagonistic to our academic development.122

At the time, Taylor was on a mission to raise Vassar’s academic standards to that of its peers. Remarking that Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania, and “most of the colleges for women” were undergoing similar re-organizations, Taylor warned the trustees that the time required for musical study “might be a menace to higher standards.” More specifically, Taylor wrote, as “is done in Harvard University,” courses in Art and Music, as well as membership in the Orchestra, should now be allowed only to juniors and seniors (though the extra fees would be abolished), and could not be counted towards graduation. Taylor felt that these changes would place “music on a more dignified basis than now, and would give it, as a study, a place worthy of it in a liberal education.”

122 James Monroe Taylor, Notice issued from the President’s Office in October, 1891, to the Board of Trustees.
board agreed with Taylor, and the changes were put into place. Ritter’s school of music was abolished, and the courses were incorporated into a more carefully controlled department of music within the college.

That Vassar was to model its musical reforms on similar actions at Harvard is perhaps the most interesting feature of this statement. Just what was the state of music in Men’s colleges, and why was Harvard’s program in particular viewed as so worthy of emulation? The answer requires a more thorough analysis of the practice and study of music at men’s institutions. At Harvard, Amherst, and many other men’s colleges, the inclusion of music in the collegiate sphere began with early student music groups, which, in the absence of formalized music instruction, gave students an outlet to immerse themselves in music.

II. The Art of the Drunken Serenade: Music in Men’s Colleges

Harvard’s first musical group is remembered only in the record book of its treasurers, kept from 1786 to 1803. The group, called the “Singing Club,” apparently purchased various volumes of psalm-tune collections, with such publications as

*Harmonia Americana*, *Law’s Small Collection*, and three volumes of the *Worcester Collection* appearing in its account book. All of these publications were commonly used in New England churches, suggesting that the group was devoted to singing only

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123 John Sullivan Dwight, “The Pierian Sodality,” *The Harvard Book: a Series of Historical, Biographical, and Descriptive Sketches*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Welch, Bigelow, and Company, 1875), 363. Hymn-books referenced include: Samuel Holyoke, *Harmonia Americana* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1791); Isaiah Thomas, *Laus Deo! The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony*, vols. 1-3 (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1786); *Law’s Small Collection* is likely by the eighteenth-century hymn-writer Andrew Law, but I could not find reference to this specific publication. The name may have been the treasurer’s shorthand for some other work by the composer. Law was among the first American composers to use shape-note notation, which lives on today in the Sacred Harp singing tradition.
sacred music. The Singing Club also purchased a bass viol, likely used to assist their singing in much the same way as the Amherst College Choir used their own viol.\textsuperscript{124}

The next group to appear after the Singing Club would prove to be Harvard’s most long lasting and ultimately most influential musical institution, still in existence today under the name of the Harvard Radcliffe Orchestra. Despite its present high reputation, it had quite humble beginnings. In March, 1808, a small group of students joined together to establish a society dedicated to their “mutual improvement in instrumental music.” Voting to call themselves the Pierian Sodality (in reference to the Pierian Spring of Greek mythology, sacred to the Muses as a metaphorical source of art and science),\textsuperscript{125} the group soon gathered enough members to give instrumental serenades to the college community. By August the Sodality decided it had practiced enough to give a full performance, and voted to accept an offer to play music at an upcoming literary exhibition. Consisting only of wind and brass instruments and playing almost solely simple marches and other light works, the group was similar to a small martial band.

The instrumental tradition represented by the Sodality (as well as by Amherst’s own Paean Band) originally sprang from military musical practices. After the American Revolution the size of the new country’s armed population was drastically reduced. In an effort to maintain the country’s military strength, Congress passed a law in 1792 requiring all able-bodied men between eighteen and forty-five to join their state militia. Every battalion required its own field band, which would play marches and other martial songs to aid exercises and long marches. Many of these bands also gave public

\textsuperscript{125} The “Sodality” of Pierian Sodality merely means “brotherhood” or “society,” from the Latin “sodālitās.”
performances, where they would play marches and popular tunes. Among the most popular pieces were *Yankee Doodle* and *Washington’s March*, both of which were popularized during the Revolutionary War.\(^{126}\) Because this band music was popular and familiar to every male involved in a state militia (which after 1792 was essentially the entire young male population of the country), several such bands formed in men’s colleges around the nation.\(^{127}\)

In its early years, the Pierian Sodality’s presence on the Harvard campus seems to have been decidedly weak. An 1814 member of the group gave some humorous insight into its activities:

> My reminiscences of the Pierians are very few, for there was very little to remember. We met once a week, and practiced “under difficulties” music correlate to the “Battle of Prague”\(^{128}\) only not quite so high, “Washington’s March,” the “Boston Cadets’ March,” the Tyrolean Waltz and some others not remembered, some plaintive duets for flutes in 3ds and 6ths and a general wishy-washiness of soft- and sb- isms of various kinds. All of the sort that gently yielded to our feebleness of attack with feeble instruments made up the repertoire for some 4 flutes, 1 clarinet, and 1 bassoon. […] There was neither string nor brass, and a feeble flock we were. Our principal work was that of the “soft serenaders,” we never venturing upon any public performance. The Sodality was quite down in my day.\(^{129}\)

In 1813, possibly in response to the poor condition of the Pierian Sodality, a group of freshmen and sophomores took the opportunity to form their own band, calling

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\(^{126}\) An example of such a concert is given in the *Boston Musical Gazette* 1, no. 7 (25 July 1838): 51-52.

\(^{127}\) As just a few examples, some of which we have seen, Harvard had the Pierian Sodality (1808-present), Amherst had the Paean Band (1824-1836), and Yale had the Musical Band (1827-?) and the Beethoven Society (originally a singing group, but later a mixed choir/band; 1812-1868).

\(^{128}\) A band piece by Frantisek Kotzwara that mimics the sounds of battle, including canon-fire and the screams of the wounded. Although it was quite popular in the late eighteen to early nineteenth centuries, John Sullivan Dwight disregarded the piece for being more of a spectacle than a legitimate piece of music in its own right. *Dwight’s Journal of Music* 29, no. 4 (27 April, 1861): 32.

themselves the Arionic Sodality. This rival group played much the same music with very similar instrumentation, but after a year of bustle its activity fell to nominal levels. A vote was taken as to whether the group should be merged with the Pierians, but the elder group refused to merge. Two years later, however, the Pierians apparently experienced a change of heart, and voted to incorporate the Arionics as a subsidiary organization, to serve as something of a proving ground for musicians interested in joining the older group. Under the new arrangement, underclassmen would play in the Arionic Sodality and, if they showed enough skill or promise, they would be “promoted” to join the Pierians.

Later in 1816 the Sodalities were granted permission to use a room in University Hall for their rehearsals, an unusually friendly move for a college administration to make towards a secular musical organization at the time. Apart from this isolated gesture of support, however, the group’s relationship with the administration seems to have been generally strained. John Sullivan Dwight, a member of the Arionic Sodality from 1827–30, and the Pierian in 1831, wrote of the college’s cold reception:

This society sprang up at Harvard College at a time when music was but stolen joy for the collegians. The ruling powers, faculty and overseers, had small respect for the divine art, — thought it anything but divine except in church. For a young man to get a character for singing, fluting, or what not, was frowned upon as severely as the lower dissipations. The little club, “Pierian Sodality,” was barely tolerated.

This notion that the practice and pursuit of secular music had a bad influence on the student body was by no means uncommon among the religious elite of New England,

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130 Yet another Grecian reference. Arion was a mythical musician who lived at the court of Periander of Corinth in seventh century BCE. He had such skill on the lute that no living creature, human or otherwise, could listen and not be entranced.
a group well represented in the administration of Harvard College. Adding to this pre-existing distrust of secular music, the administration’s low opinion of the group could hardly have been helped by the Sodality’s consistently poor skill level. Lacking any music instructors, they were self-taught, and decidedly amateur. Laments on poor performance are scattered throughout the record books of both Sodalities. The editor of this 1821 entry clearly enjoyed describing a recent failure:

*March 28, 1821.* The Sodality met for Br. Burton and were treated with a bottle of cherry by him. Br. Holmes presided, Williams being absent and never did the society play worse which is saying a great deal. The music sounded like a concert of screech-owls, crows and devils.\(^{132}\)

Not only did the groups often play poorly, they also lacked any claim to variety in instrumentation. The flute, an instrument many men played in the nineteenth century, consistently dominated the Sodality’s instrumental make-up. At the time, the flute was widely available, relatively easy to learn, and had a reputation for being the favorite instrument of young single women. Men would “pick up” the flute in much the same way that a modern student might “pick up” the guitar. It was viewed as a romantic instrument, and there was an inherent assumption, true or not, that serenading young ladies with a well-selected flute piece would endear the performer to their target. The instrument soon reached ridiculous proportions in the Sodality. An ex-member wrote:

> Of all instruments, by far the most popular was the flute. The orchestra was fairly top-heavy with them. During the romantic ’40s and ’50s a perfect craze for this poetical instrument broke out. It became harder and harder to get anything but flutes. No one wanted to play anything else. Little by little the ultimate absurdity was reached of an orchestra made up of nothing but flutes! All the repertory was rearranged in parts, within the compass of this single instrument, and a dozen or

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fourteen tootlers produced a mass of whistling tone that must have surpassed the wildest experiments of Wagner.  

It is not difficult to imagine the annoying effect such an ensemble might have had on the already skeptical administration. Adding insult to the administration’s injury, the character of the group was focused more on amusement and conviviality than on serious study, musical or otherwise. Dwight, who had spent several years with the group, reported: “It must be confessed, amusement was its motive more than any aspiration to high art.” Many entries from the group’s record books confirm this statement:

*October 28, 1818.* Brandy, soul mellowing, pungent drink divine; ‘tis by thy power that we with gods combine.  

*May 6, 1835.* [. . .] We then marched from “D. Hall” to the Colledges [sic] where we played one or two tunes & then marched on playing most gloriously; utterly regardless of mud, water & everything else of the kind until we were forcibly detained by an agent which is ever most powerful in its influence on the will of a Pierian, appearing in the form of some champaigne [sic] most generously afforded by the Porcellian Club (for which may they ever be remembered). We then proceeded by invitation of Mr. Dorr of the Senior class to his room where we were bountifully provided with refreshments . . . then returned to the Colledge [sic] yard where we played a few tunes to the great delight of all who were so fortunate as to hear and then adjourned at about two o’clock much pleased with the events of the evening.

The record book for the Arionic Sodality provides similar examples:

*July 13, 1822.* The Anniversary was held in Loring’s room where the members of the Pierian Sodality and the honorary members of the Arionic assembled. 7 gallons of punch and 150 cigars were used on this memorable occasion. Mr. Cooper sang some songs which were received with great applause by the company. Also Mr. Tucker and Mr. Burt favored the company with some songs.

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134 Ibid.  
137 At the time punch was always alcoholic.
The evening was passed with pleasure and hilarity. But alas! The next day we all paid Publics.\textsuperscript{138}

It is highly unlikely that Harvard’s administration would have condoned this behavior. As we will find, however, it is just this conviviality that may have ultimately started Harvard on the course towards a professorship in music.

In 1832, the aims of the Pierian Sodality expanded past serenades and parties and reached back to its long-neglected founding purpose: the improvement of instrumental music. As their record book reveals, the group seems to have asked Harvard if it could afford to hire a professor of music:

Sept. 25, 1832. Last term a subject of great importance to the Piers was agitated among the Higher Powers, viz., “The establishment of a Musical Professor in College.” Pres. Quincy intimated to the president of the Pierians that such a plan was agreeable to his wishes, and he would endeavor to procure one from the Faculty. The learned members of that august body, however, saw fit to put a “veto” on a measure so important to the interests of the Sodality, on account of the expense.\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{138} “Ancestor of the Harvard Musical Association,” 11. The exact meaning of the “paid Publics” idiom is unclear, though one can assume it suggests they were somewhat hung-over.
Had the Faculty approved the measure, Harvard would have been the first male collegiate institution in America to hire such an instructor. Even though the request was rejected, the above quote suggests that Harvard’s president himself was surprisingly friendly to the idea. Josiah Quincy had come to the presidency of Harvard directly after a five-year stint as Mayor of Boston. During his service at Harvard from 1829 to 1845, he spent some time trying to reform the curriculum, making more room for studies in science, history, and literature. It is perhaps not surprising that one with such an unusually broad perspective on education might entertain the study of music as a potential subject matter. It is also possible that Quincy’s support was not given seriously, but instead constituted a calculated move to soften his rocky relationship with the student
body. The president had constant trouble with the students due to his relatively strict enforcement of college rules. Students did not take kindly to Quincy’s efforts, demonstrating their unhappiness with several riots, once going so far as to burn an effigy constructed in his image. In 1834, students held an open rebellion against the college, ultimately resulting in the suspension of the entire sophomore class. Quincy’s acceptance of the Pierian’s plan may have been an effort to save some face, especially if he knew that the proposition would never realistically get past the college’s administration, thus posing no risk of actually succeeding. Whatever the reason for his apparently favorable reception, the Sodality’s plan failed. It would take another twenty-three years and the continual efforts of a new organization—one specifically created to push for such a position—for Harvard to hire a music instructor. This organization, the Harvard Musical Association (which is still in existence today), was brought into being by alumni of the Pierian Sodality in an effort to reunite with present members and relive some of their pleasant memories.

In July 1837, a group of such alumni formed to determine how best to unite past and present members of the Pierian Sodality into an “active Association for the Cultivation of Music in the College.” This committee presented its findings to the Sodality late the next month, and, in the interest of publicity, sent an account of their findings to all previous members of the club, as well as to several newspapers.140 The report opened with a lengthy reminiscence on the committee’s positive experiences with the Sodality, including a section on the positive moral influence of music on those who practiced it—a markedly different opinion from that of Harvard’s administration. After these introductory sections, the report detailed at length how to go about improving music

140 See Appendix H for a full transcription.
in the college and relations with musical alumni. It closed with three concrete resolutions:

1. RESOLVED, That we, the past, present, and Honorary members of the Pierian Sodality here present, do hereby form ourselves into an Association, to meet annually in Cambridge, on Commencement day, for the purpose of enjoying each other's society, and of devising and executing plans for the promotion of musical taste and science in the University.

2. RESOLVED, That we consider Music worthy of a place in every system of education, and particularly in our University; and that a committee of three be chosen to report at the next annual meeting upon the expediency and best means of trying to introduce it there as a regular branch of instruction.

3. RESOLVED, That the plan of collecting a complete Musical Library merits our attention; and that a Committee of three be chosen to report at the next annual meeting upon the whole subject.¹⁴¹

The committee created to advise on the establishment of a music professorship reported on the subject the next year to the society. The report was forwarded to President Quincy. Although the content of the report is unknown, we can assume it made little impact on the administration, as nothing changed and no reference can be found on the subject of music studies in Harvard records for another twenty-four years. With the possible exception of Quincy, it seems that the faculty and trustees of Harvard still did not believe in the viability of such an appointment.

Although these meetings of the Sodality did not immediately bring about a professorship, they did result in the creation of the “General Association of Past and Present Members of the Pierian Sodality” (known from 1840 as the “Harvard Musical Association”), dedicated to improving musical life on campus and in Boston in general. John Sullivan Dwight, who had been a member of the original committee that recommended the formation of the Association, was a prominent member, and was

¹⁴¹ *Boston Musical Gazette* 1, no. 6 (11 July 1838): 42
highly involved in the group’s activities. Although the new group originally accepted both current students and past alumni as members, over time it transformed into an entirely alumni organization, shifting its focus from Harvard College to the Boston area in general. In fulfillment of its third resolution it cultivated a large library of scores and literary works on musical subjects, and eventually came to put on a series of highly regarded orchestral concerts. From 1844 onwards, the association, which funded and ran a subsidiary orchestra, was Boston’s premier classical performing group, supplanted only in 1882 by the Boston Symphony Orchestra. It was also instrumental in gathering funds for the construction of Boston’s Music Hall in 1850, when it single-handedly raised $100,000 in 60 days. When it could, it continued to put pressure on the college towards appointing a professor of music. John Sullivan Dwight in particular led this battle. His widely read Journal of Music, first published in 1852, provided the perfect medium for such advocacy.

The first of his articles appeared after news spread that Harvard had been bequeathed $15,000 for the creation of a professorship in the “Philosophy of the Heart.” Harvard’s government was understandably nonplussed by the terms of the donation, and Dwight took the opportunity to make his own suggestion:

> Fifteen thousand dollars will certainly compel the government to construe the Heart into something practicable, and establish a professorship of some sort. We propose that they should turn it into the long called for professorship of Music: seeing that this "divine Art" or science is commonly supposed to work so powerfully on the feelings and the passions, and that it therefore is perhaps as good an interpreter of what is called the Heart, as anything which a professor could profess.\(^{142}\)

This opportunity seems to have particularly inspired Dwight, as later that month he published a much longer article on the subject. As it is relevant to this study, I quote the article in its entirety:

In an unusual dearth of musical topics on which to discourse to our readers, we are reminded, by the notice in our last number of the music performed at the Commencement exercises at Cambridge, that one of the objects which the Harvard Musical Association proposed to itself at its foundation, as one way of testifying in appropriate form its gratitude to Alma Mater, was the foundation, at some future time, of a Musical Professorship. We have often thought of this project, and speculated whether the good time had come when this plan might be carried into effect; and now let us try the efficacy of what Punch calls "thinking aloud," and see what may come of it.
Figure 2.3 – The first issue of Dwight’s Journal of Music. Accessed from The Internet Archive, 20 February, 2013: archive.org/details/dwightsjournalof12
We doubt not that many a worthy alumnus, whose ideas of a college are only that it is a place where one shall learn Latin and Greek, and the Mathematics, will laugh us to scorn, and sniff not at the bare idea of the giving of musical instruction in such a classic retreat. A degree of Bachelor or Master of Arts, or of Doctor of Medicine or of Laws, he will recognize as fit and proper - but a Bachelor - a Doctor of Music!

However, it is no new thing. Two hundred years before our University was founded, John Hambois, at Oxford, received the degree of Doctor in Music, and from that time to this, (and how long before we know not,) the English Universities have conferred academical degrees upon students in Music, to whom they have afforded opportunities of instruction, and whom they have raised to their highest honors, for we find that Thomas Saintwix, Doctor in Music, was made Master of King's College. In those times the degrees were conferred on such candidates as had passed a satisfactory examination, and a knowledge of the writings of Boethius was considered a sufficient test of their learning.\footnote{Boethius’s De Institutione Musica, a summary of Greek musical thought written in the early sixth century CE, became the standard scholarly treatise on music after it was rediscovered and widely published in Venice in the late fifteenth century.} At a later date, the candidates for the bachelor's degree were required, instead of this examination, to produce, after devoting a study of seven years to their faculty, evidence of the fact, and to compose a song in five parts, and have the same performed publicly. The doctors must study five years additional, and compose a song in six or eight parts, and perform it, "tam vocibus quam instrumentis etiam musicis."\footnote{Roughly, this suggests that there be equal instrumental and vocal parts. Quoted from the Oxford book of statutes, Corpus Statutorum Universitatis Oxon (1636).} Such were the requisitions of the statutes of the University of Oxford, but what the course of instruction pursued at the present day may be, we do not know, and have not the means of readily ascertaining.

Some will ask, How will you teach music in American colleges? What would you teach? How far would you go? These questions we ask in the name of such persons, but will not answer, hoping that the suggestions we have made may strike the minds of some who may be prepared to follow out our hints; may perhaps inspire some alumnus, or some association of alumni, to do something towards the endowing such a foundation; may draw out the best plans on which the labors of such a chair should be conducted.

It is not a new thing. Music has been successfully introduced into our public common schools, with the approval of all.\footnote{This statement refers to Lowell Mason’s recent success in bringing courses in choral music to Boston’s elementary schools, covered in Chapter 3.} Why not then, into our higher seats of learning? It has been done already, we believe, at New Haven, or at least contemplated, and steps taken towards the fulfillment of the design, in Yale College; and perhaps some of our readers there, or our friend Willis, who should know all about it, may give that information concerning the matter, which we cannot at this moment obtain.\footnote{Yale had had hired Gustave Stoeckel as organist and choir-master in 1852, and appointed him “Instructor in Music” in 1854.}

Precisely what we would do, or how exactly we would have it done, we
are not now prepared to state. A system, however, could be easily devised, which
should be useful, practical, and practicable. We would not, for example, make
Boethius a required study. We would have a system adapted to the times,
circumstances and place in which we live, so widely different from those of the
old catechumen in Boethius, so different still from those of the students in the
English and German universities of the present day - a system adapted to the
wants and position of the older student, as the rudimentary instruction imparted in
our common schools is to those of the children whom they contain.

As to the means of doing it, we are reminded of the recent bequest of a
lady to the College, said to be devoted to founding "a professorship of the heart,
about which the journals of the day have made themselves quite merry. And it
occurs to us that the Corporation might perhaps deviate not very far from the
purposes of the founder, in turning the bequest to such a purpose as we have
indicated in this article.\footnote{John Sullivan Dwight, “Music at Harvard College,” \textit{Dwight’s Journal of Music} 5, no. 17 (29 June, 1854): 133.}

Dwight’s argument is composed in three parts. First, he makes a call to past
examples of music studies in institutions of higher learning, namely, the long-time practice
of Oxford and other English universities of granting Doctorates in Music. Second, he
gives an example of an entirely American precedent for music studies in the recent
inclusion of such study in Boston’s public schools, and intimates that Yale is already
heading in that direction itself. Finally, he rejects the study of music as practiced by
those “old fogeys” in England, suggesting that some bold new approach would be needed
to successfully transplant music into the collegiate realm. The new way of studying
music should be “useful, practical, and practicable,” as compared to the dry theoretical
study of the long out-dated Boethius. Dwight conspicuously side-steps potential criticism
by not saying exactly what these new studies should consist of, leaving the particulars,
and all the potential flak thereto, up to the future pioneers.

Although Harvard ultimately used the endowment for the “professorship of the
heart” to create a new preaching position (entitled “Preacher to the University and
Plummer Professor of Christian Morals”), Dwight’s article still may have influenced the university’s hiring choices. Early in 1855 Harvard hired Levi Parsons Homer, a Bostonian who had spent several years studying music in Germany, as “Instructor in Music.” Much like the position of the same name at Mount Holyoke College, the title may more accurately imply “Kappelmeister,” as Homer’s duties were effectively limited to playing organ at religious services and training and conducting Harvard’s chapel choir. Even so, Dwight gleefully reported Homer’s appointment, and quite optimistically took the opportunity to suggest further improvements in the treatment of music at Harvard:

So our venerable Alma Mater at Cambridge has at length taken a first step in the direction we have so long urged, of recognizing and installing Music in her circle of the arts and sciences! The office of musical instructor and organist to the University has been created, and our young townsman, Mr. L.P. Homer, who has spend many years of earnest study with the best musical masters in Germany, and who is one of our most thoroughly taught musicians, as well as a man of general intelligence and a gentleman, has been appointed to the place. We doubt not his good influence will soon be felt among the students, and that ere long a high authority in favor of Music will go forth with a power of example from Old Harvard. It is but a small beginning, it is true. The office, as we understand it, is pretty much limited to the conducting of the Chapel music upon Saturdays, and the training of the choir therefor. It is very far short of anything in the nature of a musical professorship. But it is a beginning; it is the entering wedge, and we may well rejoice in it.

[…] It was well in the University to begin with its religious music. There is where the true tone can be set; there, where the occasion excludes triviality, and where attention to whatever may be worthy is secured, as it is nowhere else. With a good teacher and presiding mind in that department, it can but naturally follow that some inspiring musical influence shall flow down through all the other musical channels of college life. And then the good of it will be so felt, that one day we may hope to see, not merely practical class teachers of music, but a musical professor, in the University, who shall lecture on the history and literature of Music, the principles of taste, the philosophy and progress of the Art, its various schools, and so forth; a chair, from which, filled by a live man, shall emanate new light and impulse to the cause of musical high Art throughout our land. Then will be realized the wish long cherished by the more music-loving sons of Harvard; the end for which, however far it might seem in the future, the "Harvard Musical Association" was organized, and has already formed by slow

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accumulations during its twenty years' existence, the modest nucleus of a fund for this very purpose, hoping, as such an object becomes more appreciated, to inspire others to do more. In taking leave of the subject for the present, let us lay before our readers the following suggestion of the New York Musical Review for last week:

Dwight's Journal of Music, in noticing the degree of "Doctor of Music" recently conferred upon Mr. Lowell Mason, improves the opportunity to urge the establishment of musical professorships in our Universities. We agree heartily with the editor in his recommendations upon this head, and offer a suggestion. We propose that the three flourishing societies of Boston unite in calling together a Grand Musical Festival for the coming autumn, to which leading musicians shall be invited from all parts of the country, and at which some of the master-works shall be performed. Let the proceeds make a nucleus for a musical professorship at time-honored Harvard; the sum collected, however small, would, we doubt not, be sufficiently swelled by the "solid men of Boston," and the example set would find imitators in behalf of other institutions.149

This concert seems to have never occurred, nor did Harvard introduce any new lectures on the history or literature of music. The university did, however, institute a new uncredited course of "Instruction in Music, with special reference to the devotional services in the Chapel," which would "extend to the higher branches of part-singing."150 Reading between the lines, the course was essentially an excuse for Harvard to train students to sing in its sacred choir. Harvard faculty seem to have appreciated the improvement wrought by Homer's services, as they awarded him a vote of thanks in 1856 for "the zeal and the success with which he has devoted himself to the instruction of the students in Music."151

Homer offered this course until his early death in 1862. Dwight’s eulogy of the professor, published soon afterwards, unsurprisingly featured further appeals for the college to endow a more serious professorship:

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151 Spalding, Music at Harvard, 160.
We sincerely hope that the Corporation of the College may be so fortunate as to select for his successor a person as well fitted as Mr. Homer was for his place, and that the opportunity will be taken to make the place a professorship in academical rank, and in compensation, such as should make it an object of ambition to a college graduate to fill the post. There are such graduates who have chosen to devote their lives to the musical profession, to whom such a place would be the worthy reward of an honorable ambition. Can it not be done now?\textsuperscript{152}

Harvard found a replacement for Homer unusually quickly, perhaps because he had died in the middle of the Spring term and needed an immediate replacement for continuity of the music course. By the end of the month the college had appointed John Knowles Paine, a noted organist and composer who had recently returned to Boston after spending several years studying music in, as one might guess, Germany, to pick up the course that Homer had been teaching that term. Although still officially listed as “Instructor in Music,” the position was described in a revealing slip of the tongue in communication to Paine as “Teacher of Sacred Music.”\textsuperscript{153} Paine’s contract, for $500 per year, was to end in June, to be permanently renewed only if the venture proved satisfactory to both parties. Although initially Harvard administration had tried to replace Homer’s position as organist and leader of the choir with various amateur instructors, it soon noticed a drop in quality and appointed Paine to perform these duties, netting him an additional $350. He now had all of the duties Homer had once had, at the same salary, within only a month of being hired.

Although his official duties were only to teach choral music, Paine soon brought his other talents into use. For the March 1863 inauguration of Thomas Hill, Harvard’s new president, Paine taught a Glee Club associated with the Harvard Musical Association

\textsuperscript{153} Letter from A.P. Peabody to J.K. Paine, 18 March 1862, \textit{Letters of Acting President Andrew P. Peabody}, 16, Harvard University Archives.
chorus pieces by Mendelssohn, as well as his own composition entitled “Domine, fac salvum Presidem,” written in honor of President Hill’s appointment. This gesture surely won him no ill-favor. One of Hill’s first moves as president was to institute an “extended course of lectures” in much the same vein as Amherst’s lecture course on the fine arts. Paine was included among these lecturers, giving four lectures on Musical Form in June. Although these lectures were not offered for academic credit, they may represent the first time such material was ever taught at a men’s institution. These lectures continued the next fall, with the topic “Instruction in Counterpoint and Fugue,” which Paine taught every Saturday, beginning on 15 October 1863. In a retrospective work, Walter R. Spalding, Paine’s eventual successor, dryly commented: “To some unknown administrative genius owes the pious deception by which instruction in counterpoint and fugue was smuggled into the scheme of university lectures.”

In the meantime, Homer’s course on vocal music had been expanded into a three-year course. Paine was now to teach “lessons in elementary music and vocalization” to interested Freshmen, “part singing, reading at sight and vocalization” to Sophomores, and “practice in sacred music, with reference to the services in the Chapel,” offered to Juniors and Seniors if they were members of the Chapel Choir. The choir posed special problems to Paine. Whereas it had been composed of around 25 members in the 1861-62 school year, by the fall of 1862 it had dropped to just 9 members. Some of this drop may have been due simply to a feeling of loyalty to Homer, but some, at least, was due to Paine’s stricter policies towards attendance and conduct. Regardless, the sudden drop in membership posed a threat to his employment, as ensuring quality singing by the choir was one of his primary duties. In an attempt to remedy the situation, Paine allowed for

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students of any class, rather than just Juniors and Seniors, to join the choir, although he did not ease any of his policies. This change seems to have had the desired effect, and membership in the choir rose to more acceptable levels.

Tired of being limited to teaching students to read music and sing, in 1863 Paine petitioned the administration to allow him to give a full course in harmony and counterpoint, citing his earlier lectures as the necessary precedent. The college acquiesced, and a non-credit course on the subject was officially offered to the student body the next school year. Perhaps due to the outbreak of the Civil War, enrollment was quite low: six students took the course in the Fall, and only one in the Spring. The course was taught only for one year, before being quietly removed from Harvard’s course listings.

Without any full courses to teach, Paine threw himself into his duties as musical director. The 1865 commencement day ceremonies, held just after the end of the war, provided Paine a perfect opportunity for a grand celebratory performance. At the morning church services during the commencement Paine directed a 60-voice choir and a 26-part orchestra (both made up of current students, alumni, and members of the Harvard Musical Association) in a selection from Bach’s cantata Ein’ feste Burg, two pieces from Cherubini’s Requiem, a Gloria from his own Mass, and finally a re-harmonization of the psalm-tune staple Old Hundred, now with orchestral accompaniment. The concert was deemed a great success. Dwight, who attended the performance, wrote:

Will they after that experience, longer ignore the claims of Music among the other “Humanities” which they are ever so ready to endow within the halls of Alma Mater? And shall the College go a-begging even for the means of putting the Chapel organ in repair, so that it may be fit to second the efforts of such a man as
Mr. Paine to place high Music on its proper footing in a University of such renown? 155

The latter statement refers to Harvard’s unwillingness to pay to service the chapel organ, which was then badly in need of repairs. Harvard was apparently willing to hire a skilled organist but was not willing to ensure that his instrument worked properly. Paine would later hold a series of “benefit” concerts with the aim of gathering enough money to fund the repairs himself. Despite Dwight’s enthusiastic reviews, Harvard would not allow fully credited academic courses for another several years. Music still faced discrimination from a large part of its faculty. Francis Parkman, a professor of History at the college, opposed the idea of musical studies particularly ardently, frequently remarking “ musica delenda est” at faculty meetings, in a conscious play on Roman orator Cato the Elder’s motto “Carthago delenda est.” 156

A sea change in Harvard’s relationship to music came upon the inauguration of Charles William Eliot to the college’s presidency in 1869. Eliot, who had spent several years studying the educational systems of Europe, had radical ideas for modernizing Harvard’s curriculum. He would come to re-organize several departments, require entrance examinations, and, most significantly, greatly expand the elective system, allowing for students to take courses beyond the normal required core subjects. This was the perfect opportunity for music to find its way into the Harvard course. Eliot himself was sympathetic to the cause, and did what he could to encourage it. Spalding, Paine’s eventual successor, described Eliot’s attitude towards music:

155 Dwight’s Journal of Music 35, no. 10 (5 August, 1865): 79.
156 Cato was famous for gratuitously dropping the phrase “Carthage must be destroyed” into his orations, even if Carthage had nothing to do with what he was saying. Parkman used the statement in a similar manner, only replacing “Carthage” with “Music.” John C. Schmidt, The Life and Works of John Knowles Paine (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980), 61.
President Eliot has often stated to the writer his conviction that music is one of the most desirable of educational subjects, for the student therein is being trained in his mental powers, his ability to draw fine distinctions, in his ear, his eye, his imagination, his emotions; and on the executive side, his hands and feet; that is, in a comprehensive coordination of his whole make-up, mental, spiritual, and physical. All the greater credit redounds to Eliot for this attitude, because by temperament he did not respond profoundly to music. He loved music, however; heard it often in his home thanks to Mrs. Eliot, who had a remarkably pure soprano voice; and through his children and grandchildren he felt its liberalizing and tonic force.157

The very same day that Eliot assumed the presidency, the Harvard Corporation voted to grant Paine an honorary Master of Arts degree. This was a great honor for Paine, particularly since it meant he could now hypothetically be appointed a professor even though he originally had not attended college. The only obstacle now was getting administrative approval. This was soon to come.

One of Eliot’s first acts as president was to reinstate the University Lecture Course, re-inviting Paine to give lectures on musical subjects. Paine gladly acquiesced, and presented 18 lectures on the history of music during the 1870-1871 academic year. Dwight attended many of these lectures, and discussed several of them in his Journal, providing an excellent summary of their actual content. The topics of Paine’s lectures ranged from “Music of the Ancient Nations,” “Music of the early Centuries of the Christian Era,” and “Ambrosian and Gregorian song” to “The New German Music.”

Paine unsurprisingly betrayed the musical biases of his time. He depreciated Renaissance music as often containing “vulgar and offensive words” even in sacred compositions, all apparently due to the influence of Josquin (whose virtuosic treatment of notes, according to Paine, lead to words becoming of secondary importance); he displayed a similarly negative view of the eleventh-century music pedagogue Guido of Arezzo, believing that

157 Spalding, Music at Harvard, 112.
“neither Guido nor his immediate followers did much for the advancement of harmony. […] He has been credited with far more honor than belongs to him.”\textsuperscript{158} He praised Bach as “the greatest composer and the most intellectual composer who ever lived,” going so far as to say that those who find his music “cold and passionless” are simply ignorant of his genius.\textsuperscript{159} Of the music of Wagner, Paine begrudgingly admitted the composer’s influence and intelligence, but had several issues with his music and his social views. Wagner’s abandonment of the traditional aria was “unjustifiable,” because the aria’s aesthetic influence was too great to be dismissed. His use of mythology as a source for drama would “not stand the test of criticism,” and Paine dismissed Wagner’s religious and political views as “the vagary of a wild dreamer.” He closed his treatment of Wagner with a slight concession to a small part of his music:

\begin{quote}
No one will doubt that Wagner is a man of remarkable character and genius, but neither his head nor his heart have been altogether right. He has been leadastray by vagaries. His pernicious theories have marred all his later music, yet here and there wonderful beauties come to light in his scores.\textsuperscript{160}
\end{quote}

Paine, it seems, was presenting himself as quite the musical conservative. His audience was surely sympathetic—none had ever had the opportunity to hear more than a few short excerpts of Wagner’s music, although various details of his political and religious views, quite foreign and unsavory to the average New Englander, had made their way to various American newspapers. By ensuring that his lectures affirmed the beliefs of his audience and adhered to the religious and social norms of the average well-intentioned Protestant, Paine presented the study of music to the Harvard administration as something that could be done with an eye to cultivating moral character. Bach’s

\textsuperscript{158} Dwight’s Journal of Music 30, no. 22 (14 January, 1871): 377 (Guido); 30, no 23 (28 January, 1871): 387 (Josquin and vulgar words).
\textsuperscript{159} Dwight’s Journal of Music 30, no. 27 (25 March, 1871): 420.
\textsuperscript{160} Dwight’s Journal of Music 31, no. 2 (22 April, 1871): 12.
treatment of religious text, strict work-ethic, and intellectual rigor gained him the highest praises, while Wagner’s deviance gained him scorn. Incidentally, Paine’s views on Wagner changed after he gained tenure. As he (much later) wrote to a former student, his “opinions on Wagner and his theories have been modified since you were in College. I consider him a great genius who has had a wonderful influence on the present day.”

1871 saw a concerted effort on the part of both Paine and Charles Eliot to officially put music on the curriculum. Eliot, knowing the resistance they would face, suggested that Paine offer to teach the courses for free. Without a financial argument for refusing Paine’s offer Harvard’s faculty had a much more difficult time justifying the exclusion of music from the curriculum. Paine accepted the offer, and, with no small amount of persuasion from Eliot, the college relented, allowing Paine to teach a single course on the “Theory of Music,” which meant to cover harmony, counterpoint, chorale and free composition, and various musical forms. It is interesting that this first course had a different subject matter than Paine’s previous lectures in the history and aesthetics of music. The reasoning for this change likely stemmed from a similar source as the change in Vassar’s curriculum in the next decade: the inclusion of music in a college course was easier if it could be said to cultivate intellectual discipline, as might be provided by the study of theory, rather than through the more abstract benefits one may gain from choral lessons or courses on the history and literature of music. A report by a committee to the Board of Overseers on Paine’s music courses from the 1872-1873 academic year supports this hypothesis:

The very idea of a University is incomplete if it do [sic] not include Music in its full circle of the elements of culture, and count it one of the “humanities.” For

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Music is a *science*, and Music is a *language*; and on these grounds at least it claims a place among the branches of literature and science, even if it still be a question whether the University shall cover the idea of *Art* as such.\(^{162}\)

Courses in languages (Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, and German) as well as courses in science (physics, mathematics, astronomy, and natural history) had been taught at American colleges almost since their beginning. If instructors could find a way to formulate music study in terms of these already accepted fields, they stood a better chance of slipping music into the curriculum. Clearly this is the angle Paine and Eliot took to persuade the college to accept Paine’s courses. The report continues:

What a University is bound to furnish is: a systematic scientific course of instruction to just those students, even if there be barely three such in a hundred, who are disposed to enter somewhat deeply into the theory and practice of Music. […] The text book for the first course has been Richter’s Manual of Harmony, prepared for the Conservatorium at Leipzig; and the half dozen young men seem to have mastered the principles and the examples there laid down, and to be well at home in all the important chords, the rules of modulation and progression, the conditions of suspension, the analysis of melodies into phrases, motives, periods; the laws of thematic treatment, &c.; and even to have acquired some practical facility in the simple harmonic accompaniment of given melodies, and the strict contrapuntal handling of a subject.

Having fulfilled the first year’s course of what may be called musical *Grammar*, we find the pupil in the second year employed on the more interesting, and (if he chance to have some inventive gift) inspiring topics of the *Syntax* of the art.\(^{163}\)

The couching of the subject in terms of grammar and syntax makes the reasoning of the committee quite clear: music was to be taught as a language, and the science of its internal rules was to be the driving force of its intellectual discipline. There was no room for history in this construction, and certainly no room for instrumental practice.

In 1872-1873 Paine added a second course for students who had already taken the first course, covering “Imitative Counterpoint, Canon, and Free Composition (Thematic

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\(^{162}\) The report was reprinted in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* 34, no. 8 (25 July, 1874): 270.

\(^{163}\) Ibid.
The course was offered three times a week. Only three Juniors joined the class. Despite the low enrollment, Paine had great success in these first two years of elective studies, and, upon the completion of the above review, was promoted by the President and Fellows of Harvard to the position of Assistant Professor in Music, which put him in full academic standing with his peers. It is this event that is often lauded as the “first” time such position ever granted to a music instructor in an American college.

As we have seen, this claim is hardly justifiable. Paine’s new position was, however, the first such appointment at an all-male institution, and, due to Harvard’s reputation, was certainly the most visible.

Paine added another course the following year, on fugue (two to four voices), double-fugue, and instrumentation. Only two students took this latter course, both having passed the previous two courses with high distinction. There was now a three-year theory program from learning the principles of harmony to the composition of a complex fugue. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of these courses is that they were so strictly oriented toward composition. Just learning the theory was not enough; Paine made sure to teach students to apply it to various compositional forms. His efforts, particularly in instrumentation, were limited by a lack of opportunity to have the students’ exercises performed or otherwise demonstrated. A second review of Paine’s courses, undertaken in 1874 and summarized here by Dwight, found similar problems:

The examiners [...] suggested in their report of 1874 whether perhaps Mr. Paine was not trying to cover too much ground, considering the limited time the students have for it amid so many other studies, and whether it would not be wiser to give more time to making them more thoroughly grounded in the earlier stages of Harmony, plain Counterpoint, the harmonization of Chorals [sic], &c., rather than attempt to carry them into Instrumentation, when no orchestra or opportunity of trial of their exercises existed in the college. And also whether the teacher’s

164 The Harvard University Catalogue, 1872-73 (Cambridge: Charles W. Sever, 1873), 73.
influence need be limited to the inducting of a very few students into the dry theory of Counterpoint; whether he could not do something also toward interesting the mass of undergraduates in music as a matter of taste and refined social culture, accustoming them to the hearing of the best works of the masters.\textsuperscript{165}

This report presents an interesting shift in how Harvard viewed musical studies. To be allowed in the curriculum at all, the subject had to be dryly scientific, but once officially incorporated, Harvard authorities apparently decided that Paine should teach something that would generate more general interest than plain theory.

In accordance with the committee’s findings, the study of harmony was spread across the first two courses, and a new course on Music History, in the same vein as Paine’s earlier lectures, was incorporated. Although specifically created to generate interest among the student-body at large, only six students enrolled in the first course on Music History, although some twenty students had initially expressed interest. A glance into an average music history class may give some insight into the disparity. As Dwight described:

The Professor lectures on some period of the history in a familiar conversational way, while the students take notes. The next time, having consulted authorities meanwhile as recommended by the teacher, they are questioned on the points of the last lecture, and take notes on a new installment of the history.\textsuperscript{166}

Paine’s dry presentation of the material quite possibly lowered his initial enrollment. Things began to change for the better in the next academic year. In a further attempt to spread interest in music to the general student body, Paine began a series of weekly public lecture/performance hybrids in the fall of 1874, featuring both the professor on piano and student singers and instrumentalists. Dwight, of course, attended one of these performances, and gave it an extensive summary. Paine played a Handel

\textsuperscript{165} Dwight’s Journal of Music 35, no. 12 (18 September, 1875): 94. 
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid.
fugue, a Bach sarabande, and a Mozart gigue, giving short notes both on the history of each composer and on the form of the pieces. Then a student sang “Dalla sua pace” from Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, and others performed selections from Mendelssohn’s *Songs without words*, some piano works by Schubert and Schumann, and a Beethoven sonata.\(^{167}\)

These musical lectures proved to be quite popular, and likely account for the sudden rise in enrollment in Paine’s course on music history in the 1875-1876 academic year. With interests piqued by Paine’s weekly concerts, the professor’s dry presentation of material in the classroom could have been made easier to swallow.

Paine’s continued success as a teacher, organist, and director of music, along with the positive reviews he had been given after each of his two evaluations, led to his eventual promotion to a full professorship in the fall of 1875. His new position, which put him fully on par with other Harvard professors, allowed him unprecedented influence over the future of music at Harvard. For the most part he gave the same courses and acted in the same capacities as he always had, only adding a course in “The Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven and their Successors” for the 1877-78 academic year.\(^{168}\) Two years later Paine required a study of Acoustics (the science of sound) for students pursuing honors in music.\(^{169}\) By 1882 the courses of the department had stabilized to five courses: 1) Harmony (into which the Instrumental Music course was incorporated), 2) Counterpoint, 3) History of Music, 4) a course on Canon and Fugue, and 5) a course on “Free Thematic Music,” encompassing the forms of modern instrumental music. The Music History course was by far the most popular, with enrollment ranging from 14 to 81 students between 1880 to 1890. These huge enrollment

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167 Ibid.
168 *Harvard University Catalogue 1877-78* (Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1877), 83
169 *Harvard University Catalogue 1879-90* (Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1879), 86.
numbers seem to have somewhat overwhelmed Paine, as beginning in 1889 he offered the history course only every other year, an act that seems to have dramatically reduced student interest (as seen in figure 2.4).

Remarkably, the department remained a one-man operation until 1895, when the university hired an assistant professor to teach the more introductory courses. Until then Paine had taught up to six courses simultaneously in a year, all while maintaining his duties directing the weekly chapel music. The university was clearly taking advantage of Paine’s willingness to teach.

![Figure 2.4 – Enrollment in three music courses at Harvard, 1874-1905. Harvard’s total enrollment more than doubled in this period, from ~800 to ~2000.](image-url)
Paine disdained practical music study, feeling it had no place in a university education. He also seems to have a negative opinion of most music groups on campus, whose repertoire was too light and whose standards were too low to be taken seriously. The professor laid out his thoughts on the matter in an 1896 interview with the editor of a music magazine, whose father had recently written an article on the costs and benefits of musical groups at colleges:

[College Glee and Banjo Clubs] have an effect to lower the musical standard of the college, and I am glad to see that the faculty of Harvard have forbidden clubs here to leave Cambridge. But I do not agree with [the interviewer’s father] that [an orchestra] would be a possibility or a good thing here. We do not need it. If we were a musical college, established for the purpose of training musicians for orchestras, it would be good to have such a thing. But our object in giving such courses as we do, is, as you will see stated in the catalogue, to educate, musically, men who intend to be composers, teachers, or musical critics. For these the theoretical work we offer is sufficient.\(^\text{170}\)

It may be hard to imagine now, but such a view of musical studies as entirely separated from the performance of music represented a revolution in American musical thought. Paine was carving out entirely new ground as he created the Harvard curriculum. Transplanting music studies into an institution that prided itself in its status as an intellectual symbol required disassociating the subject from the common view of music as a trade and physical skill, and focusing solely on music as an intellectual discipline. As Paine wrote, the purpose of his college course was not to produce musicians, but composers, teachers, and critics. In defining collegiate music study as such Paine successfully removed the study of music from its practice, defining a new field of purely theoretical studies that would pave the way for the next generation of American composers, many of whom were themselves Harvard graduates. By way of

Paine’s training many of these composers were not practicing musicians themselves, unless one considers the theory of music, applied to composition, a musical practice. This kind of composer was historically unprecedented, and in some ways represented the future of composition. Paine’s creation of a purely theoretical music curriculum could be seen as having set the stage for later developments of music in American academia, such as the dominance of twelve-tone and serialist composition in American universities in the second part of the twentieth century. The popularity of this theoretic conception of music, which required heady intellectual analysis for full appreciation, may have merely been a symptom of the need for institutions of higher learning to legitimize the study of music as an activity worthy of the American intellectual.

Paine’s views on student performance groups as displayed in his earlier interview could not have been further from the Pierian Sodality’s original goal of “mutual improvement in instrumental music.” An interesting dichotomy emerges in this contrast: without the Sodality and the resultant Musical Association there likely would not have ever been a position for Paine; yet judged from his interview, Paine would never have supported such a Sodality. One has to wonder: where would music at Harvard be now if not for those drunken tootlers?

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As we have seen, Harvard was far from the first institution to include music in its curriculum. Many women’s colleges had included the subject very early on in their history, and Frédéric Ritter’s activities at Vassar in particular were hugely influential in legitimizing the field of music history in the United States, representing the first steps towards a conception of music studies beyond instrumental training. Harvard, however,
was the first institution to entirely reject the practical side of music training and focus solely on the theoretical aspect of music, turning music into a new and inherently intellectual discipline. Many colleges had felt the academic pressures that had led to Harvard’s choices in its musical curriculum, but none had implemented such a completely re-envisioned set of courses, and none had the visibility and influence enjoyed by the nation’s oldest and most respected institution. Yet seeing the success of the Harvard model, many institutions made changes to their own music offerings. Some, like Vassar, divested themselves of attached “schools of music,” which too closely modeled the old trade-based conservatory system, and developed instead music departments of their own, dedicated to teaching the more esoteric aspects of music. Others simply added more theory courses in addition to what they already had offered. Colleges that had previously viewed music with distrust now had a high-profile example of how music might organically fit into the academic sphere. Morphed into a fully-fledged intellectual discipline, the study of music would ultimately find its way into the remaining colleges of the nation, including, eventually, Amherst.
Chapter Three

Music in America

We now know how music overcame institutional and intellectual barriers to become a legitimate study in the collegiate course. Yet many questions remain. What was the source of these institutions’ initial hesitancy? In what social framework did New England colleges exist, and how did American popular views of music in the nineteenth century influence their decisions to include or exclude music in their curriculum? What changed in American society in the mid 1850s that enabled some select institutions to hire music instructors? To what extent was religion a factor? Since religion has historically been one of the most defining social factors in the United States, and as most colleges of the early nineteenth century were explicitly founded and run by various religious groups for the purposes of training an educated ministry, a study of the relationship of America’s religious denominations to music might provide the best initial pathway into the subject of social influences on collegiate music.

The Many Faces of Protestantism: Puritans and Calvinists and Lutherans, Oh My…

The first colonists to come to the British American colonies were devout Protestants of a specific conservative variety, whose beliefs could be traced back to a complicated evolution of religious thought in the early sixteenth century. As the specifics of their particular brand of theology unquestionably shaped social perceptions of music in early America, it would be prudent to explore the historical foundations of the colonists’ religious beliefs.
When Martin Luther wrote and disseminated his ninety-five theses in 1517, he sparked a revolution that would change the Christian church forever. Protesting perceived corruption in the church in the form of sold indulgences (official “pardons” for sinful behavior, sold by the church), Luther soon gained a large following in Germany. Ulrich Zwingli spearheaded a parallel movement in Switzerland. Although small ecclesiastical differences kept the two movements apart, both protested actions of the Pope and the Catholic church—hence the name “Protestants” and “Protestant Reformation.” The writings of John Calvin, a conservative French pastor, helped cohere the two movements into one united theology.

England, the original home of the American colonists, joined the fray in the late 1520s when King Henry VIII, denied the right to divorce his wife by the clergy, severed England’s ties with the Pope and declared himself leader of the church. To force adherence to the new “Church of England,” Henry and his successors destroyed monasteries, relics, and images; controversially authorized an alternate English version of the Bible; outlawed canon law; and generally removed all traces of traditional catholic imagery and worship. This destruction was not limited to buildings and objects: Henry beheaded his one-time friend Sir Thomas More for refusing to accept his new religious leadership, and hung over two-hundred Catholics for their involvement in an uprising in northern England.

In their rejection of the Pope and their call to dispense with extravagances, the English reformers were theologically close to the Protestant reformers in continental Europe. Indeed, many of the English reformers identified as “Protestant.” When King Henry died in 1547, his nine-year-old son Edward, raised Protestant, ascended to the
throne. Under his rule Henry’s reforms continued apace. Edward died with no heirs in 1553, leaving the throne to his sister Mary I. Mary, a devout Catholic, immediately enacted a restoration, repealing all legislation relating to the reformation and reassigning church leadership to the Pope. Facing stiff resistance from Protestant elements, Mary reenacted medieval heresy laws, ultimately burning 283 Protestants at the stake, thus gaining the moniker “Bloody Mary.” Although she desperately tried to conceive an heir to ensure a Catholic monarch after her death, Mary died childless in 1558.

Mary’s half-sister Elizabeth succeeded the throne. Although she was raised Protestant, she held a more moderate view towards religion than her predecessors. Wanting to ameliorate tensions between Catholics and Protestants, she enacted a legislative compromise, keeping the monarch as the head of the Church, but allowing the practice of Catholic worship. Some Protestant leaders believed that the Church of England had not gone far enough in its initial reformations. By the late sixteenth century a new movement arose to purify worship in the Church of England in attempts to more closely match the religious practices of Protestant churches in continental Europe. Sneeringly called “Puritans,” the group objected to all of the compromises made by Elizabeth early in her reign. Since they could not legally practice their strict faith, the Pilgrims (a particularly fervent group of Puritans), fled from England. They first travelled to Holland, and then to America, establishing the English colony of Plymouth in 1620 (later incorporated with the Massachusetts Bay Colony and several others into the Province of Massachusetts).

Nearly all of the churches founded in these early settlements were congregational, that is, each individual church was its own ultimate authority, fully governed by its
congregation. The people of the church chose their minister, voted on their own rules, and generally acted as their own independent religious sect. A central tenet of the congregational Puritan, believing entirely in the supremacy of Biblical text in informing their worship practices, was the need for ministers who could give well-informed lectures and sermons on biblical subjects. This required a clergy capable of analyzing biblical passages, necessitating knowledge of Greek and Hebrew for the reading of original texts, and thorough training in the arts of rhetoric and oratory to convincingly present their ideas. Harvard College was founded in 1638 to fulfill these needs. It provided a place of higher learning where future ministers could go to hone their skills in literature, oratory, debate, and literary analysis. The college was thus a decidedly religious institution. Yale College, the second such institution in the colonies, was founded in 1701 to provide similar educational opportunities in Connecticut. It soon became embroiled in controversy over perceived liberal religious tendencies when Increase Mather, Harvard’s sixth president, publically decried his college as departing too far from Puritan orthodoxy and championed Yale as a bastion for conservative ideologies. The reputation of Harvard as a more “liberal” religious institution would continue for several centuries. Future colleges modeled after Harvard and Yale were explicitly devoted to the training of a religious elite of various denominations. This ministerial focus of higher education began to change only with the secularization of education in the mid nineteenth century.

**Martin Luther and John Calvin: A Primer in Puritan Musical Theology**

Musically, the American Puritans followed John Calvin’s interpretation of the psalmody tradition originally espoused by Martin Luther. The difference in thought on
the use of music between the two theologians was striking. Music was very important to Luther. In his view, “music, next to the Word of God, deserves the highest praise.”  

Following classical Greek music theorists, Luther maintained that music had enormous power to influence emotion:

For whether one wishes to comfort the sad, to terrify the happy, to encourage the despairing, to humble the proud, to calm the passionate, or to appease those full of hate (and who could number all these masters of the human heart, that is: the emotions, inclinations and affectations that move people to do evil or good); what more effective means than music could one find?

Luther himself composed many melodies to religious texts, and published several hymnbooks to be used in worship. These hymnbooks, containing monophonic hymns, included original compositions, adaptations of chant melodies, adaptations of non-liturgical sacred songs, and adaptations of popular secular tunes. To Luther, these hymns, psalms, and spiritual songs were to be arranged “to give the young—who should at any rate be trained in music and other fine arts—something to wean them away from love ballads and carnal songs and to teach them something of value in their place”; they should be sung so that “God’s Word and Christian teaching might be instilled in many ways.” For Luther, the value of music was in its power to elevate religious texts in what he viewed as the highest form of praise. Although the focus for Luther was always on singing, instruments were entirely acceptable when they added to this effect. The vocal element itself could take a variety of forms, from monophony to harmony in many parts:

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We marvel when we hear music in which one voice sings a simple melody, while three, four, or five other voices play and trip lustily around the voice that sings its simple melody and adorn this simple melody wonderfully with artistic musical effects, thus reminding us of a heavenly dance, where all meet in a spirit of friendliness, caress, and embrace.\textsuperscript{174}

Calvin took the opposite view. Representative of the more conservative side of Protestant thought, he had a strong aversion to anything that could possibly be construed as “popish” (a term that would come to be applied to a wide variety of assorted and contradictory practices; it seems to have been largely a scare word for anything Protestant authorities did not like) and believed that no image should attempt to represent God or be construed as to be worshipped as God. Music, as a form of representation similar to that of a painting, fell into this category. Any extravagance in music, including the use of instruments (especially organs) and complicated harmony, fell under the category of idol worship and was expressly forbidden.

Calvin advocated only the singing only of the Psalms of David to simple monophonic tunes, believing that this practice was most supported by the Bible. In his opinion any other use of music masked the effect of the words and approached popish extravagance. These simple songs of praise, he felt, were also well suited to counteract the corrupting influence of songs with “evil words,” whose negative effect is greatly magnified when set to melody. In the preface to the 1543 Genevan Psalter, he wrote:

\begin{quote}
It is true that, as Saint Paul says, every evil word corrupts good manners, but when it has the melody with it, it pierces the heart much more strongly and enters within; as wine is poured into the cask with a funnel, so venom and corruption are distilled to the very depths of the heart by melody. Now what is there to do? It is to have songs not merely honest, but also holy, which will be like spurs to incite us to pray to God and praise him, and to meditate upon his works in order to love, fear, honor, and glorify him. Now what St. Augustine has said is true—that no one can sing things worthy of God save what he has received from him.
\end{quote}

Wherefore, although we look far and wide and search on every hand, we shall not find better songs nor songs better suited to that end than the Psalms of David which the Holy Spirit made and uttered through him.\textsuperscript{175}

For Calvin, this was the only music to be allowed in worship. He recognized the power of music to influence the emotions, just as Luther did, but for him music’s potential emotional effect needed to be treated with great caution:

There is scarcely anything in this world that can more greatly turn or bend in any direction the morals of men, as Plato has prudently considered. And in fact we experience that it has a secret and almost incredible faculty to move hearts in one way or another. Thus, we must be all the more diligent in regulating it in such a way that it may be useful and not injurious to us.\textsuperscript{176}

Calvin’s negative perception of music, particularly of its secular variety, constituted a dramatic break from the practice of Luther, who had supported the use of instruments and the singing of any sacred text, even if non-biblical, in full harmony. Calvin’s suspicion of music was typical among the more conservative Protestants. Following the teachings of Heinrich Bullinger, the most conservative faction of Protestantism denied that music had any place in worship, and advocated for its complete banishment. We are lucky that the majority of colonial Pilgrims tended to follow Calvin rather than Bullinger.

\textbf{The Diversity of Early American Religion}

Due to the influence of these first devotedly religious settlers, America was, for the great majority of its existence, overwhelmingly Protestant, and, before the country saw large-scale immigration from main-land Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, very


conservatively so. This did not mean that the country was unified in its religious beliefs. On the contrary, the United States came to be home to a large variety of specific denominations, many of which did not get along. By 1800 the country was home to Lutherans, Calvinists, Moravians, Wesleyans (also known as Methodists), and even some Anglicans, among others. Each of these groups tended to be centralized in specific geographical locations. New England, for example, was largely Calvinist, while territories further to the west tended to be Lutheran.

As it is not easy at first glance to distinguish between the large number of Protestant denominations and obscure religious terminology, it may be useful to give a quick overview of the most prominent groups. As might be suggested by their names, each denomination (with the exception of the Moravians) followed interpretations of Protestant values as taught by specific individuals. Lutherans followed the teachings of Martin Luther, inheriting his relatively liberal ideas about music and worship. Calvinists based their beliefs on the religious philosophies of John Calvin as described above, and Wesleyans based their theology on the teachings of two eighteenth-century Protestant reformers, John and Charles Wesley. Moravians followed Jan Hus, a late fourteenth-century theologian, and gained their name from the country they fled from in 1722. Moravians, true to their German roots, treated music the most liberally of any Protestant sect, and were renowned for their large music festivals and for the quality of music in their churches. Unfortunately for our purposes, Moravians lived in fairly insular communities and had little influence on the larger American religious community.

As I have mentioned above, many early American churches were described as “congregational” with a lower-case c, simply meaning that their church was governed
entirely by the congregation. Every individual congregational church was an independent and autonomous entity, not answering to any larger religious authority. For much of this early period, many congregational churches identified largely as Calvinist. By the end of the seventeenth century, congregationalist churches had begun to shift away from hard-line Calvinist teachings, and began to identify as discrete denominations. There was significant disagreement amongst congregationalists on one specific theological point: whether Jesus was an incarnation of God (a “Trinitarian” interpretation) or whether he was just a man (a “Unitarian” interpretation). The arguments became heated enough to warrant a split, resulting in capital-C Congregationalists, who followed the Trinitarian interpretation, and Unitarians, who followed the latter interpretation.

Congregational Calvinists are particularly pertinent to this study for one rather important reason: they had a habit of founding colleges. Institutions founded by Congregationalists include: Harvard (which later became Unitarian), Yale, Dartmouth, Williams, Bowdoin, Middlebury, Oberlin, and Amherst. The earliest of these institutions were highly influential in the collegiate world, and their views on the goals of collegiate education and on the specifics of the curriculum would be used as standards for many other colleges in the country. Exploring how the dominant religion of these institutions influenced the treatment of music, and how religion in general affected the musical aspirations of the student-body, will be the subject of much of this chapter.

Musical practices of the early Americans

When the Puritans came to America, they continued the Calvinist musical practices they had followed in England. Dissatisfied with the English translations of
psalms in the 1562 *Sternold and Hopkins Psalter*, the 1612 *Ainsworth* Psalter, and the 1621 *Ravenscroft* Psalter (all featuring multi-part music written in white mensural notation), in 1640 a group of thirty clergymen created the *Bay Psalm Book*, featuring new translations considered to be more “faithful” to the original Hebrew. The *Bay Psalm Book* was the first book to be published in the British colonies. As in earlier psalters, the psalms were translated in rhyming and metered verse for the express purpose of making the text easy to sing. These two goals, close fidelity to the original text and the use of poetic versification, were often at odds with one another, and many of the translations existed in a state of uneasy truce between the two extremes. Early settlers found the new psalm collection to be highly satisfactory: the volume came to be used in nearly every church in the colony, and was published even as far as Europe. Although the volume featured no written music, an “admonition to the reader” suggested that psalms be sung to any of a collection of tunes that fit their particular versification and meter:

> The verses of these psalmes may be reduced to six kindes, the first whereof may be sung in very neere forty common tunes; as they are collected, out of our chief musicians, by Tho. Ravenscroft. The second kinde may be sung in three tunes, as Ps. 25, 50, and 67 in our english psalm books. The third may be sung indifferently, as ps. 51, 100, & ten commandments, in our english psalme books, which three tunes aforesaid, comprehend almost all this whole book of psalmes, as being tunes most familiar to us.\(^\text{177}\)

> The fourth through sixth items comprised only of rare cases. All of the psalms had been versified in their translations, but their exact form varied. As such, ministers had to know what popular tunes matched with each psalm’s individual meter. Interestingly, the Admonition gives no actual samples of music, instead referring the reader to tunes from psalters they were already assumedly familiar with. Thomas

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Ravenscroft’s *The Whole Booke of Psalms*, known colloquially as the Ravenscroft Psalter, featured largely original four-part compositions by the compiler, but also contained occasional works by such well-known composers as John Dowland, Thomas Tomkins, Giles Farnaby, and Thomas Morley. Although the book contained music for four vocal parts, it always indicated which was the melody, or in its terms “plainsong.” Since early American congregations had few if any trained musicians, the congregation likely sang only this main melody. Although the Admonition gave a rough guide indicating which psalms fit to which meter, there was still enough variety to cause some confusion. A second edition of the psalm-book, edited by the president of Harvard University, was published in 1651. It featured much more streamlined versification, most of the psalms fitting into only a few simple categories.

In practice, the shift to the text-only *Bay Psalm Book* from books with written music severely limited the number of discrete tunes used in worship. Without any written musical reference to be used while reading the text, congregations were forced to rely on a few popular memorized tunes, assigned to each selection based on the meter of the text. As time went on and those familiar with using past psalters passed away, psalm-singing became an entirely oral tradition, new members of the church learning melodies and performance practices solely from hearing the singing of older members of the congregation. As a result, each church developed their own “strains” of popular tunes, resulting in variations of the same “tune” sung differently from one church to the next. Even singers in the same congregation would have slightly varying ideas of how a melody should go, resulting in an odd kind of heterophony during congregational singing. This came to be regarded as a serious problem, and eventually led to a new movement.

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calling for the re-introduction of notated music to the Bay Psalm Book. First, however, the American colonists needed to sort out whether they should be singing anything at all.

Not all Puritans believed in the value of singing. Even among those who wanted to keep the tradition of singing in worship there was a wide variety of opinions on what exact text should be performed and in which manner it should be sung. Some interpreted sections of the Bible on singing figuratively, meaning “song of the heart” rather than song of the voice. Some thought it wrong to sing the Psalms of David. Others thought that any sacred text was fair game to set to music. Some believed the entire congregation should sing, while others thought only one should sing while the congregation listened. A sizable contingent thought women should never sing in Church, citing lines in the Bible that forbid women from speaking during service.

In 1647 John Cotton, a respected colonial religious figure, published a tract on singing in churches, intending to reconcile these differences and clear opposition to the impending publication of the revised Bay Psalm Book. Cotton broke the issue of church music into four parts: first, concerning the worth of singing in church in general; second, concerning what words should be sung; third, who should sing them; and fourth, how they should be sung. The solutions he laid out in the publication came to be widely adopted by churches of the period.

Cotton believed that the singing of psalms was a “holy duty” of worship, but made sure to clarify that it only counted when the heart of the singer was involved, for “God is a Spirit: and to worship him with the voice without the spirit, were but lip-labor.”\textsuperscript{179} To convince those who thought singing had no basis in the Bible he presented

\textsuperscript{179} John Cotton, Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance (1647). The following quotations from Cotton are also from this source.
a series of Biblical examples and precedents. Cotton suggested that not only the Psalms of David should be sung, but also any other hymn or “spiritual song” recorded in the scripture. He also encouraged all members of the church to compose tunes should the inspiration strike them. He also allowed private practice of instruments for individuals in their own homes, provided it did not “divert the heart from attention to the matter of the Song.”

On the matter of who should sing, Cotton suggested that the entire congregation should join in, although he allowed occasional solo singing provided the performance was not intended merely to show off the voice but was instead a sincere offering of praise. He agreed that women should not sing (or speak) in church, but felt that any man, regardless of the status of his faith, should be allowed to sing if he so desired. On the way the music was to be sung, Cotton instructed that “it is lawfull to sing Psalmes in English Verses (which run in number, measure and meeter) and in such grave and melodious tunes, as doe well befit both the holinesse and gravitie of the matter, and the capacitie of the Singers." In other words, any tune may be used as long as it is appropriate for the subject of the psalm, which itself may be translated into verse.

Although Cotton’s suggestions were widely adopted, the problem caused by the oral transmission process inherent in the use of the music-less Bay Psalm Book persisted. The first attempt at addressing the problem was found in the practice of what came to be known as “lining out” a psalm. “Lining out” was essentially basic call and response: the minister would sing a single line of the psalm by himself and the congregation would repeat it, following the melody he had “lined out” as best they could. This would repeat until the entire psalm had been sung. While originally this process was satisfactory for
many, it came to cause a variety of new problems, and eventually developed many of the same issues it was designed to fix. Ministers used a limited number of tunes in their sermons (often only up to three or four) and, as time went on, they each organically developed their own variants. In addition, the minister often began lines without regard to where the range of the melody lay in the voice, making it difficult for the congregation to accurately repeat him.

Some believed that this mode of singing was ruining songs in worship. According to Thomas Walters, an early eighteenth-century music instructor, psalm tunes had become “miserably tortured, and twisted, and quavered, in some Churches, into a horrid Medley of confused and disorderly Noises,” the “doubtful Conveyance of Oral Tradition” had left the music “to the Mercy of every unskilful Throat to chop and alter, twist and change, according to their infinitely divers and no less odd Humours and Fancies.” Very often each member of the congregation sang slightly different versions of the same tune, resulting in “something so hideous and disorderly, as it is beyond Expression bad.” Conventional performance practice seems to have taken up much time in “shaking out Turns and Quavers” in a style unique to each singer, resulting in an overall impression that “Five Hundred different tunes roared out at the same time, whose perpetual interferings with one another, perplexed Jars, and unmeasured Periods, would make a Man wonder at the false Pleasure, which they conceive in that which good Judges of Musick and Sounds, cannot bear to hear.”

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180 Thomas Walters, *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained; or, an Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note* (1721). A “Recommendatory Preface” to the work was signed by fifteen prominent American ministers, including two of John Cotton’s sons, Cotton Mather and Increase Mather. The following quotes are from the same source.
By the late seventeenth century some of the clergy had become alarmed at the state of music in the colonies. As described above, the largest issue, they saw, was lack of standardization in the sung melodies, as each individual church had developed its own unique variants of the same tune and even within each church the resultant tune varied from person to person. In an attempt to rectify the issue, music notation was added to the 1698 edition of the Bay Psalm Book, incorporating thirteen two-part compositions taken from John Playford’s 1654 London publication _A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick_. As explained in the Bay Psalm Book’s original “admonition,” the thirteen tunes published in the psalter were designed to fit any text of a particular meter. Following the common English practice, these tunes were written in white mensural notation, and featured letters representing a four-note solfegge system (using fa, sol, la, and mi) beneath every note (see figure 3.1b, p. 120).

Originating in England, this solfegge system became ubiquitous for use in sight-singing in the American colonies, and thus merits some discussion here. The system was quite simple: mi was always sung on the leading-tone, and two cycles of fa, sol, and la would follow. A major scale, for example, would be sung fa-sol-la-fa-sol-la-mi.

Minor scales began on the second la. Keys were defined by the location of the leading-tone rather than the location of the root, as described in a commonly used key-learning metric: “the natural place for mi is on B. If B be flat, mi is on E; F be sharp, mi is on F,” etc. La to fa and mi to fa were always half-steps, fa to sol and sol to la were always

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181 The four-note gamut system was first publicated in England in John Day’s 1570 edition of the Whole Book of Psalms. It apparently became widely used, as the method appears in many mid seventeenth-century English music instruction books, including Charles Butler’s _The Principles of Musik_ (London, 1636), Charles Simpson’s _The Principles of Practical Musick_ (London, 1665), and John Playford’s _A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick_ (London, 1654), from which the Bay Psalm Book inherited its melodies.

182 Nathaniel Duren Gould, _Church Music in America_ (Boston: A.N. Johnson, 1853), 93.
whole-steps. Although the system was not friendly to modulation, this limitation was mitigated in that none of the psalm-tunes in the new edition of the *Bay Psalm Book* traveled beyond their home key.

The introduction of written music in the *Bay Psalm Book* was met with outrage among the more conservative members of the church. They presented a series of objections:

1st, it is a new way – an unknown tongue. 2nd, it is not so melodious as the old way. 3rd, there are so many tunes that nobody can ever learn them. 4th, the new way makes disturbance in churches, grieves good men, exasperates them and causes them to behave disorderly. 5th, it is popish. 6th, it will introduce instruments. 7th, the names of the notes are blasphemous. 8th, it is needless, the old way being good enough. 9th, it requires too much time to learn it. 10th, it makes the young disorderly.\(^{183}\)

These objections amount to little more than “scare” words (very little is explained as to how the written music will lead to popishness and the introduction of instruments, or how the notes are blasphemous), and ultimately did little to stem the tides of change.

Although some congregations stubbornly hung on to the practice of “lining out” psalms for nearly a century, in most cases this old-guard contingent was eventually overruled by a new wave of colonial clergy who had more liberal ideas about the performance of music in church. By 1771 singing by rote had become dismissed as the “old way.” John Adams, later the second president of the United States, wrote in his diary: “went to meeting at the old Presbyterian Society; the Psalmody is an exact Contrast to that of Hartford. It is in the *Old Way* as we call it, – all the drawing, quavering Discord in the

The old style had clearly acquired a negative reputation, and by the time Amherst was founded in 1821 it had all but disappeared.

Yet since the vast majority of Americans did not know how to read musical notation, the printing of music alone could not improve the quality of music in the church in a significant way. Institutionalized methods of teaching congregations to use the new notation were required. Only a few years after the introduction of written music to psalm collections, itinerant singing masters began to travel the country, teaching congregations various methods of sight-singing and vocal production. Rapidly rising in popularity through the latter half of the eighteenth century, these wandering instructors would stop in various towns and cities for one to two weeks at a time to hold “singing schools,” financed by concerned church members, teaching the rudiments of singing by note and familiarize their pupils with psalm-tune standards. These singing schools constituted the first organized music education in the country.

Manuals teaching basic music notation and containing collections of miscellaneous sacred songs also began to appear, in many cases published and peddled by itinerant instructors. Many utilized novel notation methods in the interest of “simplifying” music notation. The first and most popular of these methods was invented by the preacher and music educator John Tufts, who created a style of notation that eschewed traditional note shapes, using instead solely the letters of the four-note solfegge system used in the Bay Psalm Book placed on a five-line staff (see figure 3.1c). First published in his 1715 book An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes, this style became relatively popular for a time, vying with the more traditional styles present in the

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older psalm book. The vast majority of singing masters used the four-note solfegge system in their schools to teach methods of sight-singing. Printed music reflected this technique, often incorporating gamut names in the scores even when traditional note-heads were used. When learning a piece, singers would read through the music singing the gamut names, repeating the melody until they had it memorized. Only then would they add the words.\textsuperscript{185} Nathaniel Gould, a contemporary historian writing on church music in America, recalled that the four-gamut system remained in use until sometime around 1820, when the full do-re-mi-fa-so-la-si system became standard.\textsuperscript{186}

\textsuperscript{185} Gould, \textit{Church Music in America}, 97.  
\textsuperscript{186} Ibid, 93.
Figure 3.1 - Examples of notation in American psalm books. A is from the Ravenscroft psalter, B from the 1698 Bay Psalm Book, C is the Tufts method, and D is a system popularized by Andrew Law in the early 1800s known as “shape note” notation, the solfège replaced by four unique note-head shapes. Shape-note singing, along with the four-note solfège system, is still practiced today in the Sacred Harp tradition.

The rise of musical literacy and the resulting new market for sacred vocal music sparked the beginnings of a new and entirely American brand of composition. Encouraged by writings such as those by John Cotton that allowed for any member of the congregation to write sacred music if so inspired, singing-masters, lawyers, ministers, woodworkers, men of all occupations tried their hand at creating new tunes. Foremost among them was a half-blind Bostonian tanner named William Billings.
Entirely self-taught in the form and style of composition, Billings’s first musical publication, *The New-England Psalm-Singer* (1770), found unprecedented popularity. One song in particular, “Chester,” soon rose to became second only to “Yankee Doodle” in fame. Although the majority of the tunes in this first publication were written in homophonic four-part harmony, Billings soon became best known for his energetic “fuguing tunes.” First developed in England around 1750, fuguing tunes were ABB in form, section A being strictly homophonic and B sections being largely imitative, one voice entering at a time on the same text and with similar melodic motion (this canonic motion gave the style its name, betraying a misunderstanding of the proper use of the word “fugue”). The B section would end in homophony, and the section would repeat.

Although Billings was occasionally criticized for his amateur grasp of the “rules” of harmony and voice leading, he consistently maintained good humor. Censured for his used of discords, Billings published a tongue-in-cheek composition entitled “Jargon,” which violated nearly every rule of harmony, to the words:

Let horrid Jargon split the air,
And rive the nerves asunder;
Let hateful discord greet the ear,
As terrible as thunder.

The piece was part of a roundabout method of addressing his censors, presenting the work as a tribute to the Goddess of Discord, with whom Billings held an imagined conversation. After introducing the Goddess, he requested she sign the following receipt:

Received of the author a piece of Jargon, it being the best piece ever composed, in full of all accounts from the beginning of time through the endless ages of eternity. I say, received of me, Goddess of Discord, given from our inharmonious cavern, in the land of chaos, from the year of our existence, which began at Adam’s Fall, 5782.

DEMON DREAD, *Speaker.*
Billings closed the section by avowing never to compose inharmoniously again:

And now, Madam Crossgrain, after informing you that this receipt shall be my discharge, I shall be so condescending as to acquaint your uglyship, that I take great pleasure in subscribing myself your most inveterate, most implacable, most irreconcilable enemy.  

“Jargon” (reproduced in example 3.1) represents perhaps the most unusual piece of music printed in America until the beginning of the twentieth-century. Needless to say, Billings’s strong personality contributed greatly to his celebrity status. The style of music he pioneered would become hugely popular in late eighteenth-century America, inspiring such successful and prolific composers as Supply Belcher (1752-1836), Lewis Edson (1748-1829), Daniel Read (1757-1836), Timothy Swan (1758-1842), and others.

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Feminine and Trivial: American Perceptions of Secular Music

How was secular music perceived in the eighteenth century? It seems that in the intensely religious atmosphere of the country secular music was at best tolerated, if not actively discouraged. Apart from the more conservative pedagogues who held that only sacred music was worth performing, general opinion seemed to be that instrumental training was nice, but ultimately a waste of time that could be spent doing more productive things. The opinion of Leonard Hoar, a seventeenth-century minister and one-time president of Harvard, was representative of his time. As Hoar formulated it to his nephew:

Musick I had almost forgot. I suspect you seek it both to [sic] soon and to [sic] much. This be assured of that if you be not excellent at it Its [sic] worth nothing at all. And if you be excellent it will take up so much of your mind and time that you will be worth little else: And when all that excellence is attained your acquest will prove little or nothing of real profit to you unless you intend to take upon you the trade of fiddling. Howbeit hearing your mother's desires were for it for your sisters for whom tis more proper and they also have more leisure to look after it: For them I say I had provided the Instruments desired. ¹⁸⁸

Music, then, was already a gendered enterprise. Music was “more proper” for women, as they were allowed more time for leisure and were expected to produce a pleasing environment for their future husbands. Men, expected to provide for their families, could not afford the time to properly learn an instrument. Music outside of the religious sphere thus existed only in the realm of unnecessary luxury, permissible for women to pursue, but irresponsible for any self-respecting man to take up.

Cotton Mather, the grandson of John Cotton and now infamous for his role in the Salem witch trials, expressed his opinion about music in his diaries:

I am informed, that the Minds and Manners of many People about the Countrey [sic] are much corrupted, by foolish Songs and Ballads, which by the Hawkers and Pedlars [sic] carry into all parts of the Countrey. By way of Antidote, I would procure poetical Composures full of Piety, and such as may have a tendency to advance Truth and Goodness, to be published, and scattered into all Corners of the Land. 189

Seeing through the obvious polemic slant, one can see that such “foolish” songs and ballads must have been decently popular, if “hawkers and pedlars” were to have enough business to carry them into “all parts of the country.” Although such music may have been popular among the masses, conservative religious preachers like Mather clearly objected to it. Addressing future ministers, Mather sounds quite similar to Hoar:

For MUSIC, I know not what well to say.—Do as you please. If you Fancy it, I don't Forbid it. Only do not for the sake of it, Alienate your Time too much from those that are more Important Matters. It may be so, that you may serve your GOD the better for the Refreshment of One that can play well on an Instrument.

However, to accomplish yourself at Regular Singing is a thing that will be of Daily Use to you. For I would not have a Day pass without Singing, but so as at the same time to make a Melody in your Heart unto the Lord. 190

The practice of music outside of church was an ultimately unwelcome endeavor, a waste of time that should be spent on other, “more important matters.” Although overall not approving of musical practice, Mather presents an interesting reversal of opinion on the use of instruments: his tentative acceptance of their use (assuming such use is meant to “serve your God”) shows a drastic change from Calvin’s complete rejection of non-vocal music. Indeed, some small amount of instrumental playing had begun to sneak into Puritan churches, although always solely in support of vocal singing. Bass viols, colloquially known as “God’s fiddle” (distinguished from the “Devil’s Fiddle,” i.e., the violin), helped the singers remain in tune, providing a consistent bass line. The

189 Massachusetts Historical Society, *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1709–1724*, vol. 7, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1911), 242. 4 October 1713 entry.
190 Cotton Mather, *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (Boston, 1726), 57.
instrument was convenient for many small American churches: it was relatively inexpensive, portable, unobtrusive, and easily learned by an amateur. Before the Protestant discrimination against organs began to wane in the early nineteenth century, the bass viol was a standard feature in colonial churches, appearing, as we have seen, in the church of Amherst and in the Singing Society of Harvard.

The opinions of such ministers are highly important to this study, as they very often held positions of influence in institutions of higher education. Cotton Mather was central to the early success of Yale College, originally known as the “Collegiate School,” as he secured the financial assistance of Elihu Yale, whose name the institution soon bore. From the founding of Harvard to the very end of the nineteenth century, with very few exceptions, presidents of colleges around the nation were also ordained ministers.\(^{191}\) As such, the prevailing religious attitudes towards music in each institution presented the most important factor influencing the inclusion of the study of music in the collegiate course. Considering our exploration of early American theology it comes as no surprise, then, that colleges originally supported the study of music only when it served to improve the quality of singing in their religious services.

**Inventing “Classical”: The American Musical Reform Movement**

Beginning at the end of the eighteenth century, a movement began to arise against the recent wave of American sacred composers writing in the style of William Billings. Encouraged by a new religious revival spreading throughout the country, conservative members of the church began to reject their compositions, specifically their fuguing

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\(^{191}\) A comprehensive list of Harvard, Yale, and Amherst presidents and their religious statuses can be found in Appendix G.

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tunes, as being poorly constructed and rendering the words incomprehensible. New American composers arose, building their reputations in part by denigrating the composers that had come before them. Andrew Law, a member of this new wave, bluntly wrote: “a considerable part of American composition is in reality faulty”; while Samuel Holyoke, another young composer, specifically targeted fuguing tunes: “the parts, falling in, one after another, each conveying a different idea, confound the sense, and render the performance a mere jargon of words.”¹⁹² John Hubbard, a professor at Dartmouth, gave perhaps the most damning condemnation:

Almost every pedant, after learning his eight notes, has commenced author; with geniuses generally as sterile as the deserts of Arabia, has attempted to rival the great masters of music. On the leaden wings of dullness he has attempted to soar into the regions of science never penetrated but by real genius. The unhappy authors, after torturing every note of the octave, have fallen into oblivion, and have generally outlived their insignificant works. To the great injury of true religion, this kind of music has been introduced into our places of public worship. Devotion, appalled by its destructive presence, has fled from the unhallowed sound.¹⁹³

The advocacy for change spurred by this new generation found purchase within the New England clergy, and fuguing tunes quickly fell out of favor. Faced with this sudden musical vacuum, clergymen scrambled to find suitable replacements. The solution, as it came about, was to replace “fuguing tunes” with music by European composers who had a reputation both for faith and for musical genius. Two composers in particular fit the bill, namely, At first Handel, and, as soon as his works reached the United States, Haydn. Both musicians were regarded to have been almost certainly divinely inspired. Handel in particular was held up as the standard to which all music

should aspire, his *Messiah* and other oratorios representing the closest man could come to
musical and spiritual perfection.

To encourage these changes, musical societies dedicated to advocating for such
“worthy” music began appearing all over the east coast. Considering the movement’s
sacred and intellectual orientation, it is not surprising that several of these societies came
into being in American colleges, institutions dedicated to exploring and expanding the
intellect in a Christian manner.

Among the very first of these societies was the Handel Society, formed in
Dartmouth College in 1807 by Professor of Mathematics and music advocate John
Hubbard. Modeling the group on an earlier example given by the Middlesex Musical
Society, formed two years earlier in New Hampshire by Hubbard’s friend and fellow
musical reformist Nathaniel Gould, the Dartmouth society professed in its founding
constitution to “promote true and genuine music, and discountenance trifling, unfinished
pieces.”

The society gave public concerts, arranged guest lectures, and published its
own collections of sacred music. Its constitution lay out an inclusive list of worthy
composers, including (as listed): “Handel, Arne, Boyce, Madan, Croft, Lockhard,
Giardini, Worgan, Purcell, Burney, Arnold, Busby, Williams, Clark, Cobb, Miller,
Millgrove, Calcott, Bononcini, Pepusch, and others, who have written finished and
correct music.” None of these composers were American. It is interesting to note
which European composers were missing. There is no mention of J. S. Bach, as this was

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195 Ibid., 8. Full names for these composers are George Frideric Handel (1685-1759), Thomas Arne (1710-
1778), William Boyce (1711-1779), Martin Madan (1726-1790), William Croft (1678-1727), Charles
Lockhard (1745-1815), Felice Giardini (1716-1796), John Worgan (1724-1790), Henry Purcell (1659-
1695), Charles Burney (1726-1814), Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), Thomas Busby (1755-1838), Aaron
Williams (1731-1776), Thomas Clark of Canterbury (1775-1859), John Cobb (fl. 1638-48), Edward Miller
(c.1731-1807), [Millgrove unidentified], John Wall Calcott (1766-1821), Giovanni Battista Bononcini
(1670-1747), and Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752).
before the resurgence of his music later in the century. Mozart does not appear, as his music had yet to come to the country. And although Haydn and Beethoven would very soon become two of the most popular composers in the new nation, at this early point in time their music was rarely performed.

Many of the Handel Society’s graduating members went on to hold positions of influence in other non-collegiate American music societies. Among them was the Handel and Haydn Society, founded in Boston in 1815. Its founders described the society’s aims to be much in line with Dartmouth’s Handel Society, writing that the group’s goals lay in “cultivating and improving a correct taste in the performance of Sacred Music, and also to introduce into more general practice, the works of Handel, Haydn, and other eminent composers.” It is notable how quickly Haydn rose in popularity in the nation, as only eight years earlier Dartmouth’s society failed to include him in its list of acceptable composers. The Handel and Haydn Society soon became the pre-eminent performance ensemble in the United States, premiering a number of important works, including Handel’s *Messiah* and the second performance of Haydn’s *The Creation*. For all its prominence, however, it is important to note that its membership was entirely amateur. Its chorus and orchestra consisted entirely of volunteers, with occasional ringers, and the orchestra was frequently replaced by a single organist. The “professional musician” was an uncommon phenomenon in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. There were no conservatories to train professional musicians, and no social institutions existed to provide any kind of regular musical employment. As such, Americans had no real standard for the performances of early groups such as the Handel

and Haydn Society. What might today be classified as a mediocre performance may have been lauded to the skies in 1820.

Like the Dartmouth Handel Society, the Boston Handel and Haydn Society published its own collections of sacred music, the first being the 1822 *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*, compiled by Lowell Mason, a rising figure in the field of American music education. In addition to featuring a few of compositions by a wide variety of European composers, this collection largely represented four figures who would make up the core repertoire of the Society for much of the nineteenth century: Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Their music provided a standard to which nearly all American composition would be compared for years to come.

The advent of societies like those at Dartmouth and Boston represented the birth of a new conception of music, namely, that some pieces of music was “finished and correct” while others were not. Up until this period Americans had tended to view all secular music, and, some would argue, the previously dominant sacred music of the Billings school, as having existed solely for “entertainment” purposes. The distinction between a popular jig and a Beethoven sonata may seem obvious today, but it was not so in the early nineteenth century. The advocacy of these new musical societies worked to change that, as they invented and proliferated a two-tiered view of music. In the upper, superior tier were works that were “scientific” and “correct,” i.e., pieces carefully molded to European conceptions of harmony and voice-leading. In the lower, inferior tier were

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198 From Charles C. Perkins and John S. Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Society* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1893), 26. Some clergymen believed that composers of the Billings school had degenerated music into “a scandalous mockery of psalmody, led by a barrel organ or an incompetent professor.” Not only was the composition bad, but the performance by the congregation was viewed to have devolved into improprieness. Singers could be heard “singing flat with a nasal twang, straining the voice to an unnatural pitch, introducing continual drawls and tasteless ornaments, trilling on each syllable, running a third above the written note; and thus, by a sort of triplet, assimilating the time to a Scotch reel, etc. etc.”
“popular” pieces, viewed as somehow deficient, existing solely for the entertainment of the masses. This binary view represented the beginning of musical elitism in America, with one category of music being considered superior to all others. It is this “superior” music that has come to be called “classical.” This vision of a certain brand of music as representing the culmination of art was the first step in regarding music as amenable to collegiate study.

The influence of these advocacy groups can be seen in the repertoire choices of many otherwise secular collegiate music groups. The Harvard Pierian Sodality performed largely music of European origin, and one of the last performances of the Amherst Paean Band was an “Oratorio Concert,” which proudly advertised Handel’s “Hallelujah Chorus,” a piece that had been introduced to the country by the Handel and Haydn Society.199

Lowell Mason’s Musical Revolution: Music Education in the Early Nineteenth Century

Born in Medfield, Massachusetts in 1792, Lowell Mason came of age just as movements for musical reform began to reach their stride. Mason became the Music Director of a local church when he turned 17, a position that gave him his first experience teaching the methods and theory of music. Although his official profession for much of his early life was in banking, he always had strong amateur interest in music. As a young man he took lessons in composition from Frederick L. Abel, an immigrant from Germany and nephew of Carl Friedrich Abel, a composer who had studied with J. S. Bach.200

199 Music at Amherst Collection, Box 1, Folder 14, “1834 College Band Oratorio Concert,” ACASC.
Upon Mason’s arrival in Boston in 1821 he immediately applied to be a member of the Handel and Haydn Society, and was promptly accepted. While there he became more involved with the musical reform movement, giving lectures by request on his thoughts on how best to go about improving church music. His ideas boiled down to six main points, as summarized by his biographer, Carol A. Pemberton:

1. Church music must be simple, chaste, correct, and free of ostentation.
2. The text must be handled with as much care as the music; each enhancing the other.
3. Congregational singing must be promoted.
4. Capable choirs and judiciously used instruments, particularly the organ, are indispensible aids to services.
5. A solid music education for children is the only means of genuine reform in church music.
6. Instrumental musicianship must be subordinate to facilitating vocal worship; virtuosity for its own sake has no place in the church.\(^{201}\)

One of Mason’s Boston lectures, which covered his above points at length, was printed and distributed all throughout New England, going through two editions.\(^{202}\) All but two of the above points were already generally accepted in the reform movement. Ideas four and five, however, were new. Although a few liberal Protestant and Catholic churches had already introduced organs to their services, the efforts of Mason and the reformers he inspired resulted in the use of organs becoming accepted in mainstream religious practice. American churches acquired organs all throughout the nineteenth century, much the same as Amherst did. This widespread inclusion of organs would come to have a positive effect on the quality of music in worship. Utilizing the instrument required the employment of skilled organists, which opened up new opportunities for professional musicians in churches throughout the nation. Very often

\(^{201}\) Ibid., 40-41.
\(^{202}\) Lowell Mason, \textit{Address on Church Music: Delivered by Request, on the Evening of Saturday, October 7, 1826, in the Vestry of Hanover Church, and on the Evening of Monday Following in the Third Baptist Church, Boston} (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Watkins, 1826; rev. 1827).
this musician would also be given the task of training the church choir, in many cases vastly improving the quality of their singing. This position represented the point-of-entry through which many musicians first came to be employed in American colleges. Gustave Stoeckel was hired to fill exactly this sort of position at Yale in 1854, and both Levi Parsons Homer and John Knowles Paine were hired to play organ and train the choir at Harvard.

Mason’s fifth point represented yet another new front for the movement. Educating children in music was to Mason the crux of the reform, without which no lasting change would ever be enacted. As he wrote:

A thorough and permanent reformation in church music, however, cannot be effected, but by a gradual process. Children must be taught music as they were taught to read. Until something of this kind is done, it is vain to expect any great and lasting improvement.  

According to Mason, the previous Singing School tradition as practiced by itinerant singing masters had wholly failed in this task. The instructors were often “destitute of almost every important qualification,” and only succeeded in teaching a few tunes, “parrot-like, committed to memory, and executed without just time, correct intonation, or the least attention to the nature of the song, or to the import of the words.” After a few weeks of practice, the students go to their church and give a performance, not for worship, but rather to show off their skills and draw the applause of the congregation. Mason blames the church for this deficiency, and in his lecture calls on ministers and congregations to better educate their young devotees in the proper art of music. As time went on, however, Mason took it upon himself to bring about the change he desired.

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204 Ibid., 29.
Perhaps indicative of the prominence Mason was gaining in the music reform movement through his lectures and publications, he was offered the presidency of the Handel and Haydn Society in 1827. He gladly accepted, and set about organizing their repertoire and leading their rehearsals. His competence and skill in this position brought the group to new levels of popularity in Boston. Through the Society, Mason exposed the public to many “superior” European works, including the American premier of Haydn’s *Mass in B Flat*. Mason lead the Society for five years, stepping down from the presidency in 1831 to direct his attention to teaching vocal music, a pursuit that was taking up more and more of his time. While still president of the Society, Mason had continued working to improve the state of choral music in churches. Beginning in 1828, he gave a series of free private choral lessons to a few Boston children. By 1830 he was instructing over 150 pupils, still free of charge provided they take his lessons for at least one year.\footnote{Pemberton, *Lowell Mason*, 64.} In organization, Mason’s lessons were very similar to the singing schools, the largest differences being the unusually high quality of his instruction and the universally young age of his students.

At the end of 1830, Mason recruited his students to sing as a demonstration choir for a presentation on “Vocal Music as a Branch on Instruction in the Common Schools,” given by William Channing Woodbridge, a prominent geographer and education reformist. In his lecture, Woodbridge detailed his years teaching in Europe, where he had observed how other cultures treated music. What he saw in his travels changed his views on music entirely. First, he openly admitted that general American views of music had predisposed him to think of music, particularly instrumental music, as “only suited to professional musicians or to females; and, in our sex [male], as the mark of a trifling or a
feminine mind.” He had furthermore thought that music’s supposed powers over emotion were but the “dreams of poetry.” It came to Woodbridge as a surprise, then, that in Europe he found music to be the “companion of science and philosophy,” “indispensable” according to university professors, and gratuitously taught as a benefit to society. In Central Europe Woodbridge found himself doubly confounded:

[Music was] the property of the people, cheering their hours of labor, elevating their hearts above the objects of sense, which are so prone to absorb them, and filling the periods of rest and amusement with social and moral songs, in place of noise, and riot, and gambling. But we were touched to the heart, when we heard its cheering, animated strains echoing from the walls of a school-room.

He had seen bands of young men come together to sing sacred songs and gather donations for charity instead of holding drunken festivities, day-workers singing the “Harvest Hymn” while gathering grain, and witnessed countless other activities “purified” by sacred song. Based on his experience in Europe, Woodbridge concluded that music could assist in subduing to peace the unsated cravings of the lust for gold, the devouring rage of ambition, and the ferocious spirit of party that infests our land. It might do much to calm the demoniac passions, and overcome the groveling propensities which follow in their train. It might assist in elevating our hearts to the Author of our being, and invigorate us in our progress towards heaven, and give us many a foretaste of its joys on earth.

Woodbridge took great care in formulating his argument for the inclusion of vocal singing in public schools in the most appealing manner possible to the audience he knew he had to win over: American Protestants. Going against traditional Puritan views of music as a moral danger, Woodbridge described music as an unstoppable force for moral good, an indispensible part of religious education.

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206 From a transcript of the lecture, copied in The Journal of Health, 4, no. 9 (Philadelphia: 1833, May): 267-269. The following Woodbridge quotes are from the same source.
Woodbridge’s lecture alone did not make much of an impact on Boston schools. It did, however, have an impact on Lowell Mason. Mason became convinced that music should have a place in American public education, and set out on a mission to achieve that goal. After befriending Woodbridge, the lecturer shared with Mason a novel instruction style he had learned in Europe, known as the Pestalozzi Method. Based on creating emotionally secure environments for children and on the development of individual capabilities, the new teaching style advocated sensory-based rather than vicarious learning, flying in the face of traditional methods of physical discipline, rote memorization, and recitation that had dominated American education for centuries. After Woodbridge successfully convinced Mason to give the method a trial-run in his music instruction, Mason became an ardent supporter, completely re-crafting his teaching style to utilize Pestalozzian methods.\(^{207}\)

Lowell spent several years refining and perfecting his methods, teaching and lecturing at various locations throughout New England. In 1833 he helped found the Boston Academy of Music, an institution originally dedicated primarily to training the voice. Mason taught there for several years. In 1836 the Academy presented a petition to the Boston School Board requesting that vocal music be introduced in Boston’s public schools as a branch of instruction. Seeing the Board’s initial hesitancy, Mason volunteered to gratuitously teach a trial run at the Hawes School in South Boston, to prove the efficacy and worth of the training. In 1837, over objections of those who thought that allowing instruction of music would lead to the introduction of other impractical “accomplishments” such as dancing, the School Board, no doubt swayed by Mason’s offer to teach the course for free, voted to allow Mason to spend a year teaching

\(^{207}\) Pemberton, Lowell Mason, 66.
music at Hawes. At the end of the year the results were reviewed, and the project was by and large deemed a complete success. Mason was hired to oversee the incorporation of classes in vocal music in all of the public schools in Boston, representing the first fully institutional music instruction ever given in the country. In a way, this accomplishment represented the reform movement’s final success: public perceptions of music had been transformed from outright suspicion to a general acceptance of music as a potential force for moral and disciplinary good strong enough to merit its inclusion in the education of children, the most susceptible of audiences. This early revolution in institutionalized music education remained, however, limited to primary education. All of the methods developed by Mason were designed for children, and focused solely on practical matters of practice, performance, and repertoire. In addition, men with such high-level skills as Mason were still hard to find in the country, as there was no real place to receive a comprehensive musical education. It would take one more major sea change in the American music scene to fully set the stage for widespread collegiate-level instruction.

A Socialist Orchestra in America: Liberal German Culture in the New World 1848-1860

In 1848 Germany became involved in the Spring of Nations, a series of revolutions that had exploded into Europe early that year. Lead by intellectuals and university students, the German revolutionaries demanded many reforms, including

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208 This “slippery slope” argument was a major part of the school board’s early resistance: “It is objected, if one accomplishment is introduced into our schools, why not another? If instruction is given in vocal music, why should it not be given in dancing also? The answer simply is, because music is not dancing; because music has an intellectual character, which dancing has not; and, above all, because music has its moral purposes, which dancing has not.” Academy of Music Committee, 24 August, 1837, quoted in Ritter, *Music in America*, 252.
unification of the country’s 39 disparate states, democratic rule, liberal social policies, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press. Like the rest of the European revolutions, the movement ultimately failed, as the middle class and working classes split over small disagreements in their goals, giving the conservative aristocracy room to gather its strength and retake the ground it had temporarily lost. As a result, many German revolutionaries fled the country to avoid reparations. Many emigrated to the United States, England, and Australia. They left in huge numbers, with as many as three million Germans immigrating to the United States between 1840 and 1860, creating major German establishments in cities such as New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago.\textsuperscript{209} Among the liberal elite who fled to the United States were a number of highly trained musicians. Their cumulative influence had a tremendous impact on the development of music, both secular and sacred, in the country.

Among the immigrants was a small band of musicians that would come to have a disproportionately large influence on American music. They called themselves the Germania Society. Founded as a private orchestra in early 1848, the group viewed itself not only as a “paragon” of music, but also as a model of socialist organization. As one of its members wrote in the history of the group:

When the bylaws of this association were drafted, the communist principle was chosen as the foundation, since all members of the Germania held the conviction that communism was the most perfect principle of society. [...] The momentous words: “One for all and all for one,” were chosen as the motto of the constitution. “Equal rights, equal duties, and equal rewards” formed the basis of the bylaws.”\textsuperscript{210}


As the Germania soon found, socialist principles were remarkably well suited to cohesiveness as an ensemble. Its socialist organization meant that while performing, it was every member’s “holy duty” never to exhibit individual mannerisms, resulting in a quality of sound that had been unheard of in nineteenth-century America. Every member was considered to be the equal of every other member, leading to a mutual respect amongst the players that would last throughout Germania’s existence. After a very short time performing in London and Berlin, the group decided to emigrate to America.

Armed with letters of recommendation from a variety of sources in London and Berlin, as soon as the orchestra arrived in the New World it made waves in the world of American music. Its first concert, attended by the New York Philharmonic Society (then a small and decidedly amateur organization) as well as by many music educators, aroused “indescribable enthusiasm” in the audience. The most well received piece on the program was a “delicate and extremely tender” rendering of Mendelssohn’s overture to *The Midsummer Night’s Dream*, a piece rarely performed in the United States due to its high technical difficulty, well past the skill-levels of the country’s contemporary amateur orchestras.

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212 Thomas Ryan, one of the few professional musicians in the early nineteenth century, gives a humorous anecdote in his autobiography regarding the overture. Root had come to America from Ireland, where he had played in the Dublin Philharmonic Orchestra. Remembering Mendelssohn’s *Midsummer Night’s Dream* as one of his favorite pieces, when he joined an American orchestra he recommended the piece to the conductor. When the scores came in, the group tried it. As Ryan relates: “Our conductor was Mr. Geo. J. Webb, an excellent general musician, but who had never heard the overture. He began by telling us he had no score; so he stood up alongside of the first-violin desk and prepared to conduct. Rapping on the desk, he gave the signal to begin; out piped two flutes—nothing else. Re rapped again, implying that the players had not been ready to begin; then he said, ‘We will try again.’ He gave the signal—and out piped the two flutes. That caused a little titter of surprise, and we all looked quizzically at each other. Mr. Webb, however, dutifully gave the signal for the next ‘hold’ or chord, when two clarinets joined the two flutes! More surprise. At the third hold the fagotti and horns were added, and at the fourth hold the entire wood and wind instruments, ass sounding most distressingly out of tune. This dissonant and unlooked-for result was followed by a dead pause; then every one of the players broke out with a hearty laugh of derision. […]
Following this concert, the orchestra proceeded to give a six-year tour in the United States, receiving universal critical acclaim and soon becoming the most sought-after performing group in the country. Americans had never seen a truly professional orchestra before. American orchestras had been composed largely of amateur musicians, as the country gave no real opportunities for professional training. The Germania Society therefore introduced the audience both to a new repertoire and to a new standard of performance. Although the group officially dissolved in 1854, its influence, however, continued. Its members spread throughout New England, each becoming important musical figures in their own communities. Carl Zerrahn, originally a flute player in the Society, went on to conduct and direct the Handel and Haydn Society from 1854-98, the Boston Philharmonic from 1857-63, and the Harvard Musical Association Orchestra for the entire length of its existence, 1855-97. 213 Carl Bergmann, one of Germania’s conductors, went on to direct the Chicago and Brooklyn Philharmonics, continuously advocating for the use of more modern music by Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz. 214 According to a study by Nancy Newman, the premier historian of the group, nearly every member went on to have successful and influential careers in music, either through performance, conducting, or education. 215

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213 Newman, Good Music for a Free People, 254.
215 Ibid., 248-54.
Due to efforts by the Germania Society and other German groups and individuals who came to America in the 1840s and 50s, Germans soon obtained a reputation as being the best musicians around. In many cases the stereotype was true. Music education in Germany had been cultivated since the eighteenth-century, and had experienced a surge of popularity after the Pestalozzi method was introduced to the country by such educators as Hans Georg Nägeli and Michael Traugott Pfeiffer in the early 1800s. German music education was formulated in much more secular terms than in the United States: although German educators did believe that music had moral and disciplinary powers, they did not frame their arguments in religious terms, as had been done by Lowell Mason and the other American reformers. Nägeli in particular rejected the religion in his music courses, as expressed in his careful dismissal of the use of the Chorale in music lessons:

> We too honor the chorale as something that has lasted for centuries in the church. As a song of the people, it may not be taken from them until there is something better with which to replace it, until it becomes, in part, superfluous. It should never and will never pass away completely. […] We must seek, [however], to ensure that it is henceforth no longer used pedagogically in such a detrimental way, nor elevated so exaggeratedly in the philosophy of art.  

As a result of this secular focus, the benefits of music, and particularly vocal music, were argued on positive social grounds. To Nägeli, vocal music represented the best possible means of uniting a disparate people into a unified whole. As he wrote:

> Take hosts of people; take them by the hundreds, the thousands; try to bring them into human interaction, and interaction in which every individual gives free and active expression to his personality through feelings as well as words, where he at the same time receives uniform impressions from all the others, where he becomes aware of his human independence and solidarity most intuitively and from so many sides, where he receives and circulates enlightenment, where he radiates and inhales love instantaneously, with every breath—do you have anything other than choral singing? Do you find a single thing among the

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thousand springs that the Giver of all good things opened up to you that could even be remotely similar?217

The success of these arguments resulted in widespread governmental support for vocal training in the country’s public schools. By the beginning of the nineteenth century public education was required for all German children. The inclusion of music in the public schools meant that every German child was exposed to basic choral singing and music theory. As a result, Germany had a very rich choral tradition. By the 1820s Germany was home to an untold number of singing societies, many of which functioned as sort of musical fraternities, mixing music, brotherhood, and conviviality.218 When Germans immigrated to America in the 1840s and ’50s they brought the template for these kinds of groups with them, soon forming analogue groups (often all-German) all over the country. Other aspects of German musical tradition soon found their way into American colleges, as seen in the college-song craze that swept college campuses in the 1850s and 60s.

In 1843 Felix Mendelssohn founded the Leipzig Conservatory in Germany, the first of its kind in the country. It immediately found enormous success, and by 1850 a series of new conservatories followed it. These institutions offered advanced instruction in a variety of instruments, as well as in composition. Typically a full course of instruction lasted three years. Unlike prior methods of music instruction, conservatory lessons were given in classes, with multiple pupils being taught at once. This greatly enlarged the amount of students any one instructor could teach at a time. By the time of

the 1848 revolutions a large number of Germans had passed through various conservatories, and the numbers only continued to increase. Beginning in the 1850s and particularly in the 1860s, German conservatories came to be home to a surprisingly large quantity of American students.

Back in America the success of German musical groups like the Germania Society, along with the wide dispersion of highly trained German musicians throughout America, spread the perception that there was no better place than Germany to get a musical education. These perceptions were encouraged by such early American musical pioneers as William Mason, the son of Lowell Mason, who traveled to Germany in 1849 to gain a German musical education. He studied piano under the famed virtuosos Ignaz Moscheles and Alexander Dreyschock, and befriended Franz Liszt at Weimar. Upon his return to America in 1854 he became an instant celebrity, and embarked on an extended concert tour showcasing his new abilities. Many music journals published accounts of his study abroad. Such success stories acted as free advertising for the thoroughness of German music education. As a result, between 1850 and 1900 over 5000 American students studied at various German conservatories.219 Many of these students would go on to have influential positions in American music education, their German credentials giving them significant advantage over other candidates. The new conceptions of some music being “scientific” and thus superior due to its adherence to a pre-defined set of rules, combined with the new influx of highly skilled performers and instructors from Germany set the stage for the inclusion of music studies in American colleges.

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Looking back to Amherst College, we can see that its history reflects much of what has been explored in this chapter. As a result of the reform movement, Amherst had a sacred choir dedicated to providing quality music at religious services, lead by a student chorister who was paid by the college. Students themselves were often interested in musical reform. The Chorister of the Chapel Choir, and later hired instructors, held several “singing schools.” The name of the Beethoven Society betrays its status as a reform group, as Beethoven was one of the “core” composers of the movement. Associating themselves with Beethoven may have helped the group legitimize itself in the eyes of the administration. In his veneration of Handel Hitchcock reflected the rhetoric of musical reform societies. Zuchtmann, Amherst’s first “Instructor in Music, was a German immigrant who fled Germany after the revolution. Both Seelye and Hitchcock had studied for a time in Germany, an experience that may have softened their views on music in education. Stereotypes about the quality of German music education very likely informed Seelye’s decision to send Bigelow to Germany in pursuit of an education in music, as such qualifications were most likely to impress the trustees. Yet even with the shifting perceptions of music as explored in this chapter, many at Amherst still held the opinion that music was not worthwhile as a collegiate study. There was clearly a steady resistance to the subject among the trustees. Even with an explicit promise for a music position from a former Amherst president and a very well respected faculty member, Bigelow was initially hired only to teach German. It would take another thirteen years before Bigelow could entirely drop his German duties and focus on music. But at least he had his foot in the door.

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The religious nature of colleges in the United States meant that their musical
decisions were based on theological perceptions of music. Music could not be taught in
colleges in the early history of the United States because dominant religious groups
regarded music with suspicion, capable of arousing undesirable emotional states during
religious worship. The musical reform movement, which began as a reaction against
negative trends in American sacred music as best exemplified by William Billings and
his followers, created a new conception of a particular brand of music as being
intellectually above the others, resulting in a new focus on the “proper” and “correct” use
of harmony. The new perception of music as “science” greatly helped Paine at Harvard
in his restructuring of music studies to fit a college curriculum. Mass German
immigration in the middle of the century brought Americans into contact with a new,
high standard of performance, and supplied the American market with highly skilled
performers and conductors. Belief in the superiority of German musical training lead
many colleges to hire German instructors or Americans trained in Germany as professors
of music, an act that in turn informed the content of collegiate music education. German
music training would continue to dominate the American music scene for many years to
come.
Afterword

William Bigelow’s trials were not over when he was hired by Amherst College in 1894. He was not allowed to teach a single course of music until 1896, and even then only after a successful “trial run” the semester before. In 1895 Bigelow received a job offer from the University of Wisconsin. Perhaps bolstered by the offer, Bigelow petitioned the trustees in 1897 to create a full Department of Music with himself at the head, submitting a petition signed by 42 students in support of the idea and offering to gift the college a large organ should they agree. The text of Bigelow’s argument suggests that music was still undervalued in the curriculum:

I believe that music can be made a very valuable part of our college curriculum. Properly taught, it should occupy the same position in a liberal course as literature. It should be taught neither as an elegant accomplishment, nor with professionalism in view, but, for its value as an element of that liberal culture, for which the college stands.²²⁰

The trustees refused Bigelow’s offer, offering instead to raise his salary by $100 as some sort of amelioration. When in 1898 a fellow professor recommended Bigelow’s promotion from Instructor to Assistant Professor, the trustees refused. In 1899 the head of the German Department suggested that Bigelow receive a higher salary due to the volume of his work. His request was, again, refused. It is no surprise that when in 1899 Bigelow received yet another job offer from the University of Wisconsin, he almost left his position at Amherst. Only in 1901 was he promoted to Associate Professor, even then likely because of a recent donation to the college for the explicit purpose of raising the salaries of Professors and Instructors. In 1906 Bigelow was promoted to a full professorship, and, after the completion of his 1908 Master’s thesis on the subject of Wagner’s Parsifal, he was finally allowed to drop German from his responsibilities and

²²⁰ Music at Amherst Collection, Box 4, Folder 81, ACASC.
focus solely on music. In 1907 he successfully petitioned the college government to give him a building dedicated to music, which allowed students and music groups a properly equipped place to practice. From 1907 until the creation of the Arms Music Building in 1968, the Music Department lived in the Octagon. Bigelow remained at Amherst, as the sole instructor in music, until his retirement in 1936.

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Several subjects remained unexplored in my thesis. Perhaps the largest blind spot in current studies of American music is the full impact of German culture on the American music scene. From 1848 to well into the 1900s, Germans dominated American music both as performers and as educators. To be taken seriously as a musician one needed to have studied in German conservatories. As a result, German views of music permeated the American scene. How exactly did this influence the development of American music?

In some ways the formulation of the music curriculum was conceived as a reaction against various musical stereotypes and prejudices, as demonstrated in Paine’s rejection of practical music instruction and his focus on the concept of musical theory. How did this theoretical focus (and, in Paine’s case, the subsequent active dismissal of practical work) influence the first generation of college-trained composers and musicians?

The full evolution of the collegiate music course, and subsequently of the music “major,” is also understudied. Although music was generally accepted as a collegiate study by 1890, there was wide disagreement as to what exactly should be taught, and what studies should receive credit. There is still debate today on whether instrumental
practice or ensemble work should count towards academic credit. A historical study of this debate, and of the evolution of the music curriculum in general, is needed.

Perhaps most importantly, we lack any studies comparing American practices of music education to those of other countries, particularly Germany, Italy, France, and England. Such studies might reveal the ultimate source of various trends in American music education. Was America the first country to view collegiate music study as the study of a science rather than a profession? Or did that view originate elsewhere?

Overall, nineteenth- and twentieth-century music education, both in America and abroad, remains largely unexplored as an historical study. I believe that as scholars of music we have a duty to understand more fully the history that has shaped the ways we think about music, where it belongs in our society, and how it should be taught. This thesis is intended to be a first step in such a study.
Appendix

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Dictionary of Amherst College Music, 1821-1900

A.B.C.D. Quartette (aka Glee Club of ’79)

**Years active:** 1875 (fall) – 1879 (spring)

A popular vocal quartet, named according to the sequence of the first letters of the last names of its four members (Adams, Burgess, Chickering, and Dickinson). The group was often known simply as the “Amherst College Quartette.” In their final concert the group was encored nine times by their Amherst audience, performing a total of fifteen pieces from a written program of just six.¹

**Known members:**
- G.D. Adams ’79
- W.P. Burgess ’79
- J.J. Chickering ’79
- E.H. Dickinson ‘79

Amherst Choral Union (aka Amherst Jubilee Chorus)²

**Years Active:**

A group of students and townspeople who initially came together to practice for Patrick Gilmore’s National Peace Jubilee of 1869, in which they joined a national chorus of thousands. Perhaps inspired by their participation in this concert, the group continued to exist for four more years. The group died out a year after performing in Gilmore’s second monster concert, the World’s Peace Jubilee of 1872. It gave occasional choral concerts in the town of Amherst.

**Known members:**
- Henry A. Davenport ’70 (director)
- Charles L. Harrington ’70 (pianist)
- “Mr. Winslow” [Edward C. Winslow ’70?]
- “Mr. Allen”
- “Miss Ball”
- “Mrs. Baker”
- “Mrs. Howland”
- “Mr. Parry”
- “Miss Sabin”
- “Mr. Smith, Jr.”
- “Mr. Smith”
- “Miss Whitaker”

¹ The Amherst Student (21 June 1879): 202.
Amherst College Glee Club

Years active: 1865 Spring to 1942; 1947 to present [2013].

Founder: Thomas E. Babb '1865

Founded as an octet in the spring of 1865 by Thomas E. Babb '65. Though the group lost nearly all its members after 1867 when all but one lone sophomore graduated, the club managed to resurrect itself after one lone year of inactivity. It continued to flirt with dissolution - some years being quite active and successful (notably '71) and some years apparently quite near death ('72, '74 and '75) - until the fall of '76 when the professional direction and training of Professor Zuchtmann, a vocal instructor from Springfield hired by the Amherst Musical Association to improve the quality of the College's singing, gave it new life. From that date on, the Glee Club was insured as a permanent feature of Amherst College, and in the ensuing years has come to enjoy immeasurable success. It is one of the most well-traveled groups in the country, having visited over 57 countries over the past 100 years. Its unusually old age (148 years as of Spring 2013) marks it as one of the oldest Glee Clubs in the United States.

Some particularly notable events in the group’s history:

1865, spring - Founding.
1876, fall - Professor Frederick Zuchtmann hired as the "Instructor of Vocal Music" by the Amherst Musical Association. Under his direction, the Glee Club became a much more stable organization, and began to gain a fair amount of success.
1879 - The Glee Club puts on Amherst's first musical, the Gilbert and Sullivan production "H.M.S. Pinafore," in June to great success.
1894 - The Club, along with the Mandolin and Banjo Clubs, make a tour of England.
   This act was lauded as the first time an American collegiate chorus ever visited Europe.
1902 – James S. Hamilton – eventual writer of the college songs “Lord Jeffery

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3 For more information see:
Michael Burnham, “Musical Amherst—Past and Present. A Plea for a Department of Music and Arts by Alumni,” The Amherst Student (3 March 1893): 169-178;
“History of Musical Clubs,” The Amherst Student (27 March 1897): 177;
“The Molasses Candy Trip of 1868,” The Amherst Student (19 September, 1868): 121.
Many of the histories written about the Glee Club during the 1960s are incorrect. They did not form as a “rebellion” against a repressive administration, although that does make for a good story. They were not formed by a merging of previous singing groups. Although the dissolution of the Donizetti Glee Club the year prior may have allowed the new group room to form, the new group did not in any way represent a continuation of the previous group. The Amherst College Glee Club was formed as a new and unique group in a non-hostile collegiate environment.
Amherst” and “The Senior Song,” enrolls at Amherst. He was a member and eventual president of the Glee Club.

1943 – Glee Club and other extracurricular musical groups suspended for the duration of World War II.

1963 - Bruce G. McInnis hired as the director of the Glee Club. Through mass advertising and the promise of a singing tour to Puerto Rico, GC membership soars to 85.

1967 - McInnis takes the Glee Club on its first World Tour. They become the first American choir to sing a High Mass at the Notre Dame, and are asked by Pope Paul VI to perform in St. Peter's Basilica.¹

1969 – Glee Club has another World Tour, this time lasting 7 weeks, visiting 13 countries. King Mihendra of Nepal liked their arrangement of Nepal's national anthem so much that he asked them for a personal recording of it. According to the club, he later would make this recording the official version of the Nepali National Anthem.²

1972 - Glee Club tours Africa and Asia. Sang for both the president of Liberia and the president of Kenya.

1975 - Glee Club embarks on another World Tour, eventually singing at the feet of the Sphinx in Giza and twice at the Notre Dame, to audiences of 7,000 and 8,000, respectively. They visit 9 countries in total.

1987 - Bruce McInnis retires and is replaced by Mallorie Chernin, the group's first female director. As of 2013, Mallorie has directed the club longer than any of her predecessors, having directed the group for over a quarter of a century.

Known Members: Well over 1000 individuals have passed through the Glee Club over the past 158 years. This is far too many to list here. Instead, I will give the founding eight:

1865, Spring
Thomas E. Babb ’65
James Babbitt ’65
Edward P. Smith ’65
Stephen B. Rand ’66
Michael Burnham ’67
Francis E. Burnette ’67
Dwight S. Herrick ’67
Herbert J. Cook ’69

¹ “To Russia with Song,” Amherst Alumni News (Fall 1967): 15-20.
² Amherst Alumni News (Fall 1969): 16-20.
Amherst Jubilee Chorus (see Amherst Choral Union)

Amphion Sextette (See H.B. Quintette)

Arion Quintette Club

**Years Active: 1872-1876**

One of the most popular singing groups to appear at Amherst in the nineteenth century. The group took the campus by storm in the spring of 1872, where they performed at over 20 concerts in around the Amherst area. For a time the group seems to have been directed by Mr. Cheney, the voice-teacher hired by the Beethoven Society. On June 29th they made a tour of New England, culminating in a trip to Dartmouth, where they serenaded the president of the college. He replied with an “exceedingly happy” speech. At the end of the year *The Student* called them “the best musical organization ever known at Amherst.” Unfortunately all but one of its members graduated at the end of the semester. The one remaining member seems to have reincarnated the group for the next year, but it never experienced the same level of popularity. It died out after the 1875-1876 school year, possibly due to the resurgence of the Glee Club.

**Known Members:**
- David L. Holbrook ‘72
- George Fowler ‘72
- Nathan D. Barrows ‘72
- Raymond D. Mallary ‘72
- George A. Leland ‘74
- Leverett Mears ‘74
- George F. Mears ‘75
- Edward S. Tead ‘75
- McGeorge Bundy ‘76
- Henry H. Kelsey ‘76
- Henry S. Redfield ‘77
- Augustine A. Buxton ‘78
- George D. Adams ‘79

Athenae Glee Club

**Years Active: c. 1871**

This group finds only one mention in any Amherst records. The Athenae was an Amherst literary society that regularly held meetings for debates and lectures. In October 1871 a short article in *The Student* mentions that the “Athenae Glee Club” gave a performance during such a meeting. Their music “very much enlivened” the evening.\(^6\)

**Known Members:**
- David L. Holbrook ‘72
- Leverett Bradley ‘73

Banjo Club (aka Troubadours; Banjo and Guitar Club; Mandolin Club; Instrumental Club)

\(^6\) *The Amherst Student* (14 October 1871): 5.


**Years Active:** 1885-1929

In late 1882 the Spanish Students, a music group from Spain consisting of mandolins, banjos, and guitars, performed in Amherst to an overflowing house.\(^7\) Two and a half years later the Amherst College Banjo Club made its first appearance. Originally only consisting of four members and calling themselves the Troubadours, the group made waves after its first performance, with one member’s memorable guitar solo receiving a standing ovation and a double encore.\(^8\) The group soon entered a partnership with the Glee Club, the two groups often performing jointly as a double feature. Membership rose, and the group became fully associated with the Glee Club, almost always performing as an item. The Banjo Club accompanied the Glee Club on its trip to England in 1894, where it often stole the show, as expressed in this English newspaper:

> The banjo is generally associated with a jerky, unmelodious, step-dance kind of music, but the Amherst students have cultivated banjo-playing until it has become a fine art, and the results they obtain are quite a revelation.\(^9\)

In 1893 a separate group known as the “Mandolin Club” formed, of much the same character as the former group but without any banjos. The two clubs entertained a healthy competition until 1909, when they merged under the name of the new organization. The Club went on to have continued success at Amherst, and, along with the Glee Club, it left behind one of the earliest extant sound recordings of any Amherst musical group: a ’78 RPM recording of the “Amherst Medley,” c. 1925.\(^10\) The banjo and mandolin phenomenon eventually fell out of favor, however, and, after a short stint as the “Instrumental Club” from 1927-1929, the group disappeared from Amherst record books.

**Known Members:** Far too many to list here. The founding members were:

**1885, Spring**
- George P. Tibbetts ‘85
- John J. Mason ‘87
- Robert M. Palmer ‘87
- Henry V. Jones ‘87 (*nongrad*)

**1885 Fall**
- Lucien B. Copeland ‘86
- Ralph H. Seelye ‘86
- John J. Mason ‘87
- Robert M. Palmer ‘87

The Calliopean Quartette was the first secular vocal group at Amherst to persist past the graduation of its founding members. In an article celebrating the life of Francis

\(^7\) *The Amherst Student* (25 November 1882): 73.
\(^8\) *The Amherst Student* (28 March 1885): 151-152.
\(^10\) Original record in Music at Amherst Collection, Box 11, Folder 0, ACASC. The song can be streamed online from [http://goo.gl/AKetd](http://goo.gl/AKetd).
W. Adams, a member from 1858-1862, the writer gives an account of the character of the group:

As a Sophomore [Adams] joined the Beethoven Society and sang second bass in the Calliopean Quartet, and organization which, in lighter moments, used to serenade the Mt. Holyoke girls to the accompaniment of a melodion, brought for the occasion in an express wagon. Their theme song was “Oh Angelina, Miss Angelina, open your window and look down on me.” In later years Dr. Frank used to intone this melody with great gusto for the amusement of his family at Royalston.11

For some time the group was affiliated with a Flute quartet. Their name is a reference to “Calliope,” the Grecian Muse of epic poetry. She taught Orpheus, one of her sons, how to sing.

**Known members:**

1856 - 1857  
*As Calliopea, listed as a "Glee Club"
Linus Blakesley '60 *(nongrad)*  
Charles Richards '60 *(nongrad)*  
Joseph B. Little '60  
Seliah Frisbee '60

1857 – 1858  
*As Calliopean Quartette*
Edwin N. Andrews '61  
Charles H. Richards '60  
Linus Blakesley '60  
Joseph B. Little '60

1858 - 1859  
Edwin N. Andrews '61  
George G. Phipps '62  
Joseph B. Little '60  
Seliah Frisbee '60

1859 - 1860  
*As Calliopean Quintette*
Edwin N. Andrews '61  
Edwin R Lewis '61  
George G Phipps '62  
CM Kittredge '62  
Francis W. Adams '62

1860 - 1861  
*As Calliopean Serenade Quartette*
Edwin N. Andrews '61  
George G. Phipps '62  
CM Kittredge '62  
Francis W. Adams '62

1861 - 1862  
George G. Phipps '62  
CM Kittredge '62  
Francis W. Adams '62  
WH Phipps '62

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Cinyrea

Years active: c. 1856? – 1857

One of the earliest recorded secular singing groups at Amherst. Its first explicit appearance in writing comes in the 1856-57 Olio, where it was listed under the heading “Glee Clubs” along with the “Calliopea.” It may have existed for at least a year beforehand, for, unlike the Calliopea (which was composed mostly of Freshmen), the Cinyrea was composed mostly of Juniors. The name of the group refers to Cinyra, a king of Cyprus in Greek mythology who was said to have been the inventor of art and musical instruments. He eventually angered the god Apollo, who killed Cinyra after he lost to Apollo in a contest of musical skill.

Known members:
Sylvanus C. Priest '58
Jesse Fuller '58
Gardner P. Stickney '58
Rufus A. Morrison '59

College Band (for 1824–1836 organization, see Paean Band)

Years Active: 1888–1889

Following a suggestion in The Student for the formation of a brass band in February 1888, sixteen students came together to form the Amherst College Band.12 The group appears to have been organized to play pep-songs for student parades in the upcoming presidential election. Brass bands were forming explicitly for this purpose throughout the nation, even in such remote locations as Williams College.13 The Amherst College Band gave several open-air concerts and asked for donations to help pay for instrument purchases before dissolving early in 1889 due to lack of student interest.14

College Choir15

Years Active: 1833–1967

The oldest continuous musical organization at Amherst until its dissolution in 1967, its mantle as longest-running musical society was displaced by the Glee Club only in 2002. The group was in charge of rehearsing and performing sacred music, to be sung at Amherst’s many religious services. The group was subsidized by the college for much of its existence, receiving a small sum to pay for the services of its leader and purchase sundry musical supplies. For much of its early existence the group was the butt of many student jokes, primarily concerning its perceived lack of skill. In the mid 1880s it came

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13 The Amherst Student (29 February 1888): 151.
15 A copy of their founding constitution can be found in the Amherst College Early History Manuscripts and Pamphlets Collection, 1820-1843 (Box 1, Folder 45, ACASC). For further information on later activities, see Music at Amherst College Collection (Box 1, folder 7, ACASC).
to be led by a member of the faculty, a tradition that would continue until the dissolution of the group. By the 1920s the choir had attained a reputation for unusually high-quality performances, and had begun touring around the country. The choir was disbanded in 1967 when Amherst finally made its religious services entirely non-compulsory.

College Orchestras

Amherst has been home to a number of organizations by this name, many of them from the nineteenth century. I will give brief summaries of each, organized by their founding dates.

c. 1860-1862

*Founder:* Edwin Lewis ‘61

The first recorded orchestra at Amherst. In its first year it consisted of four flutes, one bass violin, one cello, three violins, one clarinet, one piano, and one “chittara,” and performed relatively easy works by Schubert, Verdi, Beethoven, Rossini, and Leutner, among others.\(^\text{17}\)

*Founding Members:*
Frederick Browning ‘61 (Treasurer)
Marshall B. Cushman ‘61
E. Porter Dyer ’61 (Secretary)
Elipha W. Fenn ’61 (*nongrad*)
Charles G. King ’61 (President)
Edwin R. Lewis ‘61 (Leader)
George G. Phipps ‘62
Samuel C. Vance ‘62
Frazer A. Stearns ‘63
Farguharson G. McDonald ‘64
William B. Glover ’64 (*nongrad*)
Frank A. Carpenter ’64 (*nongrad*)

\(^\text{16}\) As with many Amherst musical groups, the best sources for Amherst’s many orchestras are contemporary issues of *The Amherst Student* and issues of *The Olio*. The Amherst College Archives also hold several concert programs and other archival material related to Amherst’s early orchestras. These include: various programs (Music at Amherst Collection, Box 1, Folders 19-20, ACASC), an 1872-1873 Orchestra constitution and account-book (ibid, folder 21), and an 1872 instrumental part-book (ibid, folder 22). The part-book includes an original composition by H.B. Turner ’74, entitled “Chi Psi Waltz.”

\(^\text{17}\) Repertoire information found in a contemporary concert program, in the Music at Amherst Collection, Box 1, folder 19, ACASC. Instrumentation and membership found in the *Amherst College Olio, 1860-1861* (Sept. 1860).
In some years these groups were particularly active and successful, as in 1872-1873 and 1876-1877. In others, as in 1874-1875, they were relatively inactive. From 1877-1879 the orchestra was formed entirely out of members of the class of ’79, leading to the dissolution of the group after their graduation. The repertoire and instrumentation remained largely the same as that of 1861 throughout the decade.

**Founding Members (1870 orchestra):**
Elisha P. Bartholomew ‘72  
George W. Edmond ’73 *(nongrad)*  
Andrew J. Hirschl ’73 (Secretary and Treasurer)  
Loranus E. Hitchcock ‘72  
Charles W. Mallory ‘71  
Raymond D. Mallary ’72  
Samuel P. Butler ‘71  
Henry H. Sawyer ’71 (Leader)  
James A. Barnes ’71 *(nongrad)*

**c. 1888-1890**
A relatively short-lived, but moderately successful group. Its largest employment was to play music for dances. It also served as the orchestra for minstrel entertainments.

**Founding Members:**
Thomas W. Jackson ’91 (leader)  
Rufus M. Bagg ‘91  
Herbert Lewis ‘91  
George H. Lounsbery ‘92  
Giles W. Howland ‘90  
High ’91 [either Frank Grant High or John Lincoln High. Only last name mentioned]  
Arthur B. Ingalls ‘90  
Ralph W. Crockett ‘91  
Smith ’91 [unknown]  
George L. Degener ’92

**Donizetti Glee Club**
**Years active:** c. 1862 – 1865 (Spring)  
**Founder:** David O. Mears ’1865  
An early vocal group, founded by David O. Mears sometime in 1862. Its namesake was Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848), an Italian composer most famous for his light operas, which were in vogue at the time in Boston and New York. It began as a quintet, all but one member in the class of 1865. By the 1864-65 academic year the group had expanded to eight members, including one dedicated flute player and a pianist.

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18 This linguistic abomination, probably recorded in jest, can be found in the 1873-1874 *Olio* (Sept. 1873).
The Donizetti Glee Club is most notable for the tour it took across the White Mountains in the summer of 1862, where, after paying for food, travel, and lodging, each member was happily able to record a profit of $1. This was the first known tour of any Amherst musical group. At some point in the group’s career it employed a voice teacher. The group dissolved in 1865 after most of its members graduated. Three of its remaining members, including Michael Burnham (later a trustee of the college), would go on to join the Amherst College Glee Club in its first season the very next semester.

**Known Members:**

**1862-1863**
- David O. Mears ’65 (leader)
- Stephen B. Rand ’66
- Robert McEwen ’65 (*nongrad*)
- Edward P. Frost ’65
- Charles E. Lane ‘65

**1863-1864**
- David O. Mears ’65 (leader)
- George L. Putnam ‘65
- Edward P. Frost ’65
- Charles E. Lane ‘65
- Stephen B. Rand ’66
- Zabdiel Sidney Sampson ’65

**1864-1865**
- David O. Mears ’65 (leader)
- George L. Putnam ’65
- Edward P. Frost ’65
- Charles E. Lane ‘65
- Stephen B. Rand ’66
- Michael Burnham ’67
- Herbert J. Cook ’69 (flautist)
- Zabdiel Sidney Sampson ’65

**Euterpean Club** *(See College Orchestra, c. 1870-1879)*

**‘H.B.’ Quintette** (aka Amphion Sextet)

**Years active:** 1874–1876

A vocal group originally colloquially named “H.B.,” for unknown reasons. Formed early in the fall semester of 1874 by a group of men who happened to room together, it soon became the most popular music group on campus. The group gained an extra member in the spring of 1876, the addition warranting a rebranding to the “Amphion Sextet.” In this incarnation the group performed for the Northampton Lunatic Asylum, and was apparently well known for its “humorous [musical] selection and

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20 The founder wrote an autobiography that detailed a small amount of the group’s history: Mears, *David Otis Mears, D.D.: an autobiography* (cited above).
22 “The Amphion Sextette gave a gratuitous entertainment to a large number of the inmates of the Lunatic Asylum in Northampton […]. The singing was heartily appreciated by the large and somewhat discriminating audience.” – *The Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette* (May 10, 1876).
perfect imitation of the bagpipes.” Two singers in this group introduced Sumner Salter ’77 to their voice instructor from Springfield, Frederick Zuchmann. The rest, as they say, is history (or, as they say, “explored extensively in chapter one.”).

**Known Members:**

**1874-1875**
- Frank Bowler ’76 (leader)
- Robert B. Clark ’76
- William B. Clark ’76
- L.I. Blake ’77
- Rufus B. Tobey ’77

**1876 Spring**
- Frank Bowler ’76
- Robert B. Clark ’76
- William B. Clark ’76
- L.I. Blake ’77
- Rufus B. Tobey ’77
- William Ives Washburn ’76

**Mandolin Club (See Banjo Club)**

**Orphean Quintette** (aka ’78 Quintette Club)

**Years Active:** 1875-1878

A vocal quintette made entirely of members of the class of 1878. It found moderate success, and, although it often performed with the Glee Club, it also frequently performed on its own in the area around Amherst.

**Known Members:**
- Herbert S. Johnson ’78
- John D. Willard ‘78
- William W. Sleeper ‘78
- Daniel H. Colcord ’78
- Edward Ayres ‘78

**The Paean Band** (aka College Band)

**Years Active:** 1824-1836

**Founder:** John Kelley ‘25

Amherst’s first secular musical group. Originally a loose group of instrumentalists organized by John Kelley, class of 1825, it soon came into more formal organization under the name of the “Paean Band.” The original incarnation of the band consisted of clarinets, french horns, a bugle, and a trombone. Many of these instruments were purchased with faculty and student donations. The only condition for these donations was that the Band perform for all major college occasions, which they gladly

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23 Ibid, May 24.
24 Primary resources (all in Music at Amherst Collection, ACASC):
Box 1 Folder 11: Paean / College Band Record Book, c. 1824-1834;
Box 1, Folder 13: Letter written by C.M. Montague (alumni of the Band) on its activities + 1852 Band reunion poster;
Box 1, Folder 14: College Band Oratorio Concert program, c. 1834

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did. The group enjoyed great popularity on campus, and performed often in and around the college. They were known for “whetting their whistles” in between selections, momentarily disappearing to grab a cup of punch (then invariably an alcoholic drink). Over 80 individuals counted themselves as members throughout the 12 years of the group’s existence, including Henry Ward Beecher, later to become a famous preacher. The band dissolved for unknown reasons in 1836, leaving behind four clarinets, two octave flutes, two French horns, one bugle, one trombone, one bassoon, a pair of cymbals, a drum, and a serpent, all of which were donated to the president of the college. Members of the band continued to stay in touch after graduation, organizing at least one reunion, in 1852. A transcript of the Band’s meeting records can be found in Appendix E.

**Known Members:**
See membership lists in Appendix D (record book pages 6-7 for 1824 to 1828, and 40-41 for 1828 to 1834).

**The Troubadours (see Banjo Club)**

‘81 Quartette (aka Amherst College Quartette)²⁵

**Years Active:** 1878-1881

Second only to the Arion Quintette in absolute popularity, over the course of its four-year career the group sang over 75 formal concerts and had amassed a memorized repertoire of over 100 tunes. The February 9th, 1881 edition of the newspaper Christian Union gave a representative review of the group when it reported “[their] delightful vocalization is the most seductive advertisement the college can send to our cities.” Their final song before graduating was “How Can I Bear to Leave Thee?”

**Known Members:**
Lawrence F. Abbott ‘81
Walter H. Crittenden ‘81
George P. Hilton ‘81
Frank H. Parsons ‘81

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²⁵ A history of the group is given in the Class of 1881 reunion book, Thirty Years Later, found in the Class Shelves Collection, ACASC.
Figure A.1 – The serpent used by the Paean Band, c. 1824-1828
Figure A.2 - Paean Band reunion notice, c. 1852, revealing their characteristic good humor.
Figure A.3 – The Amherst College Orchestra, c. 1861.
Figure A.4 - The College Orchestra, c. 1872
Figure A.5 – Calliopean Quartette, c. 1862.
Figure A.6 - The H.B. Quintette, c. 1875
Figure A.7 - The Amphion Sextette, c. 1876
Figure A.8 - The Orphean Quintette, c. 1878
Figure A.9 – The Amherst College Glee Club, c. 1877.

One member is holding a giant wooden tuning-fork, an item that has since unfortunately been lost to time.
Figure A.10 – The Glee Club, c. 1880

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Figure A.11 - The Glee Club at Lake Chautauqua, N.Y., 1886. William Bigelow can be seen in the upper right corner of the group.
Figure A.12 - The Banjo, Mandolin, and Glee Clubs, c. 1895.
Appendix B.

Summary of Amherst College Board of Trustee and Committee actions towards music, c. 1821-1911

[Black] = Trustee Records
[Blue] = Prudential Committee (1833-1835 in other Early Board of Trustees Records collection. Post is in Committees Collection.)
[Red] = Instruction Committee

1828-08-25 - Voted that the sum of fifty dollars be appropriated for the purpose of improving the music in College, to be expended under the direction of the President.
1829-08-29 - Voted that the sum of fifty dollars be appropriated for the purpose of improving the sacred music in College, to be expended under the direction of the President.
1830-08-23 - Voted that the sum of forty dollars be appropriated for the purpose of improving the sacred music in College, to be expended under the direction of the President.
1833-11-05, p. 38 - Voted to pay twenty seven dollars to liquidate the debt of the "College Choir," arising from the purchase of books and other contingencies the past year.
1833-11-05, p. 38-39 - Voted to appropriate fifty dollars for the support of sacred music in the Chapel during the present year. Viz: ten dollars for books and other contingencies, and forty dollars to pay the Chorister, it being understood that besides leading the Choir in the Chapel and at other devotional exercises, he shall instruct young beginners from the lower classes by holding a school once a week for the space of one term in the course of the year.
1834-10-30, p. 45-46 - Voted to appropriate Fifty dollars to liquidate the debts of the College Choir, and for paying the salaries of the Chorister and Actuary.
1834-10-30, p. 45-46 - Voted that the secretary be authorized to draw orders for the amount upon the Treasurer, as wanted by the Choir.
1835-09-04, p. 50 - Voted to appropriate Fifty dollars to liquidate debts of the College Choir, and for paying salaries of Chorister and Actuary.
1839-08-26 - Voted that Fifty dollars be paid the present year to improve sacred music in the college
1840-04-14, p. 26 - Voted to allow and pay a bill for repairing the Bass Viol belonging to the Choir, amounting to about eight dollars.
1840-08-24 - Voted that fifty dollars be paid the present year to improve sacred music in the College Church.
1841-07-29 - Voted that fifty dollars be paid the present year to improve sacred music in the College Church.
1842-05-10, p. 35 - Voted, to appropriate Sixty Dollars for the purpose of purchasing a Double-Bass Viol to be expended under the direction of the faculty of the College.
1842-07-26 - Voted that fifty dollars be paid the present year to improve sacred music in the College Chapel.
1843-06-30, p. 42 - Voted, to give an order to the Actuary of the College Choir for fifty dollars agreeable to appropriation of the Trustees.
1843-08-08 - Voted that fifty dollars be paid the present year to improve sacred music in the College Chapel.
1844-08-06 - Voted that fifty dollars be paid the present year to improve sacred music in the College Church.
1845-08-12 - Voted that fifty dollars be paid the present year to improve sacred music in the College Chapel, agreeably to the recommendation of the Faculty.
1848, Aug. 8, p. 75 – Voted to appropriate Fifty dollars for the benefit of the College Choir.
1849, Aug. 6, p. 79 - Voted to appropriate Fifty dollars for the benefit of Chapel Music and the Choir.
1850, July 22, p. 84 – Voted, To appropriate Fifty dollars for the benefit of the Chapel Choir.
1856, Feb. 4, p. 124 - Voted, To appropriate 75 dollars for the support of sacred music in College the present year, to be distributed as follows: to the Chorister, 35 dollars, organist 25, man to blow the organ, 5 dollars. 10 dollars for the purchase of books.
1859, Sept. 16, p. 162 - Voted to accede to the request of the Beethoven Society for the purpose of Hymn
and Music, and to cause the organ to be tuned.

1861, Jan 14. p. 173 - Voted to refer the subject of a reading room, and of a room for the orchestra, to the members of the Come. [committee?] in town.

1863, Dec. 3, p. 211-212 - Voted, at the request of Edward Hitchcock Jr., to pay for the use of a Piano for the Gymnasium this past term Eleven 50/100 Dollars. Also to authorize him to hire it for the next term, and to procure a cloth cover for the same.

1866-11-13 - "Voted that the subject of providing music for the Chapel and Gymnasium be referred to the Prudential Committee with power to act."

1867-07-08 - "Voted that $50 be appropriated for payment of music for the Gymnasium."

1870-07-11 - "Voted that $150 be appropriated in addition to the usual amount for College Music, and for instruction in vocal music."

Minutes for 1876, 1877, and 1888 are missing.

1880-09 - $250 "for the music in the church."

1881 minutes missing.

1882-10 - $250 for "Music in church."

1882-10 - p. 77 - Voted that $100 be appropriated and paid in the discretion of the Prudential Committee to Professor Zuchtman [sic], for instruction in Music.

1883-10 - $250 for "Music in church."

1884-11 - "Voted that the following sums be paid for the purposes specified […] Music in church, $310 […] for musical instruction, in the discretion of the Prudential Committee, not to exceed $300."

1885-10 - "Voted that the following sums be appropriated and aid, out of any income applicable thereto, for the several purposes specified […] for Music for Church, $270 […] for Musical Instruction, in the discretion of the Prudential Committee, not to exceed $250."

1886-11 - Same as above, until: "Music for Church, $265 […] for Musical Instruction, in the discretion of the Prudential Committee, not to exceed $200."

1887-11 – Same as above.

1888-11 - Same as above until: "Music for Church, $265 […] Glee Club, $200."

1889-11 - "Voted that the following sums be appropriated and aid, out of any income applicable thereto, for the purposes specified […] music in the church $300."

1890-11 - Same as above. Also voted for $200 to reduce the debt of the Musical Association.

1891-11 - Same as above, until: "For music in church $285 […] For Amherst College Musical Asso. $200."

1892-11 - Same as above until: "music in the College Church $265 […] For musical instruction for the College Glee Club, in the discretion of the President $100."

1893-11 - Same as above, until: "music in college church and chapel $400 […] For the College Glee Club, in the discretion of the President $100."

1894-06, p. 113 – Voted that Mr. W.P. Bigelow be appointed Instructor in German and in Music for the next college year, his compensation, at the rate of $1,000, having been generously provided by friends of the college.

[Ref 1046] [1046A - William P. Bigelow had graduated in 1889. He had studied music in Worcester till 1891 and then had gone to Germany. At this time there was opposition to a teacher of music, so Edward Hitchcock had thought up a plan to get a teacher of music into another department. The cost was born by A.C. James '89 and C.M. Pratt '79. — Letters in the Hitchcock memorial room]

1897-12, p. 182 – “A communication was received from Mr. W.P. Bigelow, Instructor of German and Music, with reference to the establishment of a "department of Music" in the College. This was received and referred to the Committee on Instruction.

A communication, signed by 42 students of the college asking for the establishment of a department of music, was received and referred to the Committee on instruction.

[Ref 1507] [Mr. Bigelow had a very good class that year and wished to do the thing for which he had returned. He had done something with which to back his demand, for he had been offered a position at the University of Wisconsin.]"

1898-04-08, p. 3 - "Dr. Lawson presented the proposition of Mr. William P. Bigelow, now Instructor in German and Music. Mr. Bigelow believes that there should be increased instruction in the principles and

26 Total enrolment at the time was 372. 11% of the college’s students signed the petition.
art of Music given in Amherst College. He offers to give to the College a new organ, to cost from $6000 to
$7000. He desires to be made Professor of Music, with appropriate salary. The receipt of several letters
from students and faculty commendatory of the work of Mr. Bigelow was mentioned. After discussion, it
was:

Voted that Dr. Lawson acknowledge to Mr. Bigelow receipt of his proposition, and say to him that
this Committee does not feel it has the power to act in the premises [promises?], nor does it see when the
funds necessary for this change could at present be secured; but it will present the proposition for the
consideration of the Trustees at this next meeting."

1898-05, p. 187 - Voted that $100 be added to the salary of Mr. W.P. Bigelow.

1899-05-16, p. 21 - Prof. Henry B. Richardson appeared before the Committee and made statement on
behalf of William P. Bigelow, Instructor in German and Music. Mr. Bigelow is just completing five years
of service for the college. Prof. Richardson values his work. Though Mr. Bigelow's instruction is now
elementary, Prof. Richardson intends to assign him to more advanced work, and believes that Mr. Bigelow
could become his successor should Prof. Richardson's chair become vacant. Prof. Richardson desires that
Mr. Bigelow's title be changed from Instructor to Assistant Professor, and that some addition be made to
his salary. After discussion, it was Voted, that we make no recommendation regarding Mr. William P.
Bigelow.

1899-11-09, p. 28 - President Harris presented the needs of the German Department, stating that additional
instruction was desired, especially by means of conversation classes, and the Mr. William P. Bigelow,
Instructor in German and Music, could increase his hours of teaching from eight as at present to twelve a
week if by an increase in his salary he was enabled to dispense with the necessity of doing private tutoring.
He desired a salary of $1800 instead of $1300 as at present. President Harris stated that Prof. Henry B.
Richardson heavily supported the request. After brief discussion no action was taken.

1901-05-10, p. 36 - The President stated for the information rather than the action of the committee a plan
for increasing the salaries of several of the Associate Professors and Instructors. […] a gift of $25,000 had
been received from a friend of the college, the income of which was available for this purpose. It was
hoped to raise the salary of […] Mr. William P. Bigelow, Instructor in German and Music from $1300 to
$1600 […]

In review of his faithful services the President suggested that Mr. William Pingry Bigelow be
appointed Associate Professor (instead of Instructor) in German and Music. Voted, that we recommend the
appointment of Mr. William Pingry Bigelow as Associate Professor of German and Music.

1909-02-19 - Voted to make the following recommendations to the Board of Trustees:
[…] 2. That the salary of William P. Bigelow, M.A., professor of music, be increased so that it
will be at the rate of $3,000.

1911-11-16 - Voted: as authorized by the Board of Trustees that the College provide gowns for twelve
members of the Choir.
Appendix C.
Data comparing the number of Amherst graduates employed at Amherst College to the number of those who did not attend the college. Between 1875 and 1890 graduates consistently made up over 80% of the total faculty. Data from the annual Amherst College Catalogs, viewable online at http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/amherst/catalogs/
Appendix D.
Edward Hitchcock Jr., Professor of Hygiene and Physical Education: Lecture on Handel, given for the Amherst College Fine Arts course between the years 1870 – 1882. Editorial remarks are made in [] brackets. “_____” denotes illegible text.

Handel
The Representative of the Oratorio

George Frederick Handel was born at Halle Saxony, Feb'ry 24th, 1684. His Father was a surgeon, 63 years old when his immortal boy first saw the light; who educated by the methodical _empirical_ mysticism of his profession was not a parent who would encourage his son in any teachings after art, deeming as he did all artists mere mountebanks who amused the world in idle moments.

Nevertheless in Handel—like so many others who have gained renown in their chosen pursuits—we see an early inclination and eagerness to learn the rudiments of that art, which became not only his own, but a nation's pride and glory.

Handel's father both uneasy and ashamed at the inclination of his son would not even send him to the public schools, because forsooth there he would be taught the gamut as well as grammar. He was forbidden all places of amusement where he could hear music, and no musical instrument might remain in the house.

Yet as the river will flow to the sea, so Handel's passion must be gratified, and he found the means to procure a clavichord or “dumb-spinet” (an instrument constructed on the same principle as the guitar) which he concealed in the ____ and managed to play upon when the family were either asleep or absent from the house. And at 7 years of age we find the wonderful fact recorded by historians that the author of the Messiah was able to play upon the spinet.

When Fernando Cortes [sic] landed on the coast of South America, and found his men disheartened and ready to abandon the enterprise of conquering a kingdom for Spain, he first burnt every ship which had conveyed them thither. Then upon the sand of the beach he drew a line with his sword between himself and his men, and directed those who would follow him to step across the line. This bold and at once simple expedient was the means by which the prestige and power of Spain was established for centuries upon this new continent.

A trifling persistence or obstinacy in the child Handel, 7 years old, seems to have been equally important to determine his subsequent career.

The Father by a former marriage had a son who was “valet de chambre” to the reigning Duke of Saxe Weissenfels. He proposed to go and visit him. George too wanted to go but was refused. Instead of begging and pleading for the permission, he silently watched for the departure of the coach, and then persistently followed on foot. Soon the Father scolded and attempted to drive him back, but the boy so earnestly persisted that the parental yielded and the visit was made to the brother.

Soon after the chapel service of the Duke which the runaway boy attended, he—Handel—stole away to the organ chamber and could not refrain from touching the key board in the same manner as he had been wont to finger his simple clavichord. The Duke at once recognized a peculiar style of organ music and made enquiries for the performer: this brought the boy before him, from whom he soon found out the secret of the young Artist's heart, and gave him encouraging words. He at the same time rebuked the Father's opposition to the child's natural tastes, assuring him that it was a crime against humanity to repress or stifle such genius at its birth. These kind words from royalty had the effect to secure to the boy opportunities to study his much loved art, and from this moment we begin to see the rapid unfolding and development of that manger mind which for succeeding centuries has been without an equal in certain departments of music.

During the following 4 or 5 years we learn of Handel both at home, and in Berlin, in eager pursuit of his favorite studies. When about eleven years old he was brought before the public of the latter city, and into notice of the Elector. By him he was considered such a prodigy, that he claimed the privilege to be the patron of so rare a genius. But for some trivial reason this was not agreeable to the Father, and he was brought back to his native village, where he was soon fatherless and penniless.

As soon as he realized his true condition he set out for Hamburgh, where after performing for a while as first violinist in the Orchestra of the Opera House, he soon became a candidate for the organist at the Cathedral of Lübeck.
Here a most singular condition—the new organist should marry the daughter of the retiring incumbent, not only turned him from Lübeck Cathedral but directed him to Italy, to Rome, where he might pursue the study of the Italian Opera, to which we see in his after life he was most passionately attached, until driven from it by the force of popular opinion.

At this period of his career we find that element of character which so often characterizes men who are passionately attached to a limited range of objects, and the artists in particular. On account of a slight disagreement with a fellow performer, urged on by his officious friends, he was constrained to fight a duel with rapiers. Fortunately the sword of Handel's antagonist was diverted from finding his heart only by an immense metal coat button, or as others will have it, by a large score of music which he carried under the coat.

In Florence, Venice, and Rome Handel spent about six years in both the study and the composition of music. And although the ardent passion at this period of his life was for Opera Music, yet as no Opera was allowed in Rome during his stay in that city, his compositions now were confined solely to Cathedral Music. And nothing but his stern refusal to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion prevented him from attaining the highest possible honors for the musical artist in Rome.

In 1710 while only 25 years of age, Handel was appointed Chapelmaster, both to the Elector of Hanover, and to George 1st of England, with permission to visit England.

He was now not only a 'virtuoso' or one skilled in the art of music, but was regarded as the Rossini of his day in the Italian Opera, and the fashionable world was impatiently waiting for him to appear in his 'role,' on the newly appointed stage. His first Opera in London was “Rinaldo” and while composed in a fortnight, yet it so satisfied the universal expectation, that one Walsh, a London bookseller, is said to have made a net profit of $75,000 by publishing its airs and songs alone.

During the following 15 years of this Artist's life, we find him in his greatest power and glory, being considered as authority and leader in his favorite art for fashionable London. In fact so great was his popularity not only with the populace, but also with the nobility, that the Royal Academy of Music was formed upon a basis of £50,000 which was a mainly given by the King and the nobility. Of this Academy, handle was the Composer and Director, assisted by an Italian Bononcini, and a German Attilio, and in 8 years this Institution flourished with a stability and vigor worthy of its leader.

Like most men of much character and decision of purpose - especially musicians who are proverbially getting into hot water - Handel was not allowed to remain 'primus inter pares' without an attempt on the part of rivals to share the glory with him. Possibly many of these quarrels may have had a substantial ground: but history is not very explicit on either side, perhaps the squabble with Bononcini in which Handel came out victor is best described in the satire by Dean Swift.

"Some say that Signor Bononcini
compared with Handel is a ninny:
Whilst other say that to him Handel
Is hardly fir to hold a candle.
Strange that such difference should be
Twixt Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee."

To gain an idea of what Handel accomplished, it will be best to divide his life into the Opera and the Oratorio periods. In this case we should regard the years between 1710 and 1740 as the Opera period, and the remainder of his life, the period of the Oratorio.

It will be impossible to give the exact number of Operas which were strictly Handel's, as there are some about which the authorship is contested, and others which he evidently abandoned; but from the best authority, it is safe to reckon 4 German Operas, 39 Italian, and 1 English Opera, as the work of Handel in this direction.

Like all persons who depend upon royal or popular favor and patronage, our Master experienced some of the ups and downs of life. With Queen Anne he had ever been a favorite. The famous Ode to Queen Anne's Birthday is even now a popular piece of music in England, and for the authorship of which without doubt he received from her a pension for life. And the 'Te Deum' composed on the ratification of the Utrecht Treaty, added not a little to his popularity and favor with her court. But upon her death, and the accession of the Hanover Elector to the throne of England, we find Handel unmistakably left out in the cold: and also because he left the Elector some years before in Saxony to make his home in London, all these things gave him no warm reception with George the First. But as Handel was just now at the zenith
of his glory with the English People, he must in some way continue to secure the Royal favor again. To accomplish that end he resorted to this strategic measure. Learning that the King and suite were to picnic on the Thames in a procession of boats and barges, he composed a series of short concerted pieces known afterwards as “water music”—to be performed by all the instruments then in use, and all done so as a surprise to his majesty. The success was perfect, the King at once recognized the author from the style of music, he was pleased with the manner in which it was done, and Handel was again in the pastures of kingly clover.

About the year 1739 public interest in Operas met with a serious decline, if not actual repugnance: and with poor management, some quarrels, and various accidents, Handel found it necessary to turn himself to some other style of music to please the people. And as his early training had been in that of Church Music, to which he had also frequently contributed during his later life, and as the age of 55 might naturally lead him to quiet and serious reflections and studies, he then began the Oratorio period of his life, about the year 1740.

We find, however, that this was not a field in which he must now make his first attempts, for about the year 1720, when the demand for opera was not equal to the energy and work of such a constitution as his, he when Music Director to the Duke of Chandos produced the immortal Chandos Anthems, and the first English Oratorio upon the subject “Esther.” And the subject of some of these anthems shown even at that period of life, his most striking peculiarities, such as grandeur of conception, and the power to wield immense masses of tone. One trio has for its subject “Thou rules the raging of the sea,” another piece “The waves of the sea rage horribly,” and another “Who is God, but the Lord!”

The failure to succeed longer with his favorite Opera and the immense efforts put forth by Handel in order to save himself induced a stroke of paralysis by which for a short time he was entirely laid aside from the public. As soon as he had so far recovered as again to attempt public performances, he concluded to accept a long standing invitation from the Lord Lieutenant and other notables of Ireland, to visit Dublin. For his first appearance he selected a new piece composed from a text given by a friend Charles Jennens Esq., which was neither more nor less than the words of the immortal Oratorio The Messiah.

Burney says: Handel sore with disappointment went to Ireland “to try whether his Oratorios would be out of the reach of prejudice and enmity in that kingdom.”

Of this Pope says:

“Strong in new arms, lo! giant Handel stands,
like bold Briareus, with his hundred hands:
to stir, to rouse, to shake the should he comes
and Jove's own thunder follows Mars' drums.
Arrest him, goddess, or you sleep no more!
She heard - and drove him to the Hibernian shore.”

And about the middle of April 1742 was performed for the first time that old yet ever fresh production which now ever in the Metropolis of Ireland holds entranced all lovers of solid and substantial music, and by its frequent repetition is shown to be one of the Penates in every musical household.

And the fact that its first performance was for the benefit of prisoners, a charitable hospital and an infirmary, most beautifully accords with its subject, the history and delineation of the character of him who came from heaven to earth, to set the captive free, to unclose the chains of the prisoner, to bind up the wounds, and relieve the hearts of suffering humanity.

And of all his works “The Messiah” takes its place not only as a most remarkable characteristic of the style of Handel, but as the first Oratorio among Oratorios, and one of the musical wonders of the world.

Handel composed one Oratorio in German text, and 19 in English, and though they are but one half the number of his operas, and the early freshness of his life was given to the opera, yet how seldom do we hear of the performance of Handel's Operas, and how continually are his Oratorios as a whole or in portions, brought before the public.

And while we admire a young man's work, and praise an artist who accomplishes while young great deeds, without doubt the great success of Handel's Oratorios is to be attributed to their production during his ripe and maturer years: for of his 20 Oratorios, at least 15 were in the main completed only after he had passed the half century of his life.

It is true that Mozart “rendered up his divine soul at 39”: Raphael painted some of his best works
before he had seen 37 years: Rossini wrote the “Barber of Seville” at 23, and “William Tell” at 37, and what these masters could have accomplished had they lived to old age, it is impossible to tell. And whether it be an argument for little work for the public in early life or not, we have the fact that Gluck had not composed one of his operas when he was 50. Hayden [sic] wrote the Creation at 65, Munillo became Munillo at 40. Michael Angelo [sic] was 60 when he frescoed the last judgment on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and was 87 when he first saw in fact the dome of St. Peters.

The rapidity with which Handel apparently accomplished some of his work, deserved almost as much immortality as do the works themselves. His opera Atalanta he composed in 19 days: Rinaldo in 14: The Messiah in 23 days, and the Sampson begun only 11 days afterwards, in 35 days. During 1751 while at work on his Oratorio Jephthah, this great man was attached with “gulta serena” or paralysis of the optic nerve, and was soon totally blind. This calamity however only affected his sight and he still continued to preside at the organ with his wonted vigor. During some of his passages he seemed especially affected, as where the touching air in Sampson is introduced with the words “Total Eclipse; no sun, no moon.”

And though he repeatedly conducted his oratorios in person, and made many additions and alterations in his productions after this date, by the aid of a friendly amanuensis, yet his work was never done, and at the age of 74 April 13th, the Good Friday of 1757 he died, the very day on which he had seriously wished the event should happen ‘in hopes' as he said 'of meeting his good God, his sweet Lord and Saviour, on the day of his resurrection' meaning of course the Sunday following.

“He's gone! the soul of harmony is fled! And warbling angels hover round him dead. Never! no never since the tide of time Did music know agencies so sublime. Each mighty harmonist that goes before Lessened to mites, when we his works explore.”

[Following section may be crossed out:]

During his lifetime Pope called him the giant Handel, and said “conceive the highest you can of his abilities, and they are much beyond anything you can conceive.”

Hayden [sic] remarked “he is the Father of us all.”

Mozart says “he knows better than any one of us all what is capable of producing a great effect: when he chooses he can strike like a thunderbolt.”

Beethoven calls him the “Monarch of the musical kingdom. He is the greatest composer that ever lived. I would uncover my head and kneel at his tomb.”

[the rest continues as normal]

And in summing up his powers and remarkable points of character it may be said: “Handel possessed an inexhaustible fund of melody, of the richest and noblest character: and almost unparalleled power of musical expression: an unlimited command of all the resources and contrapuntal and fugal science: a power of wielding huge masses of tone with the most perfect ease and felicity. But perhaps his leading characteristic was the grandeur, majesty, and sublimity of his conceptions. He carried the old forms of opera to their highest perfection: infused a new life and power into English Ecclesiastical music: was an instrumental composer equalled by none but Bach, and in one direction (Oratorio) surpassed all others who have written.” - Am. Encyclopaedia.

And is not the place given to Handelian music at our late National Peace Jubilee at Boston, a striking monument of his peculiar merit and style. For out of the 15 choral passages executed by the 10,000 players ad singers during Festival Week in Boston, June 1869, four were selected from Handel's Oratorios.27

It is only by a step that we pass from this plain sketch of a few characteristics of Handel the Master, to a consideration of the Oratorio his “Chef d'oeuvre.”

The oratorio is an outgrowth of those ceremonies of the Middle ages, partly of a musical character

27 Hitchcock’s lecture may have been inspired by this event. The professor had performed in that concert as a member of the enormous chorus, having traveled there with a small contingent of other Amherst students.
known as the “Mysteries,” and in later centuries as the “Moralities.” They consisted of rites of purification and expiation of sacrifices and processions, of ecstatic songs and dances, of nocturnal festivals fit to impress the imagination, and of spectacles designed to excite the most diverse emotions, terror and trust, sorrow and joy, hope and despair. The principal subject of the representations was the legends of particular divinities, their abode and passion upon the earth, their descent into Hades and death, their return and resurrection, thus symbolizing at once human destiny and the order of nature. The celebration was chiefly by symbolized acts and spectacles: yet sacred musical words, formulas, fragments of liturgies, or hymns were also employed. (Am. Cyclopaedia)

These ceremonies probably may be traced back as far as the rites of Isis and Osiris in Egypt, in the Persian Mithriadiate solemnities, and in the festivals introduced into Greece with the worship of Bacchus and Cybele. And it is probable that the last traces of them are to be seen in the gewgaws and nonsense of Thee Masonry. And may they continue to grow beautifully less!

But the Oratorio of the present age is traced no farther back than the 16th Century, when St. Philip Neri in 1549 founded the “Congregation of the Oratory in Rome,” one of the objects of which, was to deter young people from profane amusements, by rendering religious services as attractive as possible. Spiritual songs and choruses were introduced into the service of the Catholic Church, and afterwards scripture songs and incidentals were framed into poems, written in dialogue, and set to music by the best composers of that time. Poy/\[?] thus bringing influences external and attractive to the church service, it was presumed that the religious instructions of the church were much better secured.

The oratorio, as at present understood, is a musical composition consisting principally of Airs, Recitative, Duets [sic], and choruses, with full Orchestral accompaniment. Its subject is usually taken from the Scriptures, and is not dramatic, is not embellished by dress, scenery, action, or paraphernalia, but is a simple rendering of the subject in the highest style of musical art to excite grandeur, sublimity, aesthetic religious emotions.

The Oratorio has been cultivated extensively in England and Germany (but not in France [insertion: Handel's Messiah has just been performed in Paris for the first time Feb., 1874.] for more than a century past, dating its birth to the period when Handel was in the acme of his glory, creating as he did the most sublime works in this Department of Art. And in our own country, it is pleasant to know that this educating and ennobling style of music is popular and extensively nourished, wherever a company of suitable size and capacity of execution, can be found to render it with a satisfactory effect [insertion: The Messiah has been given at least once each year in Boston for the past 60 years. - 1874 -].

During the Carnival in Rome the Oratorio is still most extensively exhibited, and is still very generally brought out in the churches of the Roman Catholic Countries: the subjects being not only Bible scenes and incidents, but also representations from the lives of the Virgin or the Saints. Besides Handel who is without question the leader in Oratorio composition, the names of Haydn [sic], Bach, Mozart, Mendelssohn, Spohr, and others should be mentioned as eminent composers in this branch of sacred music. [The following seems to have been crossed out]

As evidence of this we have but to refer again to the Peace Jubilee, where we find Handel selected for 4 choruses. Haydn [sic], for 3, and Mendelssohn for 4.

[continues normally from here]

I am sure I cannot better close complete this the lecture than by a brief analysis of the Messiah as a type of this class of musical Oratorio composition.

As its title implies, it concerns our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the text or subject is divided into 3 parts: One relating to the prophecies or coming of the Messiah; another to his character; and the third to his work accomplished, especially that relating to the death and the resurrection.

[Inserted in an extra sheet]

The orchestral prelude - strange in its composition of a series of abrupt and deliberate chords of startling harmony - arrests the attention and inspires the hearer with a sort of majestic anticipation.

This peculiar grave soon breaks into the short fugue, which prepares the mind, by its clearness and simplicity for the 'sustained act of devotional contemplation about to follow.' - Haweis [insertion ends]

The first vocal part is that remote prophecy of Christ's coming in Isaiah, “Comfort ye, Comfort ye my people saith your God.”
With the metronome at 58 - in this slow (andante) movement - the soothing and tender recitative of a female voice breaks the first intellectual idea of this Oratorio upon the ear.

Immediately following it an air repeats the following connecting passages of the same chapter.

After this refreshing of the soul, the heat and tie of human interest is kindled, and the deliverer seems very near, with a merry noise in his music Handel finds something for every man to do - these in leveling the mountains, those in bridging the vales with viaducts for the King of Glory to pass over. We hear a vast multitude, not of slaves, but of freemen, singing at their work.

This Chorus - “every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain,”

Then breaks in this ell chorus in a rapid and exalting measure “And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.” And when it is ended, the mind and soul do feel what the Lord hath spoken it, and that the genius of Handel has enabled us the more grandly to feel appreciate this idea. (extra sheet - introduced after p. 49 [Ed - this is page 47])

Other prophecies and announcements are then introduced, until we come upon that sublime passage Then comes that sublime passage “For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder: this name shall be called wonderful counselor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.” This chorus in a pleasant and moderately rapid movement gives a repetition of these words four times: and at each recurrence of the words Wonderful Counselor, the mighty God, every instrument and every voice does its utmost to swell the volume of the sounds. The trumpets roar, the drums rattle, the bass bellows, and everyone conspires by their loudest efforts to express force, intensity, and sublimity in the fact that the Messiah has come, the most gracious presence that can ever visit the earth.

[Inserts begin]

“But the exceeding light will blind them: they are so weak with sin. And He is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity.” Who may abide the day of his coming? A kind of terror seizes them. Therefore with hearts docile and teachable waiting for the Messiah, they eagerly listen to the words of the Seer, Behold a virgin shall conceive!

Is it indeed so? What a different message from the one that they expected, and yet how reassuring! All their fears are at once confined. The image of a King coming with pomp and majesty is now withdrawn and in its place we have simply a Virgin and a Child, introduced to us through that interesting, grand, and sublime passage in the Oratorio - which is one of those pauses so common in the works of great dramatists, where the mind head been led up to the threshold of certain startling events, and is called upon to recreate itself a moment before entering upon a threshold of the most exciting interest and rapid action.

We are upon the hill sides around Bethlehem: the delicious pastoral symphony makes us aware of a land of flocks and herds. It is towards evening: the flocks of the sheep are being gathered buy the shepherds and are winding slowly towards the wells before settling down on the mountain slopes for the night. The melody breathes peace as the shadows lengthen with the setting sun: at length we seem to hear the faint twinkle of the last bells die away in the distance, and then all is still. The flocks are resting, the shepherds are watching beside them in the darkness, when lo! the Angel of the Lord comes upon them, and in an instant the bright light gleams out upon the green and glittering sword: the gloom is suddenly broken up with tints of heavenly color and the night is filled with music.

The accompaniment to the recitative “And lo!” gives the sensation of the mustering from afar of the angels: and by the time we come to the angelic chorus Glory to God, which is exquisitely written chiefly in treble, and is ringing with pure melody, the whole air seems full of visions — myriads of flame like faces, sublime and tender, such as Fra Angelico loved to paint, are around us. The distance is thronged with them, the air vibrates with the pulsation of their innumerable wings, as they chant to each other, with the voices of another world, the hymn of glory: and then just as the shepherds are beginning to realize their own ecstasy, the light fades and the sound seems to ascend and be lost among the stars and all is again dark on the hill sides of Bethlehem.’ - Music and Morals, p. 176 [Ed - this entire insert is a series of direct quotes, some edited for length] [end inserts]

Then as if every effort was exhausted to announce this event With the mind thus occupied a single Soprano voice with the sweetness and simplicity of a little child delivers the recitative “There were
shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by nights,” a simple declaration needing no declamation, no measured melody, but only a statement of the fact necessary to carry along in the mind the intellectual idea of the piece.

The first part closes with the air “He shall feed his flock like a shepherd” and the Chorus “his yoke is easy his burden is light.” And when this melody, sung by so many devout hearts through all Christendom even of those who are not gifted in public song “Come unto him all ye that labor, come unto him all ye that are heavy laden, and he will give you rest,” when this almost divine melody and this completely entirely divine invitation enters the soul, it seems as if tenderness and pathos, fresh from the Saviour's heart was in reality poured out anew.

In the second part the humiliation and sufferings of Christ is the first most striking characteristic that is mentioned. “He was despised, and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief” is the subject of an Air for an Alto voice. And with the rich melody in the lower notes of her register, Handel most effectively brings out, freshens, and quickens our emotions of sympathy for the sorrow and sufferings of the Son of God!

Next are introduced the Choruses “Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows”; “All we like sheep have gone astray.” And then with an agreeable admixture of Air and Recitative upon the themes “Thy rebuke hath broken his heart”; “Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto his sorrow”; “But thou didst not leave his soul in Hell, nor suffer thine Holy One to see corruption,” with or after all this mingling is introduced the sublime sentiment with the inimitable music, “Lift up your heads oh ye gates, and be eye lift up ye everlasting doors and the King of Glory shall come in”

[insert begins]

The first feeling of the dead Christ upon the cross is one of simple and blank despair. He who should have redeemed Israel - upon whose shoulders the government was to rest - the mighty counselor the Prince of Peace — He was no victorious monarch—only a crucified man! He was cut off out of the land of the living.

But this train of thought is soon arrested, and we are carried rapidly forward through death and the grave, until ascending from those depths with the now glorified Saviour, we rise higher and higher towards the binding splendors of the heavenly courts. A shout of triumph bursts forth as the everlasting gates roll asunder, and throngs of angels with the bright seraphim stream forth to meet their King. The sky itself seems to throb with the thrilling cry “He is the King of Glory,” and just as we begin to feel that we have been whirled along with the prodigious power of sound until the utterance we have almost forgotten our own powers of utterance enduring, are made sensible that we can no longer hear the strain of the excitement, the abrupt dead pause falls, and then with a last, long shattering cry of “glory” the mighty peans swoon away into the echoless silence” — Music and Morals, p. 179.

[end insert]

As we proceed with the grief, the sadness, the depression of the passages of the second part, ere we are aware we become diverted from the intenseness and overpowering influence of the scene by the Chorus “Let all the Angels of God worship him.” A chorus not specially grand or attractive, but rather a musical effect to allow a change of idea without abruptness or brilliancy, to detract from the main character of the piece.

Also the Air “How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of Peace,” cheerfully, sweetly, and tenderly carried along with a simple accompaniment, gradually but surely lifts our feelings to that point where we can most successfully comprehend the last and best piece of part second, the Chorus “Hallelujah, for our Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.”

[insert begins]

But before we are called to the ecstasies of magnificence of this Chef d'oeuvre of the Oratorio, we are quietly calmed from the intense feelings excited by the last Chorus “for unto us a Child is born,” by three pieces deficient in interest, just as the painter knows how and where to lay on his middle tints to rest the eye that the prominent features of the picture may produce their proper effect.

Handel again brings us to pastoral scenes, fives us the quiet and calmness of the Shepherd and his flocks, sends missionaries as Shepherds to care for the Lambs. And yet while we are upon the pasture hill side, with the meek browsing sheep ere we realize it, our Artist has transformed the tender shepherds into warriors, and “Why do the nations rage so furiously together” is brought out most strikingly by trumpet,
cymbal, and drum, representing most forcibly the clangor and clash of swords, shields, and spears. But the battle scene is a show one: “the final triumph of good over evil is anticipated by a daring and indomitable act of faith: for a moment all heaven is opened: we are caught up in the clouds, and hear from the vast multitude which no man can number the hallelujahs of those that chime ‘after the chiming of the eternal spheres’” — Music and Morals, p. 180

[insert ends]

In this chorus seems to be centered the power, grandeur, and sublimity of the whole Oratorio. The idea that Christ shall reign for ever and ever, seems to have given Handel and inspiration to clothe these words in their most effective musical drapery. And though every participant performs his part in fortissimo style, yet such is the combination and modulation of the harmony, that nothing falls on the ear which sounds of harshness but every nerve is thrilled and every emotion gushes forth: the whole nature exults and rejoices as it acknowledges the reception of the grandest truth in human history, “the kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever!”

[insert begins]

And as this last clause of the triumphal shout “He shall reign forever and ever” in reiterated bursts of glory is caught up rapturously by the flaming choirs of immortals, and hurled from side to side until at last the energies of heaven itself seem spent, the celestial strain dies away before the great White Throne and Him that sits upon it!

For any mortal to offer praise or commendation to this Kohinoer[?] of Chorus music, could only be like him who would deposit a handful of desert sand to increase the grandeur of the mighty Alps or Himilayahs [sic]. Handel's own words are the only praise which can be offered “I did think I did see all heaven before me, and the great God himself!”

[Insert ends]

We accept the truth and genuineness of the Bible because it has been cherished so heartily by its believers in all ages. And so with Handel's Hallelujah Chorus: Old yet ever new—never performed by that it may still be repeated to the same auditors, with wholesome appreciation. Faultless in artistic conception and execution, it is equally perfect in the peer which it has to mold, control, and elevate our noblest emotions.

And not the least commendation of its excellence is the fact that it is never performed before an English audience, without every person in the hall audience rises and stands respectfully and reverently to its close.

Various scriptural passages concerning the death and resurrection of our work accomplished by our saviour, from the subject of the third part of this Oratorio. And Handel—a true Artist—does not leave his subject with any imperfection in appearance or effect to trouble the sense of beauty, but completes and adorns the stately proportions of his work by the delicate and elegant tracery of artistic perfection.

It would be overpowering and surfeiting with glory and majesty, to prolong the effect of the Hallelujah Chorus by similar strains and choral passages, so that an Air touching, soul melting, and ravishing, is made to usher in this part of the Oratorio.

And when the Air “I know that my Redeemer liveth,” [insert] which can never grow old or pass away [end insert], from the Soprano voice comes like a fleecy cloud between us and the gorgeous sun this inimitable chorus; by it imperceptibly subside to the soft easy and delightful sensations caused by the idea that “though worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: for now is Christ risen from the dead the first of them that sleep.”

[Ed. - The beginning of this page (61) has the following notes: 'Seniors - Jun 27 '70; " Mar 30 '72']

The sublime and majestic rush of the storm is over, even the last mutterings of the distant thunder have subsided, and the calm so quiet, so serene, so placid comes into the soul like the sunshine to the mountain valley full of freshness and verdure.

Two quartets, of a most decidedly ______ [?] caste here appear as an announcement of the close of the Oratorio. And as musical works it seems hardly probable that any art can surpass “As in Adam all die” and “Since by man came death”: while in sweetness and solemn force “The trumpet shall sound” will probably retain its popularity so long as there is a silver toned trumpet in existence.” —m. and morsels.

The two courses “Worthy is the Lamb,” and the “Amen” furnish a fitting and dignified close to so
exciting — majestic a work as Handel's Messiah. All emotion has now been spent, and the mind like the still heaving waves of the sea after a storm, is left to rock itself slowly into deep and perfect peace. Thus the Oratorio opens with the hope of "comfort" and ends with the full calm joy of attainment. One feeling now fills the Christian disciple thro' and thro', and one word is found sufficient to express it — it is the glorious "Amen" of the final Chorus.' — Music and Morals

[At the back of this page, the following list of dates appears]
"Read to the Seniors:
June 27, 1870
March 30, 1872
June 23, 1873
Dec. 18, 1874 — to the Holyoke Seminary
June 9, 1875
Oct. 28, 1879
Oct. 25, 1880
Oct. 1881
Oct. [1882? no year given]
Nov. 2, 1882"

[An un-numbered page at the end of the lecture:]
A delightful thought suggested by the review of this subject, is, that this masterpiece of Oratorio music, this grandest noblest work of the grandest and highest style of music, has for its theme the commemoration and exaltation of the Saviour of mankind.

How interesting that the most wonderful act in human history, the condescending and suffering love of the Son of God for man, should be rendered impressive and effective by the influence of the most delightful of the arts!

And that George Handel the giant artist "par excellence" in the power to wield masses of musical melody and harmony, has been permitted to furnish to the Christian world for more than a century the story of the Messiah [ends here without punctuation]
Appendix E.

Transcription of the Paean Band record-book, March 1824 to Oct. 1834, with one sole entry from 1836. Editorial remarks, including page numbers, are made in [] brackets. Blank underscores, “_____,” represent illegible text.

Recordbook of the Paean Band

We, the undersigned, esteeming it a laudable object to perfect as far as possible the art of music, have associated ourselves together for this purpose and adopted the following

Constitution

Article First
This society shall be called the Paean Band.

Article 2nd
The Band shall consist of such members as shall submit their names to this constitution.

Article 3rd
The officers of the Band shall be a Master, Associate Master, assistant Master, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and a Prudential Committee of three, all of whom shall be chosen by ballot.

Article 4th
The Band shall hold two semiannual meetings, the first on the last Wednesday in March and the second on the Wednesday preceding commencement, at which meeting the officers above mentioned shall be elected. The officers elected at the last meeting for choice shall not enter on the duties of their office until the commencement of the succeeding term.

Article 5th
It shall be the duty of the Master to preside at the regular meeting of the Band, and in his absence the next in office.

Article 6th
It shall be the duty of the Associate Master and Assistant Master to lead in those sections of the Band over which they are placed by the Master; of the Secretary to record all transactions of the same with care, to collect all fines and taxes and pay the same to the Treasurer; of the Treasurer to secure all monies of the Band and hold the same in readiness at the disposal of the Band; and of the Prudential Committee to propose persons for admission into the Band and to the concerns of the Band not assigned to either of the other officers.

Article 7th
The Band shall meet once a week at such time and place as the Master, or, in his absence, the next in office, shall appoint.

Article 8th
If any member of the Band shall be absent from any regular meeting of the Band without a reasonable excuse, or first getting leave of absence from the Master of the section to which he belongs, he shall be fined twenty five cents.

Article 9th
Any member who shall absent himself from the meetings of the Band four two weeks in succession or shall obstinately refuse to pay his fine for two weeks after he is assigned of the same, shall be considered as expelled from the Band.

Article 10th
No persons shall be admitted as members of this Band, unless first proposed by the Prudential
Committee [4] and received by a majority of two thirds of the Band.

Article 11th
Any member may be dismissed from the Band, on his presenting a written request and with a certificate from the Secretary, signifying his acquittal of all legal demands.

Article 12th
The Band shall hold themselves in readiness to play for the students of this Institution at commencements, and all publick [sic] exhibitions; on condition that those members of the Institution not belonging to the band will advance money to purchase so many and such instruments as are wanted for the Band.

Article 13th
If moneys are advanced agreeably to the preceding article, and if at any time any member of the Institution shall attempt to sound a stringed, or such instruments as are blown with reeds, or beat [5] the drum belonging to this Band without special permission from the member in whose care such instruments may be he shall be fined twenty-five cents.

Article 14th
The members of this Institution shall appoint a committee of one, whose duty it shall be to collect such fines as come within Article 13th and pay the same over to the Treasurer of this Band.

Article 15th
If any member of this Institution College fined agreeably to Art. 13th shall refuse to pay his fine in two weeks, the members of this Institution may pay a vote of censure upon such member and the same shall be recorded in the Secretary's Book of this Band.

Article 16th
On each of the semiannual meetings, all the instruments belonging to this Band shall undergo an inspection by the Presidential Committee, and if [6] on such inspection any instrument is found to be injured more than its ordinary ware [sic], damages, as estimated by the Prudential Committee, shall be paid by such member or members in whose care such injured instruments were found.

Article 17th
If at any time this Band shall become extinct, the instruments give to the Band shall be Delivered up into the hands of the Faculty of this Institution to be disposed of as they shall see fit.

Article 18th
New articles may be added, or alterations made in this constitution at either of the semiannual at any regular meeting of the Band by a vote of 2/3.

* have left College
Names: [35 total]
*Elisha Babcock ['1825] [the constitution is in his handwriting]
*Lucien Farnham ['1827]
*John Kelly ['1825]
*Ephraim Eveleth ['1825]
*Benjamin C. Cressy ['1826]
*William P. Paine ['1827]
*Corbin Kidder ['1828]
*Joseph S. Clark ['1827]
*Hiram F. Stockbridge ['1827]
*Reuben Tinker ['1827]
*Stephen W. Meech ['1826]
*Calvin Ellis ['1826]
Records of the Paean Band

This band was organized on March 17th, 1824, and chose the following persons as officers: John Kelly, Master, Ephraim Eveleth, Associate Master, Hiram F. Stockbridge, Associate Master, Calvin Ellis, Librarian, Stephen W. Meech, Treasurer, J. Kelly, E. Eveleth, J.L. Howard: Prudential Committee. The Band then adjourned for one week.

March 24th - The Band met according to adjournment and voted into the Band Mr. Beach, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Farnham. After having attended to the business of the meeting adjourned till 26th.

March 26th - The Band met according to appointment and voted into the Band Mr. Kidder and Mr. Tinker, and adjourned till March 31st.

[9] March 31st - The Band met according to appointment and proceeded to the choice of officers, J. Kelly Master, E. Babcock, Secretary, E. Eveleth Associate Master, __ Fisher Treasurer, __W. Meach Librarian, Kelly, Babcock, and Stockbridge Prudential Committee. After spending some time in practicing the Band adjourned till April 2nd.

April 2nd - The Band met for practice according to appointment and adjourned for one week.
April 9th - The Band met for practice according to appointment and adjourned for one week.
April 16th - The Band met for practice according to appointment and adjourned for one week.
April 23rd - The Band met for practice according to agreement and adjourned one week.
April 30th - The Band met for practice according to [10] agreement and adjourned for one week.

May 7th - The Band met agreeable to appointment at the house of Samuel F. Dickinson and spent the evening in practice, were treated with great politeness and hospitality and after having voted ____ Cressy, Paine, and Porter as members of the Band adjourned until ____ Monday evening May 10th.

May 10th - The Band met for practice according to adjournment

May 11th - The Band [performed] was called together at 3[?] P.M. escorted the students of the
institution to the President's house where the Faculty of the institution were taken on to the procession and escorted to the meeting house, where the Band played for the exhibition of the Junior Class. The performances of the Band during the afternoon were such as enacted the admiration of a crowded audience.

June 11th - The Band held their first meeting for practice in the summer term, voted to meet twice a week for a season on Tuesday and Friday evenings, and adjourned to the 15____.

On July 2nd the Band met for practice ____, and voted Mr. Whiting [sp?] as an honorary member of the Band.

July 5th - The Band met in the morning at half past o'clock and escorted the students of the Institution from college to the President's house and from there to the Meeting house.

July 9th - The Band met for practice, and adopted a resolution, that for the future the doors of the chapel should be closed ten minutes after the hour appointed for meetings, and any member not present at that time, without a satisfactory excuse, should pay the fine of absence. Also appointed a committee consisting of the three masters of the Band, to ascertain what sum of money has to be allowed such members of the Band as played in for instruments with reeds or strings for their annual supply of strings and reeds; and to report at the next meeting after having unanimously chosen Mr. Henry Dwight of Belchertown as honorary member. The Band adjourned for one week.

August 5th - The Band assembled at Mr. Boltwood's Hotel at half past 6 of three o'clock - took the stage from there to Hadley and with a very respectable company of ladies and gentlemen from the street took an excursion upon the Connecticut.

August 12th - The Band went to the East Street of Amherst and serenaded the first families of the place from whom they received many marks of respect and approbation.

August 17th - The Band met for practice and granted a Dismission [?] from the Band, to Joseph Howard agreeable to his own request.

August 18th, 1824 - The Band held their semiannual meeting, at which time the following persons were elected into office.

Mr. Ephraim Eveleth, Master
H.F. Stockbridge, Associate Master
Joseph S. Clark, Assistant Master
E._. Babcock, Secretary
L. Farnham, Treasurer
Clavin Ellis, Librarian
J. Kelly --
H.F. Stockbridge -- Prudential Comm.
E._. Stockbridge --

August 25th - Commencement morning
The Band escorted the Students, Trustees, Faculty, and Students to the Meeting house—played for the students in the exercise of the morning and at noon led the Faculty and Students in procession to the Academy. The Band then marched to Mr. Stroug's [sp?] Mansion Home and partook of a sumptuous dinner provided by the Senior Class.

For the afternoon the Band led the procession to the Meeting-house and played for the remaining exercises of the day.

Oct. 22nd - The Band convened and voted into their number Mr. Pratt.
November 12th - The Band met for practice; and passed a resolve, that, from the week succeeding the annual exhibition of the United Fraternity to the fourth week in the Spring term, the meeting of the Band might be regulated at the discretion of the presiding officer.

March 12th - The Band assembled for practice at Mr. Boltwood's hall and resolved to meet at that place during the present term.

March 18th - The Band met agreeable to adjournment, and after playing, Mr. Edward Jones and Mr. Chester Humphrey were admitted as members of the Band.

March 30, 1825 - The Paean Band held their semi-annual meeting and the following persons were elected officers:
- John Kelly - Master
- Hiram F. Stockbridge - Associate Master
- Nath. W. Fisher - Assistant Master
- Reuben Tinker - Secretary
- Joseph S. Clarke - Treasurer
- Edward Jones - Librarian
- John Kelly - Prudential Committee
- Ephraim Eveleth - Prudential Committee
- Hiram F. Stockbridge - Prudential Committee

April 1 - Band met at Mr. Boltwood's for practice
- 8 - ""
- 15 - ""
  Mr. Daniel Hunt, Jr. admitted as member. Voted to meet in Esq. Stroug's [sp?] Hall next meeting.

22nd April - met at Esq. Stroug's hall for practice and voted to remove to Boltwood's next week.
29th " - Met at Mr. Boltwood's for practice.
6th May - Met ""
10 " - Band played for Junior exhibition as is common on such occasions. 1830 ?

Friday Evening, June 10, 1825 - The Paean band met for playing in the College Chapel.

June 17, Eve'g - Assembled at Boltwood's Hall for practice. Mr. John Forbush admitted to membership by vote. Adjourned for one week.

Friday Evening, June 24th - The Paeanians congregated in Landlord Boltwood's Hall and played sundry tunes … Mr. Ephraim Eveleth was at his request dismissed, and invited to help.
Doctor _.V.O. Smith was voted an honorary member. We played thrice in the street. Adjourned. R. Tinker, Sec'y.

Friday, July 1st - Band met as usual
- 8 - ""
- 15 - ""
- 22 - ""
- 29 - ""

Aug. 4, 1825, Thursday Evening - The Band visited East Street, marched, played, serenaded, took a glass of wine with Doct. Hubbard, and came home again.

Aug. 5, Friday - Met at Boltwood's for practices.
On commencement day the band performed as is usual on the occasion and was commended particularly in some of the notices of the exercises of the day published in the News Paper. Band dined in the Hall, Academy, with the Honorable men.

Aug. 17th, 1825 - Semi-annual meeting for choice of Officers. The following were elected:
N.W. Fisher - Master
L. Farnham - Asso. Master
C.B. Pratt - Assist' Master
R. Tinker - Sec'y
J.S. Clarke - Treas.
C. Ellis - Lib.

C. Porter, B.C. Cressey, W.P Paine - Prudential Committee.

[17]
Friday Evening (Oct.) September 30, 1825 - The band met in Mr. Boltwood's Hall. Mr. John Post was admitted a member. Voted to purchase a clarion, played a few tunes, and adjourned.

Friday Oct. 7, 1825 - Band met and voted to receive as members Mr. Abner Goodell and Edmund P. Russell.

Friday evening Oct. 14th - Band met as usual and played. Mr. Reuben Tinker was at his own request dismissed from the Band and J.S. Clark appointed sec. pro. tem. Adjourned.

Friday Evening Oct. 21st, 1825 - Band met. Voted to purchase a violin, also to admit as members [sic] Mr. Joseph B. Clapp. Adjourned.

Friday Evening, November 4th - Band met for practice. Voted to enact as a by-law that any member who be absent 10 minutes after calling the roll shall be fined 6 cents.

The Band convened Nov. 11
Do. . . 18
Do. . . 25. Voted to adjourn till the next term.

[18]
March Feb. 24, Friday Evening, 1826 - The Band met in the Chapel for practice.
Friday Evening, March 3rd, 1826 - The Band met in the Chapel for practice. Mr John T. Kittredge was admitted as member.

Friday Eve, March 10 - The Band met in the Chapel Mr. Boltwood's Hall for practice. Voted to meet there thro' the term.

Friday Eve, March 17 - The Band met in Mr. Boltwood's Hall for the usual practice.
Wednesday 22nd Eve, The Band played at the Exhibition of the Alexandrian Society. Rec'd a present of 5 dollars from Prof. Fiske.

Friday Eve, March 24 - The Band met in the Academy Hall for practice. Voted thanks to Prof. Fiske for his present.

[19]
April 14th, 1826 - The Band held their Semi-annual meeting for the choice of Officers. The day specified by the constitution for electing them __ very ___ forgotten. The following persons were elected:
L. Farnam - Master
C.B. Pratt - Associate Master
J.S. Clarke - Assistant Master
C. Humphrey - Secretary
D. Hunt, Jr. - Treasurer
J. Forbush - Librarian
N.W. Fisher -
W.P Paine - Prudential Committee
C._. Porter -

Friday Eve, April 14th - The Band convened at Boltwood's Hall for practice.
Friday Eve, April 21st - The Band convened at Mr. Boltwood's Hall for practice. Mr. Chester Humphrey having resigned his office for the remainder of the term, E.P, Russell was appointed Sec. pro. tem.
Adjourned.

Friday Eve, April 28th - The Band met at the usual place for practice and passed a resolve that no member be allowed to sound his instrument on the way from the place of meeting to his room, on penalty of 25__ for every offence; provided however, that previously notice is given, that we play together, as a Band, and there adjourned.

Friday Evening, May 5th - Band met as usual at Mr. B's Hall for practice, and adjourned till Monday.

Tuesday, May 9th - Band met according to adjournment in the Chapel. Complied with the request of Pacific Lodge that we escort them from Boltwood's Hall to the Meeting-house, and then back again to the hall where we were respectfully invited to dine with the Masonic Fraternity, and then adjourned.

Friday Eve, June 9th - Band met as usual at Boltwood's Hall. As this was the first meeting of term it was not expected that much would be done; still the performances were unusually good. Three wen [dyslexic new?] tunes were put out. There being no business before the band it adjourned to Boltwood's Hall.

Friday Eve June 16th - The Band met at the usual place for practice. Voted to meet the next Friday eve. at 7[1?] o'clock P.M. and then adjourned to Stroug Hall.

Friday Eve June 24th - The band met at Ellis' room to practice upon the tunes which they expected to play upon the ensuing day, and voted to meet at Boltwood's hall tomorrow at 10 o'clock A.M.. Adjourned.

Saturday, June 24th
The Paean Band convened agreeable to the vote of their last meeting. But on account of rain they were not able to play for the Pacific Lodge. After having dined with the honorable body, played a few tunes for amusement. In the meantime the Lodge adjourned to the following Monday where they requested that the band should play for them. The request was complied with. Voted to meet on Monday next 10 o'clock A.M. Adjourned.

Monday, June 26th - The band escorted the Pacific Lodge from Boltwood's to the meeting house, and from thence back to Boltwood's where they were invited to dine. The lodge expressed their sincere thanks to the band for their performance.

[22]

Friday Eve, June 30th - Band met at Boltwood's Hall as usual for practice.
Friday Eve, July 7th - The Band convened at the usual place for practice.
Friday Eve, July 14th - Agreeable to the constitution the Paean Band assembled at Boltwood's hall for practice. Two new tunes were given out for the next meeting. Adjourned for one week.
Friday Eve, July 21st - The band convened as usual.
Friday Eve, July 28th - Band met agreeable to the Constitution.
Friday Eve, August 4th - D'o D'o
Friday Evem August 11th - D'o .. ..

[23]

August 16, 1826 - The Band held their semiannual meeting for the election of Officers. The officers chosen are as follows:

L. Farnum [sic] - Master
The Treas. report was read and accepted.

Six dollars was paid for the use of Boltwood's Hall (part [?])

Having played a few marches preparatory to Commencement exercises, Band adjourned to Friday evening.

E.P. Russell [signed]

Frid. Eve, Aug. 18th - The Band met* at the usual place for practice, agreeably to adjournment. 4 ___ ____

the usual time for practice, adjourned to Monday morning following.

*In the Chapel

Mon. Morn., Aug. 21 - Paean Band met in the Chapel, and having played the marches designed to play at Commencement, and on the day previous, marched several times upon the hill, then adjourned till Tuesday now following.

E.P. Russell [signed]

Tuesday Noon, Aug. 22 - P. Band met and practiced those marches which were give out the day previous and adjourned to the next morning.

E.P. Russell [signed]

Commencement Morning, Aug. 25 - The Band escorted the procession consisting of the Convocation Faculty, students, from the Colleges to the President's house, where the Faculty of Convocation had convened previous to joining the procession, and there to the Meeting-house. After the exercises of the forenoon were closed, the procession accompanied by the Band, moved to Boltwood's Hotel, where they partook of a sumptuous dinner, as did also the Band, who dined with the Senior Class in compliance with their respectful invitation. In the Afternoon, P.B. escorted Procession from B's Hotel to the Meeting-house, where they performed at intervals of the Exhibition, as in the forenoon.

Voted subsequently that another meeting of the Band be deferred till Sept. 29th, 1826, agreeably to Constitution.

In the afternoon preceding Commencement, the Band escorted the Students from the Colleges to the mansion house of Esq. Stroug, and thence to the Meetin-house with Mr. ____ [no name given, just blank lines] by whom was pronounced an oration before the Athen. Soc'y.

Note. The procession continued from the meeting-house with an escort.

Friday Eve, Aug. 29 - The Band met for the usual purpose at Boltwood's Hall; and the usual time for practice being spent, adjourned to Friday of the succeeding week.

E.P. Russell
Friday Evening, October 6th - The P.B. convened at the Hall of Bo'wood's Hotell, and at 8 O'clock, moved to the College Chapel, "ad summa in arceice [definitely didn't interpret these correctly] from which ____., then serenaded the College. _______ to Friday Eve. following.

E.P. Russell

Frid. Eve. Oct 20 - Band met agreeable to adjournment at the usual places; the meeting in the week previous having been omitted.

E.P.R., Sec.

Oct. 27. (Frid. Eve.) - A meeting this evening was omitted

Friday Eve, Nov. 3rd - The Paean Band, in respectful memory of a deceased* member, voted to adjourn the regular meeting of the evening to Friday the following.

E.P. Russell, Sec.

*[illegible word or name, possibly starting with a B]

Frid. Eve, Nov. 10 - The Band convened at Boltwood's Hall, and besides those marches which have [26] long been familiar to the Band, played those which were given and at a previous meeting to be learned, with very great facility, and to the great edification of distinguished spectators.

E.P. Russell, Sec'y.

Frid. Eve, Nov. 17th - Band convened according to adjournment and the time usually occupied in the practice of music being spent, Mr. J.O Standish and Mr. A.W. Chapman were admitted as members of the Band. The Constitution was then read. A committee was also appointed for the purpose of devising means to increase the number of instruments, procure new music books for the Band, etc. Voted to adjourn for one week from this date.

E.P. Russell, Sec'y

Frid. Eve, Nov. 24 - The Band convened at the usual place. Voted to adjourn to Monday noon following and then to meet at Mr. Stockbridge's room to conduct business.

E.P. Russell, Sec.

Monday noon, Nov. 27 - Band met at the room as mentioned, according to adjournment where the import of a letter received from Mr. Kelly, and mentioning the price of Musical instruments was made known to the Band, new marches being given out, voted to adjourn

[27] to Wednesday morn. of the same week, and to meet at Mr. S's room.

E.P.R., Sec'y

The Band's meeting was held at the usual place. Voted that the music books recently procured for the Band be subject to a lite [?] examination with the instruments at the meeting usually held for that purpose. There adjourned.

E.P.R, Sec'y

March 21st, 1827

The Pean [sic] Band held their usual meeting and the following persons were elected officers.

H.F. Stockbridge - Master
C.B. Pratt - Asso. "
L. Farnam - Assis. "
E.J. Fuller - Sec'y
C. Humphrey - Treas.
J.S. Clarke - Libr.

H.F. Stockbridge, C.B. Pratt, and W.P. Paine - Prudential Committee
The instruments were examined and found in order. A few tunes played, and the meeting adjourned to Saturday.

Saturday 24th March - Band met in the Rhetorical room for practice. Adjourned to Wednesday.

Wednesday 28 - Met in the Rhetorical room. Played some tunes and adjourned to Wednesday.

Wednesday, April 4 - Met in the Rhetorical Room for practice. Received an invitation from the Athenian Soc'y to play at their exhibition this evening, which was complied ____. Adjourned to Thursday of next week.

E.J. Fuller

Thursday evening April 12th. Met in "Boltwood's Hall" for practice.

Wednesday afternoon, April 18th. Met at "Boltwood's Hall" for practice. Adjourned to Wednesday of next week.

Wednesday April 25. Met, played, adjourned to next term.

Wednesday, June 1st. Met at Boltwood's hall.

Friday evening June 8th - met at Boltwood's, played till after nine, then marched up in front of the meeting house, blew a tremendous blast and retired.

E.J. Fuller

Friday eve, June 15. Met at Boltwood's Hall as usual.

Friday 22nd, June. Met &c.

Friday evening, June 29th. Met at Boltwood's Hall, played as usual (not very well) and adjourned one week.

Friday evening, July 6. Met at Boltwood's.

Friday July 13. Met at Boltwood's hall and practiced till 9 --- adjourned one wk.

July 21. Met at Boltwood's

July 28 - Met &c.

Aug. 4 - Do [ditto]

Aug. 11 - do [ditto]

Wednesday August 16th - Paean Band held their semi-annual meeting for the choice of officers and elected the following:

C.B. Pratt - Master
C. Humphrey - Asso'te
E.J. Fuller - Assist.
D. Hunt, Jr. - Sec'y
A. Goodale [sic, Goodell] - Treas
J. Forbush - Librarian
C.B. Pratt, C. Humphrey, E.J. Fuller - Prudential Committee

Band adjourned until Thursday 17th August.

Thursday August 17th - Band met and adjourned till Friday August 18th

Band met agreeable to adjournment, played as usual. The prudential committee examined the instruments and reported not injured more than the ordinary wear. The Band then adjourned to Saturday 19.

Saturday, Aug. 19 - Band met at half past ten, played the tunes for the ensuing commencement and adjourned till Monday.

Monday 21 - Band met and played as usual, adjourned till Tuesday 22.

Tuesday 22 - Band met and played the tunes for commencement. Assembled also in the after-noon and escorted the Alexandrian Soc. and their orator from Mr. Boltwood's Hotel to the Chapel and then after the exercises, led the procession back again to Mr. Boltwood's.
Wednesday 23 August was commencement and the band performed all the exercises [32] which are common on such an occasion, and received for their services the general approbation. Band dined with the Senior class.

Friday Sept. 28 - Band met at Boltwood's Hall and played as usual.
October 5th - Met and played as usual.
October 12th - Met and played, then adjourned until the next term.
Feb. 15th, 1828 - Band met at Boltwood's Hall, played a few times, then adjourned.
Feb. 22 - Met &c.
Feb. 29th - do
March 3rd - do
March 10th - do
March 17th - do
March 24th - do

[33]

Monday Eve, March 31, 1828.
Paean Band met as usual; and the following persons were elected officers pro sem [illegible].
C.B. Pratt - Master
E.J. Fuller - Assoc.
C. Humphrey - Assist.
E.P. Russell - Sec'y
A.W. Chapman - Treas.
M.B. Green - Libra.

Instruments examined - found in good repair, with the exception of the Fr. Horn: $3 appropriated for the purpose of repairing it. Band adjourned to Monday of next week, 1/4 before 7 O'clock P.M. [This paragraph has some kind of marking through part of it, with "1829" written above. Possibly trying to imply that the instrument was repaired in 1829]
E.P. Russell, Sec'y

The Band met for Practice at Boltwood's Hall, & adjourned one week.
April 7th
E.P. Russell, Sec'y

[34]
Paean Band, April 14th, Adjourned 1 week.
21st - "
28th - "

The Band convened according to adjournment, & after practicing the usual time, marched from the place of meeting to the Colleges.
Adjudged one week (1/2 past 7)
Monday eve, June 9th
E.P. Russell, Sec'y

Agreeably to adjournment, the Band met in Boltwood's Hall Mond Eve. & Adjourned one week.
June 16th.
E.P.R [stamped], Sec'y

The Paean Band [Paean Band is stamped] met June 22nd. Adj. 1 week. {reg. meet.}
27th, Monday Eve.
Voted that the Master give information to the Committee of the Academy that in compliance with their request for the services of the Band on the ensuing 4th of July is impracticable. So help me, John Rogers.

The Band ["Band" is stamped] met on the Evening of the 30th ins. After leaving the Hall, played at Prof. Peck's and Doct. [illegible]'s. Adj'd till Friday morning at the [illegible].
Friday morning, July 4th [35]
The Band convened according to adjournment at the ____ & thence escorted the Gymnastic Society to the Chapel. Oration pronounced by a member. Music by the Band before the speaker rose: also, at the conclusion of his address. Adjournment to next Friday Eve at the Hall.
5th July

Paean Band met Friday Evening at Boltwood's Hall. Adjourned one week.
Sat. Morn, July 12.

Friday Noon. Met & escorted the faculty, students of College and Academy to the Chapel. (Junior Exhibition). Adjourned to Monday Evening of the following week.

July 21st, Mon. Eve. The Band met; adjourned one week.
28th - "

August 19th, 1828 - At a meeting of the Paean Band, Voted: That this Band be this day dissolved.
E.P. Russell, Sec'y [36]

We the undersigned esteeming it a laudable object to improve ourselves in the art of Instrumental Music, have associated for this purpose, and adapted the following 

Constitution.

Section I.
Art. 1st. This Society shall be called the College Band 
Art. 2nd. The officers of the College Band shall be Master, Assistant Master, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and Prudential Committee of three, all of whom shall be chosen by ballot.

{Repealed 1834, April 4th} - Art. 3rd - The Band shall hold two semi-annual meetings, the first on the last Wednesday in March, and the second on the Wednesday preceding Commencement, at which meetings the officers above mentioned shall be chosen.

Section II.
Art. 1st. It shall be the duty of the master to preside at all regular meetings, and call extra meetings of the Band and in his absence the next in office.

Art. 2nd. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to call the roll, which shall be done within eight minutes from the time appointed for the meeting of the Band, to record all transactions - also to note all absences and tardinesses, to collect all fines and taxes, and pay the same to the Treasurer.

Photographed the rest of the book. [37]

Art. 3rd. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to receive all monies of the Band, and hold the same in readiness for the use of the Band.

Art. 4th. It shall be the duty of the Librarian to take the charge of all books and instruments not in use belonging to the Band.

Art. 5th. It shall be the duty of the Prudential Committee to examine and recommend persons for admission and to attend to the concerns of the Band not assigned to the other officers, also at the semiannual meetings to inspect all the instruments belonging to the band, and impose fines for the injury of instruments beyond the ordinary wear.

Section III.
Art. 1st. The Band shall meet once in two weeks during the first and second terms; and once a week the third term, at such tie and place as the presiding officer shall appoint.
Art. 2nd. If any member shall be absent from any regular meeting of the Band without a reasonable excuse or permission from the presiding officer, he shall be fined twenty-five cents.

Art. 3rd. Any member who shall absent himself from the meetings of the band three weeks in succession without a reasonable excuse, or shall obstinately refuse to pay his fine within two weeks after he is apprised of the same without reasonable excuse, shall be expelled by a vote of the Band. [38]

Art. 4th. Every member who is not present at the calling of the roll without a sufficient excuse, shall be fined two cents.

Section IV.

Art. 1st. Any person proposed by the prudential committee may be received by a vote of two-thirds, provided he subscribes his name to this constitution.

Art. 2nd. Any member may be dismissed from the Band on his presenting a written request, and with it a certificate from the Secretary Actuary signifying his acquittal of all legal demands.

Art. 3rd. Any member persisting in improper conduct, such as unnecessary sounding of instruments, talking, or laughing after he has been reproved by the Master, shall be expelled by a vote of the Band.

Section V.

Art. 1st. The Band shall hold themselves in readiness to play at all public exhibitions of the students on condition that they advance money to purchase such instruments and books as are needed by the Band.

Art. 2nd. No spectators shall be admitted at a regular meeting of the Band, but by permission of the presiding officers.

Section VI.

Art. 1st. Any person sounding his instrument in the intervals between the tunes, or while going to, or returning from a regular meeting of the Band separate from the same, or lending his instrument to any person not belonging to the Band or permitting any one to use his instrument, without permission from the Master, shall be fined 12 Cents.

Art. 2nd. If at any time this Band shall become extinct, the instruments belonging to it shall be given up to the Faculty.

Art. 3rd. This Constitution may be altered, or amended by a vote of two-thirds.

[40]

Names: 28
Abner Goodell [1829]
Jos. B. Clapp [1829]
Moses B. Green [sic, Greene - 1829]
John T. Kittredge [1828]
Edward J. Fuller [1828]
H.C. Kidder [Corbin Kidder, 1828]
Daniel Hunt [1828]
Chester Humphrey [1828]
Abijah R. Thayer [1830, nongrad]
E. Peter Russell [Edmund, 1829]
Thomas M. Clark [1831, nongrad]
[The following are in darker ink, all in different handwriting]

28 63 total names appear in this list. 16 had been members of the prior group. 82 students in total were recorded as members of the Band throughout its history.
Chas. K. Whipple [Charles King, 1831]
John L. Fox [1831]
Zebina Montague [1832]
A. Karavelles [1831]
N. [A?]. Fisher [Nathaniel Augustus, 1831]
Francis R. Gourgas [nongrad, 1831]
[illegible. Looks like PW Felitson. Probably Thomas Kendall Fessenden 1833, nongrad]
Elias Riggs [1829]
Benj. D. Nelson [1831]
Ja. H. Leland [James, 1832]
George Newcomb [1832]
J.S. Hammond [Josiah, 1832, nongrad]
George Cooke [1832, nongrad]
John H. Van Deursen [1836, nongrad]
Wm. W. Adams [1832]
Joshua Huntington [1831, nongrad]
W.W. Forsyth [1832]
E.W. Thayer [1831]
A.G. Paspati [sic, Paspatis, 1831]
Sam'l Chandler [1833, nongrad]
Tom M. Howell [1831]
G.C. Partridge [George, 1833]
G. Stewart [George, 1831, nongrad]
John F. Houston [1832]
Nathan Belcher [1832]
Erastus E. Marcy [1834]
Gyles M. Kimball [1834]
[An illegible crossed-out name]
A.G. Tenney [Albert, 1835, nongrad]
Mortimer Blake [1835]
Daniel L. Adams [1835, nongrad]
James Fiske [possibly should be Fisk, 1835, nongrad]
Robert G. Williams [1835]
Henry Brown [1836, nongrad]
J. Bradford [James, 1836]
Chas. D. Bowman [Charles, 1836, nongrad]
Lyman B. Larkin [1835]
Sam'l S. Whitney [1836]

[41]
Abn. Geo. W. Olney [1835, nongrad]
Joshua Frost [1835, nongrad]
John F. White [1833]
H.W. Beecher [Henry Ward Beecher, 1834]
W. Marsh [Wolcott, 1836]
J.P. Leland [Joseph, 1836, nongrad]
T. Jackson [Timothy, 1834]
James Greene [sic, Green, 1837]
A.J. Houghton [Amory, 1837, nongrad]
F.A. Fisk [sic, Frederick A. Fiske, 1836]
James Averill [1837]
C.H. Cragin, esq. [Charles, 1837]
Otis Lombard [1834]
D.S. Oliphant, May 2nd, 1834 [David S. Oliphant, 1836]
John Dwight [1835]
Record of the Band

This Band was organized on August 21, 1828, and chose the following persons as officers:
A. Goodell - Master
N. Fisher - Assis. Master
J.L. Fox - Sec'y
A. Kavarelle - Treas.
A.R. Thayer - Librarian
The Band then adjourned until 1 o'clock Monday 26 Aug.

Monday 26 - Band met according to adjournment and voted into the Band Zabina Montague. And after the usual exercises adjourned until the 27 after.

Sept. 29 - Band met according to adjournment and voted into the Band F. Gourgas, Joshua Huntington, Thomas Clark, Peter Russell, [43] and after the usual exercises adjourned until the 5th of Oct.
Oct. 5 - Band met according to adjournment. Moses B. Green and Joseph B. Clapp received honorable dismiss ions and after the usual exercises the band adjourned until the 13th.
Oct. 13 - Band met according to adjournment and after the usual exercises adjourned to the 20th.
Oct 2 [sic, 20] - Band met and after the usual exercises adjourned until the next Wednesday having resolved to play for the Alexandrian Soc. Well[?] done.
Oct. 22 - Band played for the Alexandrians and then adjourned until Monday Eve.
Oct. 29 - Band met according to adjournment and after the usual exercise adjourned until one week.

Nov. 3 - Band met and accepted the invitation of the Athenian Soc. to play for them on Wednesday eve. After the usual exercises adjourned until Wednesday afternoon.
Nov. 5 - Band met in the Chapel after the Rhetorical exercises and played the tunes for the evening.
Wednesday eve - Band meet at 1/2 past 6 and played for the Athenian Soc. and then adjourned to Monday next.
Nov. 12 - Band met according to adjournment and after the usual exercises adjourned to Monday next.
Nov. 23 - Band met according to adjournment and after the usual exercise adjourned for 1 week.
December 1 - Band met and after the usual exercises adjourned to the first Monday in next term.
1829, Feb. 9 - Band met according to adjournment and after the usual exercises adjourned for 1 week. J. Leland received his dismissal from the band.

Feb. 16 - Band met according to adjournment. A committee of 3 were appointed to obtain students to play upon the instruments now vacant. After the usual exercises adj. to Monday Eve.
Feb. 23 - Band met and adjourned for one week. Voted that no person or persons be admitted as spectators during this term.
March 2 - Band met. Voted in Mr. Adams as a member, also voted to accept the invitation of the Alex. Soc. to play for them on Wed. 4th. After the usual exercises adjourned until Wednesday after Speaking.

March 4 - Band met, played for the Alexandrians and then adjourned until Monday next.
March 9th - Band assembled at the usual place for practice: adj. one week.
August 24th, 1829 [???] [46]

March 25th 1829 - The Band met in the Philosophical room, and proceeded to ____ of officers. The following men were chosen.

A Goodell - Master

Officers of the Band
April 15th - Band met in the Chapel played as usual. Adjourned to Boltwood's Hall April 20. Mr. Zelina Voted into the band, and Mr. Whipple chosen Secretary.

June 8th - Band met at Boltwood's and at their request Dismissed Adams, Hammond, and Rowland. Adjourned one week. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

June 15th - Band met and dismissed at their request Fisher, Fox, Gourgas, and Thayer. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

July 23d - The Band met in the Chapel and after choosing as members Fisher, Fox, Gourgas, Adams B. Nelson, Cook, W. Nelson sen. Riggs, Rowland, Thayer, and inviting N.H. Thayer to assist them during the remainder of this term, they voted to meet our times each week, viz, on Monday and Thursday evenings, and Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. Adjourned to Monday eve. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

July 23rd - Band met Mr. Holder, and after playing as usual adjourned to Wednesday. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

July 25th - Band met and adjourned. [this entry is bracketed with the previous] C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

July 27th - Band met as usual, admitted Mr. Hammond as a member, played, and adjourned. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

July 30th - Band met, played, and adjourned. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

July 31st - Band met, played, and adjourned. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 1st Saturday - Band met, played a few tunes, and adjourned to Monday [the above four entries are bracketed together] C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 3d, Monday - Band met in the usual place and voted to invite Mr. Houghton to play with them until Commencement. Adjourned to Thursday. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 6th, Thursday - Band met as usual and after the meeting serenaded Prof. Worcester. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug 7th, Friday - Band met and voted that the vote passed at the commencement of the present term relative to the exclusion of spectators be rescinded. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 8th, Saturday - Band met, played, and adjourned. [the above four entries are bracketed together] C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 10th, Monday - Band met as usual. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 15th, Saturday - The Band met, played, and adjourned [the above two entries are bracketed together.] C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug 17th, Monday - Band met as usual. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 18th, Tuesday - Band met, played, and adjourned. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 20th, Thursday - Band met. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 21st, Friday - Band met as usual. C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 22nd, Saturday - Band met and played. [the above five entries are bracketed together] C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

Aug. 24th - Band met at the usual place and received a request from the "gentlemen students" of the Academy to play for them at their exhibition. Refused. Two persons, Messrs. Montague and
Karavelles, were chosen to borrow 26 dollars for the purpose of paying Mr. Holder[?].

C.K. Whipple, Sec'y

October 5th, 1829 - The Band met according to adjournment in Boltwood's Hall, and N. Fisher was chosen Master, L. Montague Assistant Master, Karavelles Treasurer, Fisher, Montague, and Karavelles Prudential Committee, and Benj. D. Nelson, Secretary.

B.D. Nelson, Sec.

October 13th 1829 - The Band met in the usual place according to adjournment and played as usual.

B.D. Nelson, Sec.

October 20th 1829 - The Band met in the usual place, and by a vote of the same C.W. Thayer, A.G. Paspati were admitted as members. Also Thomas Fessenden.

B.D. Nelson, Sec.

Octob. 21st - The Band met in the usual place and after playing adjourned.

B.D. Nelson, Sec.

Nov. 8th 1829 - The Band met in Boltwood's Hall and adjourned.

Benj. D. Nelson, Sec.

Feb. 23rd 1830 - The Band met as usual in Boltwood's Hall and after playing adjourned.

Benj. D. Nelson, Sec.

March 1st 1830 - The Band met in the usual place and after performing several lively pieces adjourned. Samuel Chandler and George Partridge were admitted as members.

Benj. D. Nelson, Sec.

William Adams, John L. Fox, and Erastus Thayer, were dismissed by a vote of the Band, at their request.

March 1st, 1830

B.D. Nelson, Sec.

March 8th, 1830 - The Band met in the usual place and after performing admirably, adjourned.

B.D. Nelson, Sec.

March 24th, 1830 - The Band met in the usual place and, after playing, proceeded to the choice of officers; where the following were chosen:

N.A. Fisher - Master
L. Montague - Ass. Master
B.D. Nelson - Secretary
A. Karavelles - Treasurer
G. Newcomb - Librarian
L. Montague, N. Fisher, A. Karavelles - Prudential Committee.

After having transacted necessary business, the Band marched to Mount Pleasant, where we were received with all due respect, by Mr. Colton. During the evening, many marks of civility and attention were shown us. - B. D. Nelson, Sect.

April 19th 1830 - The Band met in the usual place and after playing as usual adjourned until Thursday evening.

April 23rd 1830 - The Band met and after playing as usual adjourned until Monday next - B.D. Nelson, Sec.
April 27th 1830 - The Band met in the usual place and after playing adjourned until Thursday evening.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

May 3rd 1830 - The band met in the usual place and after playing adjourned until Saturday 2 o'clock.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

May 8th 1830 - The Band met in the Chapel according to adjournment and after playing adjourned.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

Josiah S. Hammond, by a vote of the Band, was dismissed at his request. - Benj. D. Nelson.

May 3rd 1830 - The band met in the usual place and after playing adjourned until Saturday 2 o'clock.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

May 8th 1830 - The Band met in the Chapel according to adjournment and after playing adjourned.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

Josiah S. Hammond, by a vote of the Band, was dismissed at his request. - Benj. D. Nelson.

August 3rd 1830 - The Band met in the usual [sic] where we had the chance felicity of playing with our old friend Mr. Holder. John H. Houston was admitted as a member, and Segrove W. Magill [sic, William Seagrove Magill '1831, nongrad] proposed. The Band after playing a short time adjourned until Tuesday evening.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

August 4th1830 - The Band met in the hall and after playing as usual, S.W. Magill was admitted as a member and John Orgain ['1831] proposed.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

August 8th 1830 - The Band met in the apposite room. John Orgain was admitted a member and after playing adjourned until Monday evening.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

August 11 1830 - Band met at Boltwood's Hall as usual. Voted that the By Laws which were passed during last term be revived and carried into operation. Vis, 
1. That no member of the Band shall play upon his instrument or otherwise make disturbance or unnecessary noise during the intervals between tunes or during the time of intermissions.
2. No member shall play upon another's instrument unless by permission from the same.
3. No member shall have the room unless by permission from the presiding officer.
4. No member shall violate either of said laws under penalty of a fine to be requested by the discretion of the Prudential Committee.

Voted that these be recorded by the Sec: 
And they are hereby recorded - Benj. D. Nelson, Sec.

August 12th 1830 - The Band met in Boltwood's Hall according to adjournment and having played as usual adjourned until Friday evening.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

August 15th 1830 - The Band met in the usual place and after playing adjourned until Monday even. A vote was passed that the Band play on the day preceding commencement for the Athenian Society.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

August 18th 1830 - The Band met in Boltwood's Hall and played as usual. The vote which was [54] passed at the preceding meeting respecting the Athenian Society was rescinded so far as related to marching. The Band also voted to go to Mount Holyoke on Wednesday next. - B.D. Nelson, Sec.

March 21st 1831 - The Band met in Boltwood's Hall and after playing as usual adjourned. Saturday the Band toed to procure two new Clarionets and an Octave flute which will be purchased by the Prudential Committee.  
B.D. Nelson, Sec.

July 4th, 1831 - The Band met according to adjournment in the usual place and voted to play at the Junior exhibition in compliance with a request of the appointed. - B.D. Nelson.
Amherst College, October 12th 1831
At a special meeting of the College Band, Oct. 12, 1831, Mr. George Newcomb was called to the chair and Nathan Belcher was appointed secretary pro tem. On motion of Mr. Kindal the Band voted to choose officers. The following was the result of the election:

Zebina Montague - Master
George Newcomb - Ass. Master
John F. Houston - Secretary
William W. Forsyth - Treasurer
Erastus Marcy - Librarian
Zebina Montague, George Newcomb, Gyles Kimbal - Prudential Committee

Voted to adjourn. Attest N. Belcher, sec pro tem.

November 7th 1831 - The Band met in the Rhetorical Room and on motion of Mr. Newcomb voted to appoint a committee to wait upon the Freshman Class and solicit subscriptions. Mr. Newcomb was chosen for that office after which voted to adjourn two weeks to Mr. Boltwood's Hall. - John F. Houston, Secretary.

March 15th 1832 - The Band met in the Rhetorical room and took into consideration their situation and prospects. On motion of Mr. Partridge voted that a committee be chosen to make a statement of facts before the college and to attain subscriptions. Messrs. Montague and Houston were appointed after which no rather business occurring adjourned __ __. Mssrs. Adams, Tenney, and Blake of the Freshman Class were proposed for admission.

April 10th 1832 - The Band convened in the Hall to meet Mr. Perry. After playing a short time adjourned 18 hours.
Mssrs Adams, Blake, Tenney were admitted as members.

April 11th - Band met &c.
April 12th - Band met &c.
April 13th - Band met &c.
April 23rd - Band met &c.
April 24th - Band met &c.
April 26 - Band met &c.
April 27 - Band met &c.
May 2nd - Band met &c.
May 3rd - Band met &c.
May 4th - Band met &c.
May 7th - Band met &c.
May 8th - Mand met and adjourned to Rhetorical Room at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning. ____ previous to exhibition. Attest Z. Montague for Houston, Sec'y.

Amherst College, Oct. 10th, 1832
At a special meeting of the Band Oct. 15, 1832, Mr. Tenney was called to the chair and Mr. Blake appointed secretary pro tem. On _______ of Mr. Marcy, the Band proceeded to the choice of Officers. The following were chosen:

Gyles M. Kimball - Master
Erastus E. Marcy - Assistant Master.
Voted: that the instruments not in use be distributed to learners.
Voted: to adjourn one fortnight to meet Boltwood's Hall at 6 1/2 Monday eve.

Attest M. Blake, Sec'y.

[59]
Dec. 3rd, 1832 - The Band met, according to notice to fill up vacancies, the Master Mr. Kimball having left College for the year. The following officers were chosen:
E.E. Marcy - Master
D.L. Adams - Ass. Master
A.G. Tenney - Treasurer
M. Blake - 3rd Pru. Com.

D.L. Adams was appointed to obtain a bugle mouth piece, and reeds for Clarionette and Bassoon, at Northampton.
Messrs. Bond, Bowman, Bradford, Brown, Frost, Fowler, Kidder, and Platt were proposed as members of the Band.
Adjourned one fortnight.

M. Blake, Sec.

[60]
Dec. 17, 1832 - The Band met according to adjournment and having played, adjourned one fortnight.

Dec. 31, 1832 - The Band met and adjourned one week.
Jan 7, 1833 - The Band met and adjourned.
Jan 28th, 1833 - The Band met and adjourned 1 week. By motion, A.G. Tenney was honorably dismissed from the Band and Mr. L.B. Larkin was chosen to fill office of Treasurer.

Feb'y 6 - Band met &c.

Feb'y 11, 1833 - The Band met &c.
Feb'y 18, 1833 - The Band met. J.a. Van Deursen was proposed and admitted as a member.

M. Blake, Sec'y.

Feb. 25 - The Band met &c. S.S. Whitney and G.W. Olney were proposed and admitted as members. Adj. 1 week.

March 4th - The Band met &c.
March 11th- The Band met &c.
March 15th - The Band met &c.

M. Blake, Sec.

[62]
March 18th - The Band met &c.
25th - The Band met &c.
April 1st - The Band met &c. The following persons were proposed and admitted as members. Messrs. Beecher, Leland, and Whites.

April 5 - The Band met by special notice. Mr. Marsh was proposed and admitted as a member. G.W. Olney was chosen as Librarian in place of Fiske absent.

M. Blake, Sec.

April 15 - The Band met &c.
April 19 - The Band met &c.
April 22 - The Band met &c. Mr. [Can't quite make it out. I can see "_aig_" Looks like "Kaiges,"
but that doesn’t seem right.] was proposed and admitted as a member.

M. Blake, Sec'y

The Band met. The meeting being called to order, Mr. Henry W. Beecher was chosen 2nd Prudential Committee, who now consist of the following persons viz:

E.E. Marcy
H.W. Beecher
M. Blake

Mr. J. Jackson was proposed and admitted as a member of the Band. Adjourned 1 week.

M. Blake, Sec'y

June 11, 1833 - The Band met as adjourned, by a motion [Voted?]. If the consent of the Faculty be obtained, that the Band meet for this term in the Chapel on Wednesday afternoons. Mr. Larkin was appointed to obtain permission of the Faculty. Adjourned till Wednesday evening.

M. Blake, Sec'y.

Amherst College, Aug. 20, 1833 - Band met and according to constitution chose officers. The following persons were chosen:

Erastus E. Marcy - Master
Mortimer Blake - Assist. Master
Lyman B. Larkin - Secretary
Timothy Jackson - Treasurer
Charles D. Bowman - Librarian
R.G. Williams, Mortimer Blake, Erastus E. Marcy - Prudential Committee

Band adjourned.

Lyman B. Larkin

Amherst College, Dec. 30, 1833
Band met according to constitution once in two weeks, but not having instruments &c did not play, but adjourned. From week to week no record has been left for no business has been done. [65]

Mr. Jesse A. Penniman ['1837] was proposed and admitted a member of the Band. Band adjourned until next term

Attest L.B. Larkin.

Amherst College, Feb. 1834
Band met, did not play. Voted to pay Mr. Marcy thirty eight dollars and let him have the old trumboom and two Bassoons, and he was to cancel his debt against the Band of about 20 dollars pay for the new trombone and Mr. Kendal for the Books used in the Band amounting to about 20 [maybe 10?] dollars. Messrs. Larkin and Bowman chosen as Committee to look into the Business and collect money to defray expenses and cancel debts etc.

Band adjourned for two weeks.

L.B. Larkin, Sect.

Amherst College Feb. 17, 1834
Band met and played. Voted to hear the report of Committee appointed at last meeting. Reported excepted and Mr. Larkin re-appointed Comt to farther p____ the business. Also five members proposed and admitted to the Band as follows vis: [66] John Dwight, David S. Oliphant, Otis Lambard, James Averill, and James Greene. Mr. Averill appointed a committee to visit and collect money from members in the Freshman Class who have not yet paid. Band adjourned for two weeks.

Attest L.B. Larkin

N.B. - Committee appointed several months since, to confer with the Faculty ____ College furnishing[?] lights for the Band, reported that they enjoy the same rights and privileges as the College Choir. Attest L.B. Larkin.

Amherst Coll. March 31, 1834
Band met and played quite well considerin'. Messrs. Houghotn and Fiske admitted as members of the Band. Mr. Blake appointed Committee to wait on the faculty and consult them about giving [67] money to the band. An unanimous vote taken to continue in the Band and play as long as we are able to blow.

Voted that other transaction be kept an entire secret. Voted to adjourn till Friday next.

R.G. Williams, Sec. pro tem.

Wednesday, April 2, 1834

Band met by private notice to hear report of committee appointed at last meeting, which was as follows. That the Faculty did not think the reasons offered sufficient to induce them to give anything (therefore rejected). Mr. Cragin proposed and admitted. Committee appointed to settle the business with Marcy. Blake, Larkin, Houghton, also committee appointed to obtain the amount of money paid to band [68] and carried off by him, and then to write to his father and endeavor to obtain it. Adjourned.

R.G. Williams, Sec. P.T.

Friday, April 4, 1834

Band met according to adjournment. Played extremely well. Committee appointed at last meeting reported as follows, viz. That they had payed Mr. Marcy 32 dollars and [to?] take his trombone, the 32 dollars being advanced by individual members of the band. Voted that as fast as money can be collected they be refunded in proportion as they advanced. Mr. Marsh at his [68] own request received an honorable dismissal.

On motion of Mr. Blake. Voted. That the clause "on the first Monday of the fall term" be annexed to the 2nd article of our Constitution, and that the 3rd art. be struck out and no more be a part of the constitution.

Adjourned till Monday, 14th of April.

Robert G. Williams, Sec. pro tem.

Monday April 14, 1834

Band met according to adjournment. Played in the Chapel and then voted to go on to the Tower to play, where they probably by their extraordinary performance gained applause enough to counter-balance the disgrace brought upon them by a few individuals who went out into the woods a few evenings before to practice as they had a right so to do - and adjourned till the next Monday evening.

Attest L.B. Larkin

Monday April 4, 1834

Band met and played according to adjournment. After playing voted to adjourn till Monday April 28th 1834.

Attest L.B. Larkin

Monday April 28, 1834

Band met according to adjournment - the master and assistant master being absent after playing a third[?] time - voted to adjourn.

Attest Lyman B. Larkin

Wednesday afternoon, April 30

A meeting of the Band was called by the Master, played once the tunes preparatory to exhibition after which an invitation was read from the appointees to play at the exhibition, voted to except [sic, accept]. A Committee was appointed to furnish the band with refreshments if the appointees should refuse to do it, and also [70] invite them to partake with us. Com, L.B. Larkin, M. Blake, and E. Marcey [sic]. Voted to adjourn till one hour before the exhibition. Penniman fined 10 cts tardiness. Bowman 20 tardy twice total 30 cts.

Lyman B. Larkin, Sect.

Monday May 5th, 1834

Meeting of the band was called by the Prudential Committee. Voted to reconsider the vote concerning refreshments, and also voted to play till twelve and then go to dinner to return under 45 minutes. Voted to adjourn till Wednesday morn.

Attest L. B. Larkin

Wednesday May 7th, 1834

Band met according to vote. Played till twelve and went to dinner and while absent the exercises close. Had no music to close. Band dismissed.

L.B. Larkin, Sec.
Amherst College, June 9 1834
Band meet for the first time this term, played, voted that the Secretary ring the Bell for the regular meetings. After playing for some time, adjourned for one week.
Lyman B. Larkin Sect.

June 16, 1834
Band met according to adjournment, played very well, voted to accompany the Rameun[?] on the 4 of July by playing such tunes as may be deemed proper. Voted to adjourn till half past 7 on Monday next.
Attest L.B. Larkin.

Monday June 23, 1834
Band met according to adjournment, played two tunes. Several absent. Voted to dismiss Mr. Beacher [sic] at his own request. Adjourned till next Monday night at half past 7.
Lyman B. Larkin, Sect.

Amherst College, June 30, 1834
Band met according to adjournment. Played very well. Received an invitation to play for the young men's temperance Society to march from the hall to the meeting house and voted to play in accordance to the invitation. Also appointed Mr. Blake a Committee to wait upon the Faculty to get the Band excused from prayers to play for the Ransonio[?] Society of Friday eve. Further voted Messrs. Larkin and Houghton to be a committee to wait upon Mr. R.G. Williams, he having asked a dismission, and ascertain the reason and if consistent to persuade him to remain through the term. Also voted to play at the Junior exhibition such times as our Master thought proper. Voted to adjourn till next Wednesday the 2nd of July to meet teen [ten?] minutes after speaking at the ringing of the Bell.
Lyman B. Larkin, Sect.

Amherst College, July 2 1834
Band met according to adjournment, played one hour. Committee reported nothing done and were dismissed. Messrs. Blake and Marcy appointed to peruse the subject farther. Band adjourned.
L.B. Larkin, Sect.

Attest L.B. Larkin

July 16 - Band meet, played one hour, voted Mr. R.G. Williams be no longer a Member of the Band. Adjourned.
Attest L.B. Larkin

July 21 - Band met, played one hour, voted Mr. Fay be invited to play the Bugle. Voted to adjourn. Attest L.B. Larkin.

Amherst College, July 28
Band met, played one hour. Voted to exchange Clarionets with the Master. Adjourned till Wednesday at one o'clock.
Lyman B. Larkin, Sec.

August 11 - Band met, played one hour, voted to adjourn for one week.
Attest L.B. Larkin

August 15 - Band met according to adjournment. The Master was not present. Voted that the Band wear uniforms on Commencement day and the day previous, also vote that the uniform consist of a White dress throughout with Black caps the lasts edition, a White cravats - further voted that we adjourn till Wednesday afternoon immediately after speaking.
Attest Lyman B. Larkin
Amherst College, Oct. 13, 1834

College Band met according to appointment to choose officers and the following persons were chosen:

M. Blake - Master
J. Dwight - Ass. Master
L.B. Larkin - Actuary*

M. Blake, J. Dwight, L.B. Larkin - Prud. Committee

* Voted that the office of Sec, Treasurer, and Librarian, be united into one and that to be called the Actuary.

Further voted that a comt. be appointed to revise the constitution - Messrs. Blake and Larkin Comt.. Voted a committee be appointed to solicit aid from the Freshman Class. Messrs. Blake and Houghton Comt..

Voted to meet to hear the report of the ___ at committee.

Lyman B. Larkin, Actuary

Amherst College, Oct. 24, 1834

College Band met according to adjournment. Heard the report of the several Com. Voted to except [sic, accept] the new Constitution. Voted the Actuary receive ___ [five?] per year for his services and that this be in the constitution. Also the other Committee reported to have got subscribed from the Freshman Class forty dollars. Report excepted [sic]. Voted that same Com must be instructed to visit others of the same Class. Voted that a Comt of one be appointed to wait on the Faculty and solicit aid from them. L.B. Larkin Comt. Voted to purchase a new Claronet but not to exceed 8 dollars. Also that the Actuary call on Mr. E. Boltwood and ascertain respecting his account present of $17.12. Also to see what other accounts there were now due. Voted to adjourn two weeks from this term to meet at the same place at half past six to hear the report of the above committees.

Lyman B. Larkin, Actuary

Amherst, March 1836

Rec'd from the hands of N.W. Fiske for the use of the Band as organized under approbation of the Faculty, March 15, 1836, the following articles:

Three Clarionette Clarinets
One Bugle
Two Octave Flutes
One Trombone
One Pair Cymbals
One Bassoon
Two French Horns
One Drum
A Lot of Ms. Music

Rufus D. Woods [1838, nongrad], Actuary.

Also rec'd, as above, one [78] Serpent, and a fourth Clarinet. -- Rufus D. Woods.
Appendix F.

Petition to the Trustees of Amherst College for better support of music:
The only surviving source for the original text is an 1890 article in The Amherst Student,
written by Sumner Salter ‘1877. He quotes select portions of the petition, and then summarizes the rest. I have put his summaries in brackets.

“To the Executive Committee of the Trustees of Amherst College:29
The undersigned; representatives of the College Choir, the College Orchestra and those generally who desire to see a more rapid improvement in the musical taste and spirit throughout the College, desire to call the attention of those in authority, to a subject which heretofore has been entirely neglected, viz: the lack of suitable means and appointments for the promotion and advancement of music.”
[following this the petition set forth the perceived needs of the situation, specifically the need for a room for practice and storage, and the need for a first-class piano]

“The reasons for these proposals are that the College choir are in absolute need of such accommodations for practice during two-thirds of the College year, when the church, on account of cold and dampness, cannot be used. Moreover, a piano is absolutely essential to the successful practice of a choir, [...] and furthermore, the College orchestra, [...] are now in need of just this very thing, a suitable, permanent place where they may conduct their rehearsals; and more particularly do they now stand in need of a piano. [...] No doubt the lack of a College Glee Club is due, in a great extent, to these reasons. Heretofore, the College Musical Association has been merely a nominal affair and held a meeting once a year for the election of officers in the Society of Inquiry rooms. It can be readily seen how that such an aid as these accommodations will be, will place it at once on an active, substantial basis. It is only what it has been gradually dying for the want of.”

[Following was a section devoted to showing in detail that the purchase of a piano would end up a paying investment to the College, the plan being to rent it out hourly to whomever would use it. They calculated that the piano would pay itself off in four years. It also included a stated figure for cost as offered from a Steinway and Sons agent. The petition was signed by the Choir, Orchestra, and 212 other Amherst students, for a total of 222 signatures. Amherst’s total enrollment at the time was 338.]

29 The petition was originally addressed to the Faculty, but on advice of Edward Hitchcock, Jr., it was changed to what appears here.
### Harvard Presidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Religious Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1637-1639</td>
<td>Nathaniel Eaton</td>
<td>Puritan minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640-1654</td>
<td>Henry Dunster</td>
<td>Puritan minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1654-1671</td>
<td>Charles Chauncy</td>
<td>Puritan minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1672-1675</td>
<td>Leonard Hoar</td>
<td>Puritan minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1675-1681</td>
<td>Urian Oakes</td>
<td>Puritan minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682-1684</td>
<td>John Rogers</td>
<td>Puritan minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685-1701</td>
<td>Increase Mather</td>
<td>Puritan minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701-1707</td>
<td>Samuel Willard</td>
<td>Puritan minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708-1724</td>
<td>John Leverett</td>
<td>Harvard’s first non-ministerial president. Although he was not a minister, he was still highly religious, incorporating the &quot;Hollis Professorship of Divinity&quot; in 1721. He did, however, begin to shift the college away from the dominance of any single religious sect.³⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1725-1737</td>
<td>Benjamin Wadsworth</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737-1769</td>
<td>Edward Holyoke</td>
<td>Congregational minister, preached for more tolerant interpretations of New England Calvinism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769-1769</td>
<td>John Winthrop</td>
<td>Unknown religious status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770-1773</td>
<td>Samuel Locke</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773-1773</td>
<td>John Winthrop</td>
<td>Unknown religious status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774-1780</td>
<td>Samuel Langdon</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781-1804</td>
<td>Joseph Willard</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804-1806</td>
<td>Eliphalet Pearson</td>
<td>Unknown religious status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804-1810</td>
<td>Samuel Webber</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810-1828</td>
<td>John Kirkland</td>
<td>Unitarian minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829-1846</td>
<td>Josiah Quincy</td>
<td>Unitarian, but not a minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846-1849</td>
<td>Edward Everett</td>
<td>Unitarian minister, statesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849-1853</td>
<td>Jared Sparks</td>
<td>Unitarian minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853-1860</td>
<td>James Walker</td>
<td>Unitarian minister (hired first music instructor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-1862</td>
<td>Cornelius Felton</td>
<td>Unitarian, not a minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862-1868</td>
<td>Thomas Hill</td>
<td>Unitarian minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869-1909</td>
<td>Charles Eliot</td>
<td>Unitarian, not a minister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³⁰As Harvard historian Samuel Eliot Morison wrote, Leverett "kept [the college] a house of learning under the spirit of religion, not, as the Mathers and their kind would have had it, the divinity school of a particular sect. Leverett, in a word, founded the liberal tradition of Harvard University.” Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 75.
### Yale Presidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1701-1797</td>
<td>Abraham Pierson</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707-1719</td>
<td>Samuel Andrew</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719-1726</td>
<td>Timothy Cutler</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1726-1739</td>
<td>Elisha Williams</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740-1766</td>
<td>Thomas Clap</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766-1777</td>
<td>Naphtali Daggett</td>
<td>Presbyterian minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1778-1795</td>
<td>Ezra Stiles</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795-1817</td>
<td>Timothy Dwight IV</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817-1846</td>
<td>Jeremiah Day</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846-1871</td>
<td>Theodore Woolsey</td>
<td>Congregational minister, but never held a full preaching position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-1886</td>
<td>Noah Porter</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-1898</td>
<td>Timothy Dwight V</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1921</td>
<td>Arthur Hadley</td>
<td>First president not to be a minister.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Amherst Presidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1821-1823</td>
<td>Zepheniah Swift Moore</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823-1845</td>
<td>Heman Humphrey</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-1854</td>
<td>Edward Hitchcock</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854-1876</td>
<td>William Augustus Stearns</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>1877-1890</td>
<td>Julius Hawley Seely</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1899</td>
<td>Merrill Edward Gates</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1912</td>
<td>George Harris</td>
<td>Congregational minister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H.

Report by the Harvard Pierian Sodality Committee on the creation of an Association for the cultivation of music in the college.31

It is with no small degree of satisfaction we see an effort making for the Cultivation of Music at Harvard University. The mention of the Pierian Sodality brings to mind those happy hours we have there enjoyed in Music's regalement, while an undergraduate. Our little club then took the name of Sodality. Pickering, Abbot, Burney, Fay, Lincoln, Buckminster, Holbrook, and others;—these were some of our musical associates, and their souls were all harmony. Their sweet and mellow serenade seems even now to strike Upon our ear, as o'er old Harvard's roof" in echoing waves it flows!"

But this was a voluntary association of the students for their own amusement; it had nothing of permanency, and was but poorly encouraged. To such feeble efforts has this branch of education ever been entrusted by the respectable Government of Harvard College. And why is it so? Is it supposed to be a trifling affair, and to countenance it would not comport with the dignity of oar Alma Mater? Or, can it be because it is believed that" all pleasant pursuits are idle, and that fascinations are of the devil," and, consequently, Music ought to receive no aid or support; and, much more, ought not to have a place among the regular branches of instruction! We shall never think that the College Government really believe in the diabolism of music, to long as they keep up the practice of performing Saint Martins at the dinner table on Commencement days; and join themselves in the holy hymn with so much puritanic teal, sanctity and reverence.

We most highly applaud the attempt to promote, and, ultimately establish a regular musical education, as developed in the following report. It is high time that the science and the literature of Music had better countenance, and that it should take, a decided and respectable standing among the Classics. The following report is by the pen of a gentleman of acknowledged taste and ability; and a perusal of it will, we presume, satisfy every reader that its object is highly praiseworthy, and its plan, to effect the purpose intended, is well conceived. Its success will, no doubt meet with the good wishes of all true lovers of this divine art.

REPORT

Made at a meeting of the Honorary and Immediate Members of the Pierian Sodality, in Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, August 31, 1837, with a record of the meeting.

The Committee appointed at a meeting of the Pierian Sodality (and some of its Honorary members, present as guests), in July last, to carry into effect a plan of uniting the past with the present members of the Club, in an active Association for the Cultivation' of Music in the College, respectfully present the following Report:

Your Committee have given the subject all the attention in their power; have conferred together almost daily upon it, and have listened to the suggestions of others (of whom they have found not a few interested); and the result has been, after weighing the matter in all its bearings, a growing conviction in their minds, that the objects contemplated are highly desirable and practicable. They accordingly felt authorized to call this meeting, and for that purpose issued the Circular, which you have all received, giving a vague sketch of the general spirit of the plan, which they now hope to lay before you in a more defined and satisfactory form. It is to save time and confusion, that they venture to propose any thing definite,—otherwise it would be presumptuous;—for it is evident, that we cannot tell what this Association, which we are here put in the way of forming, will be, until we know the minds of those here present, and what furtherance or check it may receive from circumstances as yet unforeseen. Out of the spirit of this meeting must proceed all that is done, Some association must, in the nature of things, here be formed;—for there are common interests and ties enough, and enthusiasm enough to unite such as we, when we happen into such close neighborhood. We shall therefore only propose such reasons for an Association, and such objects, and such plans for effecting them, as will be likely to meet the general feeling to strengthen faith in it, and show where a beginning may be made. We but reflect back each one's own vague feeling and wish upon the subject in a form concisely embodied, that we may act upon it. Here is evidently a tendency towards something. We do not dictate what it shall be; but simply throw in the one thing needed, a nucleus for something to form around, that the thing may not remain in a state of solution for ever.

31 As printed in the Boston Musical Gazette 1, no. 5 (27 June 1838): 33-34 (first half); ibid., no. 6 (11 July 1838): 41-42 (second half).
Without further preface we proceed to state two objects, which make such an Association desirable.

I. The first is obvious to all. Finding ourselves together once, with enough to remember and to sympathize about, in scenes eloquent to us, as they remind us of what we once were, and so serve to cheer and encourage amid the dust and cares of life grown more selfish than it was then,—scenes, which revive our faith in our old ideals,—we cannot but feel, that "it is good for us to be here"; and we naturally are tempted to arrange some plan by which this meeting may be renewed at suitable times. We want some annual day of refreshing, when we may feel young again, and here, if nowhere else, know that we are not alone in the world. This want is not supplied by the ordinary routine of Commencement formalities and feastings. To most of us it is a dull day at best. Exercises, in which few can feel much interest, and other necessary matters of form, keep us crowded together and wearied; the after festivities are hurried and confused; and so little do we find of the enthusiasm we had expected, that we go away disheartened, with less faith in men than we came with and little encouraged to come again. Class meetings are becoming rare occurrences. The interest of the thing seems fast dying out. But we have associations in this place of peculiar interest. We were united in a little band, each with a few of our contemporaries, by the love of an Art, which always begets enthusiasm. Nothing unites men more than music. It makes brothers of strangers,—it makes the most diffident feel at home,—the most shy and suspicious it renders frank and full of trust. It overflows the rocks of separation between us; it comes up like a full tide beneath us, and opens a free-intercourse of hearts. It is wholly a disinterested pursuit. The jealousies of emulation, the rancor of parties, must be merged in it. There are influences enough, we know, in college life, to make the young selfish, to contract the mind and destroy mutual confidence. It was our privilege to be in some degree saved from these, by an influence which we ought always to cherish and to honor, and to strive to extend over others who are yet to pass through these untried scenes. None, we trust, have grown insensitive to the worth of those pure pleasures, which we enjoyed, in a truant way, indeed, but in a way which saved our hearts from much stifling, and our spirits from much taming and mechanical moulding. We need not, then, put into any mind the pleasant anticipation of reviving those feelings from year to year. It must be there already. We know there is much latent feeling around us on this subject. If need be that it come forth, it will come,—if there be any to be convinced, they will be convinced; for we are sure that other earnest voices will second us in this.

We propose, then, to form an Association, which shall meet here annually, on commencement day; if for nothing more, at least to exchange salutations, and revive recollections, and feel the common bond of music and old scenes. Though we should purpose nothing by it, something would necessarily grow out of such a loosening of the soil. Here let us have prepared for us a quiet retreat from the dust and weariness of the day, whither we may resort as we fall in with each other, and where we may at any time be sure of finding good society and good cheer; perchance wake some of the old strains again.

II. But the ultimate object proposed is, the advancement of the cause of Music, particularly in this University. We would have it regarded as an important object of attention within its walls, as something which sooner or later must hold its place in every liberal system of education, and that place not an accidental or a stolen one, but one formally recognised. We that love music feel that it is worthy of its Professorship, as well as to any other science. This Muse is entitled to her representative in every temple of science; her genial presence should be felt in every nursery of young minds. Believing as we do that the love of music is essential to the full health and glow of the intellectual and moral system of man; that it is just the kind of influence which promises to check the vicious tendencies most peculiar to our state of society; that it dispenses men to blend, while all the other influences to which we are subject,—emulation so sedulously infused in the infant school and sanctioned in the college,—the selfish, reckless, political ambition thereupon naturally consequent as fruit upon flower,—the devotion to gain, the soul-contracting suspiciousness and prudence of the Yankee character,—all tend to disunion and restlessness; believing too, that this, of all the Arts of the Beautiful, is the most accessible to the most of men, and that the cultivation of it may most easily precede that of the others, and prepare the way for them, we cannot but desire to obtain for it the sanction of our honored Alma Mater. We would see it professed, not by the killers of time only, and those who scrape a fiddle for bread, but by the serious promoters of the best interests of the young. It should not only be tolerated, but earnestly wooed, as the twin sister of Poetry. It should be looked upon, not as an amusement, but as a serious pursuit; not as a thing to divert the listless mind, but to expand it, nourish it, inspire it, and give it utterance. We would have its written productions, its master-compositions regarded as Literature and hold a place in the archives of recorded thought and wisdom and inspired genius; books, only in another shape, which have helped to form man, as much as history, or metaphysics, or poetry, or numbers. We would have the statues of Handel and of Beethoven stand beside
pursuits. The love of music is generally a passion, they say; it grows rapidly and exhausts the soil, if in young students. They think it a fascinating pleasure, which unsettles the mind and detracts prejudice is strong, no doubt, on the part of many instructors and parents, against indulging a love of music schools.* and when every step we take in any way to throughout society, when singing has come to be taught among the first elements of knowledge in many it abou difficulty of realizing, or of musical genius before the mind's eye of the young artist, or cultivator of a taste for Art. Why should the concerts in a pure style might be given, by way of illustration, which shoul instruction in vocal and instrumental music, has been hinted at before. In the course of time, academic of musical taste, and help to form requisite means. The importance of this, and of preparing the way as fast as possible for a professor of make its importance felt by the government, and by gradually furnishing, or opening the larger association of educated men for the cultivation of music would be a new thing in our country. It would supply a want which all the Academies of Music and Oratorio Societies, useful as they are, have failed to supply. It would bring refinement to the aid of mechanical skill, and inspire the drudging artist to work with his soul as well as with his fingers. It would give music a higher rank in public estimation, till those who have taste and respectability should no longer feel degraded by singing in our churches. It would call forth a novel and interesting course of musical literature. The philosophy of musical effect, and its foundation in nature, the history of music in the world, the true principles of musical criticism, and the application of them to works of genius, would begin to be investigated and exposed. And where have we now a Musical Professor, who is competent at all to conduct one into this higher department of the Art? It never will be done, till colleges take it up, or at least bodies of educated men. Such is the general object proposed:—to promote musical education in some way, as opportunity shall offer;—to bring a number of minds to think and feel together about it, and to be gradually accumulating the power and watching the opportunity to do something about it. This general object, as we look upon it nearer, resolves itself into three more particular objects.

* The Sodality numbers upon its Catalogue about one hundred and twenty-five now living, who have been members since its foundation, in 1808.

[End of part 1]

[Begin part 2]

1. We may aim to raise the standard of musical taste in the college, by giving encouragement, respectability, and seriousness to the club which cultivates it there. We may add dignity to the pursuit in their minds, take from it that truant consciousness with which it is often indulged in as a mere amusement, in the same spirit as a bonfire or a riot, and make music seem a worthy object if pursued worthily. Students should see that this is not a despised employment among the respected, and influential, and enlightened. So will they come to honor it themselves, and then it will be a noble employment.

2. We may aim to have regular musical instruction introduced in the college, by doing what we can to make its importance felt by the government, and by gradually furnishing, or opening the way to the requisite means. The importance of this, and of preparing the way as fast as possible for a professor of Music, to be on the same footing with the other Professors, who should lecture on the higher departments of musical taste, and help to form in the young a true sense of the art, and preside over courses of practical instruction in vocal and instrumental music, has been hinted at before. In the course of time, academic concerts in a pure style might be given, by way of illustration, which should keep the lasting models of musical genius before the mind's eye of the young artist, or cultivator of a taste for Art. Why should the difficulty of realizing, or of soon realizing, such a result, deter us from the hope and the resolution to bring it about, when it must sooner or later follow as a matter of course upon the rapid diffusion of musical taste throughout society, when singing has come to be taught among the first elements of knowledge in many schools.* and when every step we take in any way to advance music must bring it constantly nearer? The prejudice is strong, no doubt, on the part of many instructors and parents, against indulging a love of music in young students. They think it a fascinating pleasure, which unsettles the mind and detracts from serious pursuits. The love of music is generally a passion, they say; it grows rapidly and exhausts the soil, if
tolerated in the nursery of young minds, where should be planted the seeds of knowledge, sobriety, and self-control. If such be the fact, the

* The School Committee of the City of Boston have just issued a Report, recommending the introduction of vocal music into all the public schools, and the experiment is to be fault rests with those who reject the claims of music. They neglect this inborn propensity of the young, and suffer it to grow wild, like a rank weed. Train it, and it shall be an ornament to your garden.

3. We may collect a Library of Music, and works relating to it. This should in the course of time contain the complete works of all the great composers; so that Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, &c. should be always within our reach. It should, moreover, contain all histories of music, all treatises on its physical science and its literature, and all descriptions and criticisms of music. All standard music, too, for different combinations of instruments, what may be called the classics of each instrument, should here be found. This may be commenced immediately, by voluntary donations; indeed some slight beginnings have been already made in the immediate club. Every access to the catalogue, however promiscuous or incomplete at first, will stimulate zeal to perfect it. Thus would be formed, what does not now exist in the country, what would be the pride of the college and the country, a complete Library of a hitherto neglected department of Literature. It would beliefs the whole vicinity as well as ourselves.

Such are the objects proposed. If they are as desirable as they have been represented, then certainly they are practicable. For, from what class of men can we expect so much enthusiasm, as from the lovers of music, surrounded by the associations of their boyhood / This alone, if we rightly estimate it, is enough. For enthusiasm, when directed to a real object, always finds counsel and means. That we do not overrate the interest felt by the past members of the club, we have in the answers to the circular of the committee a satisfactory assurance. The proposal has been met with a warmth which your committee did not expect. Many have not only expressed a willingness to cooperate, but have actually begun, by looking into the thing and offering valuable suggestions for carrying it on. Many have shown themselves ready to contribute liberally, not only now, but statedly, hereafter, towards Funds. And the idea has been gradually taking shape in the minds of a respectable number at least, who will carry it on themselves, in their own humble way, satisfied that much will spring from small beginnings, even if all do not enter .into the plan with them.

To make it seem yet more practicable, your Committee suggest the following Plan of Operations; for many features in which, they are indebted to hints from various individuals.

**Plans for effecting the above objects.**

1. We shall seem to be walking upon firmer ground, if we know that pecuniary means can be obtained. Let a Fund be raised, by voluntary subscription from year to year, which shall go towards all the objects contemplated, in such ways and in such proportions as the Society shall from time to time determine. This should be managed upon the most liberal principles; all forcing should be most carefully avoided. No one should be required to do any thing in this way; and no one should be expected to do more, than his means, his zeal, and his judgment on the subject warrant him. A true fellow-feeling of mutual trust, which asks no questions, and utters no suspicions, should be cherished; so that every offering my be a free-will offering in the fullest sense. Let a subscription paper be provided, and let members promise to pay any sum that suits them, either now, or annually, for any stated period, or for a period closing at will. Your Committee are encouraged to offer this plan, because they have already given it the surest test, by actually circulating such a paper, during the past week, among a few members in the vicinity. Twelve names were very soon obtained, the amount of whose subscriptions for the present year is $80.00, most of this to be repeated annually for terms of five and ten years. These subscriptions should be regarded as due on Commencement day of each year. For the present, the contingent expenses of the meetings may be drawn from the sum collected in this way. In another year, the interest alone may suffice for that, and the Fund may be accumulating for the further objects in view. These payments should be made to a Treasurer, to be appointed immediately, even before any further organization of the Society. He should invest the money in his own name in some safe institution, where it may yield an annual income; and he should render an annual account of the funds in his charge, at the meetings.

2. This foundation laid, we may immediately proceed to form and organize the proposed Association, so far as it can be done now. The necessary step will be, to pass a Resolution, to meet annually on Commencement day, in Cambridge. This will be a sufficient Formula of association.

3. Our next step should be, to provide for its future organization, by choosing a Committee to draft and report a Constitution at the next annual meeting,—adjourning the present meeting until that time. For the present it will be necessary to appoint a Treasurer, a Recording and a Corresponding Secretary, as well as to make some regulation respecting Honorary membership, of which hereafter.
4. The next thing to be secured, is an arrangement for future meetings. Under this head, two considerations occur, (1) as to the place of meeting,—(2) as to the expense.

Let the expenses of meeting be defrayed from the Funds above mentioned, using a portion of the capital for that purpose, until the income alone shall be sufficient. Let all the necessary arrangements be made by a Committee of three members, together with the Treasurer, who shall notify members of the place and hour of meeting. With regard to the amount to be appropriated in this way, this Committee should be guided by the Treasurer's advice for the present, until some constitutional provision can be made.

As to the place of meeting, it may seem necessary and practicable in the course of time for the Sodality to have a convenient hall of its own, large enough for its public meetings. Here the Library might be kept, and here too all needed musical facilities. We would suggest, that this subject be referred to a Committee, who shall report upon it at the next annual meeting.

5. Let there next be chosen a Standing Committee on the subject of the Library, to report next year, and annually thereafter, on the best method of collecting and conducting it, and on the actual progress and prospects of the work.

6. Next a standing Committee on the subject of musical instruction in the College, to consider how far this is practicable, and report annually.

7. It is by some thought advisable to add to the interest of future meetings by academic Concerts of Music, to be held in the presence of the Sodality and their invited friends, at some convenient time after Commencement:—the performers on that occasion to be members of the Sodality. This too we would suggest, and the appointment of a Committee to make the necessary arrangements in procuring gentlemen to take parts, and fixing an order of performances. Another method for effecting this has been mentioned to your Committee. Let our annual day of meeting be a sort of musical exchange, where individuals may confer together, and organize themselves into little parties to practice during the year various kinds of music; some to play Quartettes and Trios, some to sing Glees, others to cultivate Sacred Music, &c.—and, at the annual meeting, let each of these branches bring its offering to furnish forth a musical feast, under the direction of a Committee as above.

8. Some principle must then be fixed upon respecting the future election of Honorary Members. As the proposed Association is to be entirely of an Academic character, it would seem proper that no person should be eligible, who is not a graduate of some College, as well as capable of appreciating that which unites us, and of a character which will add respectability to our union. They might be nominated somewhat in this manner. Let a list for the purpose be hung up in some conspicuous place in the Society's room, where any member wishing to propose a candidate may write his name, and beside it his own name, that it may be known whom to refer to for information respecting said candidate. A limited number might then be balloted for at each meeting, and informed of their election, should it take place, by the Corresponding Secretary. It seems desirable, also, to unite in the undertaking such of the Professors and Officers of the College, as would be interested in our object, that there may always be a friendly understanding between us and the Government of the College, and that nothing of our proceedings may seem to be concealed. Accordingly, it is hoped that several gentlemen of that number will be nominated for Honorary Members.

Your Committee are conscious, that this is but an imperfect sketch of what is to be done. Many more things will doubtless suggest themselves, in the course of the remarks of others, with which they trust the meeting will be freely favored. In closing this Report, they would offer a few resolutions;—as few and as general as possible. The three following, it is believed, will lay open the whole ground for discussion.

1. RESOLVED, That we, the past, present, and Honorary members of the Pierian Sodality here present, do hereby form ourselves into an Association, to meet annually in Cambridge, on Commencement day, for the purpose of enjoying each other's society, and of devising and executing plans for the promotion of musical taste and science in the University.

2. RESOLVED, That we consider Music worthy of a place in every system of education, and particularly in our University; and that a committee of three be chosen to report at the next annual meeting upon the expediency and best means of trying to introduce it there as a regular branch of instruction.

3. RESOLVED, That the plan of collecting a complete Musical Library merits our attention; and that a Committee of three be chosen to report at the next annual meeting upon the whole subject.

Respectfully submitted,

E. S. DIXWELL
J. S. DWIGHT
Appendix I.

Melody and original words to “Sparkling and Bright.” This melody was a highly popular choice for the setting of early college songs.

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**SPARKLING AND BRIGHT.**

Words by Mrs. S. B. Dana

1. Sparkling and bright, in its liquid light, Is the water in our glasses;
   'Twill give you health, 'twill give you wealth, Ye lads and rosy lasses.

CHORUS.

O then resign your ruby wine, Each smiling son and daughter,

There's nothing so good for the youthful blood, Or sweet as the sparkling water.

2. Better than gold is the water cold,
   From the crystal fountain flowing:
   A calm delight both day and night,
   To happy homes bestowing.

CHORUS.—O then resign, &c.

3. Sorrow has fled from the heart that bled—
   Of the weeping wife and mother,
   They've given up the poisoned cup,
   Son, husband, daughter, brother.

CHORUS. O then resign, &c.
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